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Correspondence of THOMAS GRAY

Edited by the late
PAGET TOYNBEE
and
LEONARD WHIBLEY
*Fellow of Pembroke College
Cambridge*

IN THREE VOLUMES

Volume I 1734-1755

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PREFACE

IT is desirable at the outset to explain the collaboration between the late Dr Toynbee and myself. In September 1925 a letter from Dr. Toynbee to *The Times Literary Supplement*, followed a fortnight later by one from me, brought us into correspondence and acquaintance. Dr Toynbee had already undertaken to edit Gray's Correspondence for the Delegates of the Oxford Press, and I had for some time been collecting material connected with Gray's life at Cambridge.

It was at once arranged that I should assist in the work: our collaboration was carried on almost entirely by correspondence, and from the first exchange of letters in October 1925 until the day before Dr Toynbee died in May 1932, over a thousand letters passed between us. Apart from information which I volunteered, different problems were discussed and the results of our investigations were combined. This procedure was followed until November 1930, when, after Dr Toynbee had nearly completed his work of annotation, a serious illness obliged him to retire to a nursing-home, and it was not until August 1931 that he resumed his work, which he brought to a conclusion at the end of the year. The manuscript went to press in January 1932, and the first proofs were being revised by Dr Toynbee when he died on 13 May 1932.

On the invitation of the Delegates I undertook the revision and completion of the work. I had not seen the notes before they were sent to press, and I made myself responsible for them in their final form. There were problems which required further investigation for their solution, there were letters which on examination had to be transposed in date, there were additions to be made in the light of fuller knowledge, and, in order that the notes might not run to excess, some excisions seemed desirable. The result on balance has been a reduction in the amount of annotation.

While Dr Toynbee had been engaged in the preparation of the notes, there had been, in general, a division of labour between us. As is explained more fully in the Introduction, Dr Toynbee was responsible for the verification of the text of the letters of which the originals are extant, while I made it my task to determine, as far as possible, the dates of letters for which there was not positive evidence. In the substance of the notes it may

Preface

be said that, for the most part, the notes on public characters and events, on quotations traced to their source, on plays and actors, on music and musicians were written by Dr Toynbee. The notes on Cambridge and on persons and events in the University or the Colleges were generally contributed by myself or based on material which I had supplied. For most of the notes on the composition and publication of Gray's poems as well as of the poems written by West and Mason I was responsible.

At an early stage of the work it was realized that there were some subjects to which allusions were made in more than one letter, for which it was advisable to have a continuous treatment in the form of appendixes. By this means the notes were lightened and a separate discussion was possible of problems for which the evidence was derived from different letters. Other appendixes give the authentic text of documents relating to Gray. The appendixes have the initials of Dr Toynbee or myself: those with both initials were originally written by Dr Toynbee and revised or amplified by me. Dr Toynbee also drew up Genealogical Tables of Gray and of some of his friends.

I have written a brief introduction, drawn up a list of the letters, and given a table of the chief events in Gray's life. In the Introduction some account is given of the previous editions of Gray's letters (based in part on materials left by Dr Toynbee), of the sources, manuscript or printed, of the letters, and of the chief sources of information from which the notes are compiled.

In the choice of illustrations I have been fortunate to light on the portraits of some of Gray's friends painted at the time when he knew them, which have not been reproduced before. There does not seem to be any portrait of Thomas Wharton in existence, and the portrait of Norton Nicholls, which was included in Dawson Turner's sale in 1859, cannot be traced. To the owners of pictures and facsimiles grateful acknowledgement is made in the Lists of Illustrations printed in the different volumes.

While the book was passing through the press, the proof-sheets were read by Dr R. W. Chapman and Dr L. F. Powell, who made many suggestions for the improvement of the notes and were unwearied in their researches on obscure points, as well as by Mr W. S. Lewis, of Farmington, Connecticut, who has applied his special knowledge of Horace Walpole to the elucidation of many problems, and by Mr F. G. Stokes, who had given valuable help to Dr Toynbee and to whom I am indebted for many criticisms and suggestions.

Preface

Acknowledgement of help from many sources is made below. For information on special subjects, I must thank the Earl and Countess of Sandwich for notes concerning Miss Speed; Sir Frank Mackinnon for notes on the franking of letters, Mr. D A Winstanley, Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, for notes on the contest for the High Stewardship at Cambridge (see Appendix P), Mr A Watkin-Jones of Exeter College, Oxford, for notes on the relations between Gray and Thomas Percy (see Appendix N) as well as for tracing the originals of six letters of Gray in the United States. With Professor Roger Martin, Maître de Conférences at Montpellier University, who has recently published his *Essai sur Thomas Gray*, I have been in correspondence for some years, and I owe to him many valuable suggestions.

Miss E G Withycombe, of the Clarendon Press, undertook the exacting task of collating the text of the letters with the photographs or rotographs of the originals, and thus provided an additional check on the accuracy of the transcription. To her also I am indebted for compiling the Indexes and for much help in verifying references, &c. Mr F Page, of the Oxford University Press in London, was of great assistance in searching the newspapers and magazines for information on various points, and for collating the text of some letters. To the readers of the Press I am obliged for the care with which they read the proofs.

LEONARD WHIBLEY.

THE DIAL HOUSE
FRENTHAM, SURREY

September, 1935

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For further assistance of various kinds, some of which is specifically mentioned in the body of the work, my acknowledgements are due to Mr. P J Anderson, formerly Librarian of Aberdeen University, the late Mr A L Attwater, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Mr R A Austen Leigh, Mr H I Bell, Keeper of MSS at the British Museum, Mr B Benham, formerly Assistant Registry of Cambridge University; Professor Edward Bensly, Mr W L M Benson and Mr E G Benson, Mr John Beresford, Mr Reginald Blunt, Mr Henry Broadbent, Librarian of Eton College, Dr Arnold Chaplin, Harveian Librarian of the Royal College of Physicians, Professor A C Clark, of Oxford, Mr C H Crouch, of Wanstead, Mr Ivor Crouch, Secretary of the London Assurance, Mr P J Dobell, M F Dominicé, of Geneva, Rev J Kestell Floyer, of Esher, Professor Cesare Foligno, of Magdalen College, Oxford, Dr René Galland, of Bordeaux University, the late Mr J Herbert H Gossett, Mr H C Green, of Messrs J C and J Field, Mr H M Hake, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, the Dowager Viscountess Harcourt, Viscount Harcourt, Mr E Harrison, Registry of Cambridge University, the late Rev M J B Hayter, Master of the Charterhouse, Mr Edward Hepburn, Dr M R James, O M, Provost of Eton, Miss Kathleen A Jones, of St Albans, Professor W Powell Jones, of the Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Mr Charles Ker, LL D, of Glasgow, Dr Keynes, formerly Registry of Cambridge University, Mr H S Kingsford, of the Society of Antiquaries, Mr W S Lewis, of Farmington, Connecticut, the late Mr Falconer Madan, F S A, former Bodley's Librarian, the late Dr A. H. Mann, Organist of King's College, Cambridge, Mr W Westley Manning, Mr W A Marsden, Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum, Dr Roger Martin, of Montpellier University, the late Mr Percival Merritt, of Boston, Mass, Professor Ellis H Minns, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, the late Sir John Murray, Lt -Col Sir John Murray, of Albemarle Street, Mr A E

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INTRODUCTION

PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF GRAY'S LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

MASON

WHEN Gray died he left to William Mason, who had been one of his closest friends, 'all his books, manuscripts, & papers of all kinds to preserve or destroy at his own discretion' Within a few months of Gray's death Mason had decided to publish an edition of Gray's poems and to write his life The inception and progress of his book can be traced in letters written by Mason to three of his friends, Edward Bedingfield, Horace Walpole, and Richard Hurd¹ In January 1772 he wrote to Bedingfield 'I beleive also on the last page of the pamphlet [the first part of *The English Garden*] I shall pledge myself to the publick as preparing for the press the Life of M^r Gray in w^{ch} his fragments &c will be inserted'

The plan of his work was to select such letters, or parts of letters, of Gray as, with the assistance of a few notes, would 'give a regular and clear delineation of his character', and so 'M^r Gray will become his own biographer' Mason had ample materials Among Gray's papers he found Gray's letters to his father and mother, letters to West and from West: he had Gray's letters to himself, and Gray had kept many which Mason had written to him Walpole and Wharton gave him a free choice of the letters that Gray had written to them, and if one

¹ See *The Correspondence of Horace Walpole and the Rev William Mason*, edited by the Rev J Mitford, London, 1851, and *The Correspondence of Richard Hurd and William Mason*, edited by Leonard Whibley, Cambridge, 1932 The originals of Mason's letters to Bedingfield are in the Henry E Huntington Library at San Marino, California Edward Bedingfield (see Letter 210, n 1), an intimate friend of Mason, and a great admirer of Gray, lived in York, and, as we learn from Mason's letters to him, Bedingfield had seen through the press the editions of Mason's *Poems* which were published in 1771 and 1773 As soon as he was ready to print the *Memoirs* Mason sought Bedingfield's help 'Prepare yourself for fresh Labour', he wrote in March 1773, 'I will not call it trouble, because I know you cannot think it such, when I tell you it is to revise My Memoires of M^r Gray, w^{ch} I mean to put to the press when I come to York in May' Later letters show that throughout the work Mason relied on Bedingfield's assistance He welcomed notes which Bedingfield inserted, and in Gray's fragmentary poem on *The Alliance of Education and Government* he altered the original text by substituting in the last line but one for Gray's 'distant' Bedingfield's suggestion of 'neighboring' 'Your epithet is for the better', Mason wrote

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or two of Gray's friends were unwilling for letters written to them by Gray to be published, Mason could draw on many others, Stonhewer, Palgrave, Beattie, Nicholls, and How

Mason's plan was a good one and his material was abundant, but he spoilt his plan and wasted his material by falsifying the text of Gray's letters. He printed in all 130 'letters', 113 from Gray, 16 from West to Gray, and 1 from Algarotti.¹ Of about half of these (among them 53 out of the first 58), including Gray's letters to his father and mother, nearly all the letters that passed between Gray and West, and letters to Stonhewer and Palgrave, we have only the text that Mason printed. Of the rest the originals are in existence and we can trace Mason's treatment of them. Few are faithful to the original text. Mason omitted passages, and inserted phrases of his own to fill the gaps that he had made, or to cover the lack of connexion. At the outset of his work he stated 'I will promise my reader that he shall, in the following pages, seldom behold Mr. Gray in any light than that of a Scholar and Poet'. This consideration moved him to represent Gray as maintaining a blameless decorum. Gray wrote in a colloquial style, with a sprinkling of slang. Mason altered all this 'do not' for 'don't', 'written' for 'wrote', 'boast' for 'brag', 'simpleton' for 'oaf' are instances of his futility. Less trivial changes of Gray's phraseology may be traced by comparing Mason's text with that of the letters, from which the passages were taken (see Letter 218, nn 2, 4).

A more serious corruption which impairs the value of Mason's text as a record of what Gray did or said at any particular date was due to his combining passages from different letters in a patchwork of his own and representing the combinations as actual letters. There are 30 'letters' printed by Mason, which we know were compounded of parts taken from 70 genuine letters, fragments from 2, 3, 4, or 5 letters being patched together. As the parts which Mason combined were taken from letters of different dates, the date which he arbitrarily gave to the combination could not be right for all of them, and sometimes by his negligence or ineptitude was not right for any of them. The fragments that were joined together might have intervals of years between them, and, so far as they

¹ These numbers do not include a note of Lady Schaub to Gray (Letter 154*) which was printed in Mason's narrative (*Memoirs*, p 211), nor fragments of letters from and to Gray, which were printed in notes to the *Memoirs* or the *Poems*.

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recorded facts, the facts were distorted in date, parts of letters to different correspondents were sometimes combined. If necessary the text was altered to conceal the falsification.¹ As we have positive evidence of Mason's treatment of letters of which the originals survive, we can have no assurance that the other letters were printed as Gray wrote them.²

Mason did not wish that the liberties which he had taken should be detected; he was therefore anxious that the original letters which had been lent to him should be destroyed. He seems to have urged Walpole to burn Gray's juvenile letters, but compromised on 'the infantine beginnings and conclusions of some of them' being erased (see Letter 1, n 2, and *Walpole-Mason Correspondence*, vol 1, pp 115, 117). Wharton let Mason have the letters which Gray had written to him. Mason before he returned them erased or cut out names (see Letter 120, n 2), and when Wharton died expressed his indignation that the letters had not been burnt.³ His principles were baldly stated in a letter to Norton Nicholls (dated 31 Jan 1775).⁴

'M^r Mason returns many thanks to M^r Niccols for the use he has permitted him to make of these Letters. He will find that much liberty has been taken in transposing parts of them &c for the press, and will see the reason for it, it were however to be wished that the originals might be so disposed of as not to impeach the Editors fidelity, but this he leaves to M^r Niccols discretion, for People of common sense will think the Liberty he has used very Venial'

¹ A signal instance of Mason's method is afforded by the last letter in his collection (*Memoirs*, pp 394-5). It purports to be the last letter written by Gray to Thomas Wharton. Mason dated it May 24, 1771, which was the date of Gray's authentic last letter to Wharton (553). His fabrication begins with the second paragraph of a letter of 24 Aug 1770 (530). This is followed by the last sentence from Gray's letter to Wharton of 2 Feb 1771 (542) and two sentences from the letter of 24 May 1771, after which a sentence from a letter to Norton Nicholls of 20 March 1770 (513) is intruded, and the letter concludes with a sentence from the letter to Wharton of 24 May 1771. In all of the extracts Mason has introduced purposeless changes in Gray's phraseology.

A comparison of Mason's 'letter' of Gray to himself, dated Dec 19, 1757 (*Memoirs*, pp 25-9), with the five actual letters (257, 265, 266*, 269, 275) from which he selected his extracts gives further illustration of his patchwork and his garblings. Another composite letter to Wharton, dated June 22, 1760 (*Memoirs*, pp 276-8), is made up of parts of letters written in July 1759, January, April, and June 1768 (296, 308, 311, 313).

² Internal evidence points to other instances of letters being combined (see preliminary notes to Letters 62, 110, 133).

³ See Dr Toynbee's letter to *The Times Literary Supplement* of 7 Feb 1929.

⁴ Printed from the original letter in the possession of Captain F. L. Pleadwell of Washington, D C.

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As Mason was convinced of 'the impropriety of keeping letters' we cannot doubt that he exercised the discretion allowed to him by Gray's will to destroy many letters which were in his control. It may be assumed that letters which Gray wrote to his mother from Eton and Cambridge,¹ as well as those which he wrote from abroad, and the letters which passed between Gray and West came into Mason's possession and were burnt by him. With the exception of two letters to West, both of which contained verse translations by Gray (22 and 105), the only letters which Mason kept were those which Gray wrote to Mason and some of his own to Gray.

Mason's work was published in March 1775

The Poems of Mr Gray To which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life and Writings by W Mason, M A 4to York Printed by A Ward, and sold by J Dodsley, Pall-Mall, London, and J Todd, Stonegate, York, MDCCLXXV

A second edition was printed in London and published in June 1775. One correction was made in the notes to meet Hurd's protest (see Letter 247, n. 5), and there were a few minor corrections and additions in the notes.

In 1778 Mason published an edition in 4 vols., 8vo. He stated in the Advertisement: 'There is little alteration in this pocket edition from the two in quarto which preceded it, except that the Poems of Mr Gray are here placed before the Memoirs of his Life.'

THE WORKS OF LORD ORFORD

The Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford, 5 vols., 4to, London, MDCXCVIII

This publication was edited nominally by Robert Berry, but in reality by his daughter, Mary Berry. In vol. iv there are two letters from Walpole and Gray to West (83, 92), and in vol. v nineteen Letters of Gray to Walpole (in whole or in part) and six letters of Walpole to Gray. The originals of some of these letters are extant, and these show that Miss Berry was generally accurate in her transcription.

¹ Mason printed no letters of Gray to his parents except those written from abroad. Gray's life at Eton was dismissed in four lines (*Memoirs*, p. 3), his life at Cambridge was illustrated by letters to West and Walpole. The disproportion in Mason's treatment of the different periods of Gray's life is shown by the fact that to the eight years covering Gray's first residence at Cambridge, his foreign tour, and the year after his return he devoted two-fifths of the space occupied by the whole biography.

Introduction

MATHIAS

The Works of Thomas Gray with Memoirs of his Life and Writings by William Mason to which are subjoined Extracts Philological, Poetical and Critical from the Author's original Manuscripts selected and arranged by Thomas James Mathias 2 vols 4to London, 1814

The first volume contained a reprint of Mason's *Poems and Memoirs*, with seventeen of Gray's letters to Walpole, which had appeared in the *Works of Lord Orford*, and the *Letter occasioned by the death of the Rev Norton Nicholls*, which Mathias had written in 1809. The second volume contained extracts from Gray's Commonplace-book and from Gray's notes on the *Systema Naturæ* of Linnæus written in his interleaved copy of that work.

MITFORD

In 1814 the Rev John Mitford began the publication of his works relating to Gray,¹ the last of which was published in 1853. They were as follows:

- 1 *The Poems of Thomas Gray, with critical notes, a Life of the Author and an Essay on his Poetry* 8vo London, 1814

The *Life of Gray* with Appendixes of biographical or literary interest was reprinted, with some changes and with variations in the Appendixes, in Mitford's later editions of Gray's works.² It added much to the meagre biography of Mason.

- 2 *The Works of Thomas Gray, in 2 vols* 4to London, 1816.

The first volume contained the poems and the life, &c, the second volume contained the letters 'with important additions and corrections from his own Manuscripts Selected and edited by the Rev John Mitford'.

¹ In the Harvard College Library are two volumes of manuscript letters addressed to Mitford (formerly owned by Sir William Alexander Fraser), lettered 'Correspondence Papers &c Relating to Gray, vol 1, 1812-15, vol 11 1816-43'. The letters throw light on the preparation of Mitford's editions of Gray's Works, 1816, 1835-6. There are also letters of Mitford to Dyce in the Dyce Collection at South Kensington referring to the edition of 1835-6.

² To a second edition of Gray's *Poems*, edited by the Rev James Moultrie, and published at Eton in 1747, Mitford contributed 'An original Life of Gray (written expressly for this edition)'. He added a good deal of fresh matter to the *Life* that had appeared in his earlier editions. The text has many careless misprints.

Introduction

Mitford thus described the contents of the second volume

'The second volume contains all the letters of Gray which were published by Mr. Mason, together with those subsequently printed in the works of Lord Orford, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In addition to these, the editor has been enabled, by the kindness of Richard Wharton, Esq., to enrich his work with many original letters from Gray to his most intimate and respected friend, Dr. Wharton.'

Herein lay the importance of the publication. Mitford printed ninety letters from Gray to Wharton, and claimed that the volume 'enables the public for the first time to read the genuine and uncorrupted correspondence of Gray, exactly in his own language and printed from his own manuscripts'. He denounced Mason's corruption of the letters that he had printed 'in almost all, he has altered the style, and changed, in a greater or less degree, the truth and character of the original composition'.

- 3 From 1828 Mitford was engaged in preparing a new edition of the poems and letters. It was ultimately arranged that the book should be published in Pickering's Aldine series.

The Works of Thomas Gray 4 vols Sm 8vo London, 1835-6¹

In this edition Mitford added six letters to Wharton, six to Chute, and single letters to five other correspondents; he printed also in the fourth volume letters written by James Brown and others after Gray's death.

In the Advertisement Mitford stated that he had been 'permitted to peruse the very valuable correspondence' between Gray and Nicholls, which was in the possession of Dawson Turner, a relative of Nicholls, and he expressed the hope that this might be published.

- 4 This correspondence 'at the kind suggestion of Mr. Rogers' Mitford was allowed to publish in 1843.

The Correspondence of Thomas Gray and the Rev. Norton Nicholls
Sm 8vo London, 1843 [This was printed also as vol. v of the Aldine edition.]

This contains thirty-two letters from Gray to Nicholls and twelve from Nicholls to Gray, as well as letters to and from

¹ The different volumes were dated as follows: vol. i. 1836 (but as the Advertisement is dated April 1837, it could not have been published until some time in 1837), vols. ii and iii, 1835, vol. iv 1836.

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Nicholls after Gray's death and *Reminiscences of Gray* by Nicholls
There were also two letters of Gray to Walpole

- 5 In 1850 Mitford, who had already been entrusted with the letters of Mason to Walpole for publication, was informed that the corresponding letters of Walpole to Mason were in possession of the Rev William Alderson, son of Christopher Alderson, whom he had succeeded in the rectory of Aston (see Letter 453, n 7) These letters were also put at his disposal, and he was thus enabled to publish.

The Correspondence of Horace Walpole and the Rev William Mason
2 vols 8vo. London, 1851

The correspondence is of value as it throws light on the composition of the *Memoirs*, on the choice of letters to be inserted, and on letters which Mason did not print and presumably destroyed Walpole's account of the quarrel with Gray at Reggio is given at length

- 6 Mr Granville Penn, of Stoke Park, had collected manuscripts of Gray after they were first sold by auction in 1845 He gave Mitford access to letters from and to Gray,¹ which Mitford printed in his last book

The Correspondence of Thomas Gray and William Mason, with Letters to the Rev James Brown, D D, Master of Pembroke College 8vo London, 1853

In 1855 the book was reissued with sixty pages of 'Additional Notes', in which Mitford corrected many errors in the text and notes of the first issue The book made an important addition to Gray's correspondence It contained seventy-one letters from Gray to Mason, twenty-four from Mason to Gray, and thirty-six from Gray to Brown with some other letters In the Preface Mitford wrote that he still had 'some materials, partly relating to Gray and partly to those connected with him, that may serve to illustrate what is already published' These

¹ In a 'Catalogue Briefly Descriptive of Various Books and Original Manuscripts of the Poet Gray', issued as a preliminary to an intended sale of Mr Penn's collection in 1851, there is a note 'The fact of so little justice being done to Gray's memory by his Correspondence, as printed in the work of Mason, has induced the Proprietor of this Collection to afford every facility to the Rev John Mitford to gather from the whole, whatever might be considered useful for further illustration of the Poet's Character and Writings, and with this view the Correspondence has recently been announced by the Rev Editor for publication'

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materials remained in his note-books until they were published by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends* (see below)

Mitford's lifelong labours on Gray's correspondence were of signal value. He published in all about 350 letters of Gray and about 50 letters from West, Mason, and Nicholls to Gray. He was the first to bring to light and to print from the originals the letters to Wharton, Nicholls, Mason, and Brown. For many of the letters to Brown, for the letters from Nicholls to Gray, and for some letters which he left unpublished in his note-books we still depend upon Mitford's printed or manuscript text.

In addition, Mitford was an industrious collector of information relating to Gray: he had read widely in the memoirs and letters of Gray's time, he had sought the help of those who still preserved traditions of Gray which they had received from his contemporaries. This information he used in his *Life of Gray* and in the notes with which he illustrated the letters.

While we recognize the great contribution which Mitford made to our knowledge, there are defects which detract from the value of his work. The text of the letters, as printed, has many inaccuracies: many mistakes were made in his transcription or his proof-reading: he left obvious errors uncorrected, and many reappeared in editions which were stereotyped. Important words were occasionally omitted to the detriment of the sense. Mitford's text is so often proved wrong by a comparison with the originals, that in letters for which we have no other authority it has sometimes seemed necessary to suggest corrections. He did not take trouble to determine the dates of the letters, and left many out of order and some very much out of the reckoning.

GOSSE

Edmund (afterwards Sir Edmund) Gosse contributed to the English Men of Letters Series a *Life of Gray* which was published in 1882. It had been rapidly written between December 1881 and March 1882. The biography has many errors of fact and unwarranted assumptions. Unhappily, it has been accepted as reliable.

Two years later there appeared

The Works of Thomas Gray in Prose and Verse, edited by Edmund Gosse. 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1884.

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The second and third volumes contained the letters written by Gray. Gosse expressed his disappointment that he had not collected 'a sheaf of lost letters', and he was able to add only three letters which had not been published before. He entered on the inheritance of Mitford's labours, and had the advantage of being able to arrange in one sequence the letters which Mitford had gradually brought to light and published in three different collections. He had in the Preface to the *Life* found fault with Mitford for failing to date the letters correctly, but it cannot be said that Gosse made any systematic effort to correct the dates, or to arrange the letters in order.

In printing the letters Gosse 'followed Mitford's latest collations, except as regards the very numerous letters addressed to Wharton'. These, he stated, 'I have scrupulously printed, as though they had never been published before, direct from the originals, which exist, in a thick volume, among the Egerton MSS., in the Manuscript department of the British Museum. The Wharton letters are so numerous and so important, and have hitherto been so carelessly transcribed, that I regard this portion of my labours, mechanical as it is, with great satisfaction'. The statement seems to indicate, without any loophole of ambiguity, that whereas the Wharton letters had been carelessly transcribed before (i.e. by Mitford, for no one else had transcribed them) Gosse was scrupulously printing them 'direct from the originals', and had himself undertaken the mechanical labour of transcription. Gosse's statement was put to the proof by Tovey, who, in an Appendix to the first volume of his edition of *Gray's Letters* (published in 1900), pointed out, with a polite irony, the many coincidences of error in the texts of Mitford and Gosse. These could not be explained on any assumption except that Gosse was reproducing (with occasional corrections) Mitford's text and not that of the original letters. Gosse ignored the exposure, and when two years later he issued a 'Revised edition' of his book, although he made other changes in the Preface, he left the statement that the letters had been printed 'direct from the originals' as he had written it eighteen years before.

The question remained open until in 1931 the Honourable Sir Evan Charteris, in *The Life and Letters of Sir Edmund Gosse* (p. 190), offered the following explanation:

'Unfortunately Gosse had employed some one else to copy the letters in the Egerton MSS., and the copyist, wearying of the script,

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and finding that the letters had been published by Mitford, soon began to copy from the printed word in preference to the MSS. Mitford's edition of the letters differed from the originals, and those differences faithfully reappeared in the work of the copyist Gosse's amanuensis had let him down'

Thus Gosse's reiterated assertion that the Wharton letters had been 'scrupulously printed direct from the originals' and by his own labours of transcription is proved devoid of truth. In the words of his biographer he had 'been deluded into putting forward a claim that turned out not to be justified'

TOVEY

In 1885 seventeen volumes of *Common Place Books and Recollections of the Rev John Mitford*, 1847-56, were acquired by the British Museum (*Add MSS* 32559-32575). The third and fourth volumes contained transcripts of letters and other manuscripts written by Gray, and other notes referring to Gray and his friends. It was chiefly from these notes of Mitford that the Rev Duncan C. Tovey began his long labours on Gray in his book

Gray and his Friends. Letters and Relics in great part hitherto unpublished 8vo Cambridge, 1890

This was followed ten years later by the first volume of his edition of Gray's letters, the other two volumes being published later

The Letters of Thomas Gray, including the Correspondence of Gray and Mason 3 vols 8vo (vol 1, 1900, vol 11, 1904, vol 111, 1912)

With the letters published in *Gray and his Friends*, he added about 20 letters, and printed in all about 370 letters of Gray as well as 24 letters from Mason and 1 from Nicholls to Gray.

He claimed to 'have given a truer text of this collection of letters'. His claim was justified, and in the letters to Wharton he avoided the grosser errors of Mitford and Gosse. He corrected some of the dates that had hitherto been wrongly ascribed, and added many notes of value.

In all his work on Gray, including his edition of Gray's *English Poems* (1898) and his chapter on Gray in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (1913), Tovey showed admirable sense and judgement. On many questions for the determination of which the evidence was not available to him he suggested solutions which were certainly right.

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TOYNBEE

In the course of inquiries for Walpole letters Dr Paget Toynbee discovered in the possession of the late Sir Francis E. Waller, Bart, a collection of letters of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton, which was put at his disposal. These letters with letters of the same correspondents from other sources were published in 1915

The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton (1754-1771)
Chronologically arranged and edited with Introduction, Notes and Index 2 vols 8vo Oxford, 1915

In the collection there were 89 hitherto unpublished letters from Gray to Walpole (32 written while Gray was an undergraduate at Cambridge), 4 from Walpole to Gray, as well as other letters, which had before this been printed in an incomplete form

THE PRESENT EDITION

The present edition was projected by Dr Toynbee. He traced twenty-three letters that had not been published before, three more have come to light since his death. With the new letters first published in *The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton*, and with other letters from printed sources, the edition contains 500 letters or parts of letters from Gray, and 86 letters to Gray from West, Walpole, Mason, Nicholls, and other correspondents

Text The text of the letters, for which Dr Toynbee was responsible, is that of the original manuscripts so far as they have been available. Nearly three-fourths of the letters have been printed from the originals, either from photographic reproductions or from transcripts made by Dr Toynbee and others for the purpose of this edition, or transcripts made at an earlier date for *The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton*, edited by Dr Toynbee (1915), or for *The Correspondence of Richard Hurd and William Mason*, edited by Leonard Whibley (1932). The text is printed as Gray or his correspondents wrote it, with the spelling, punctuation, use of capitals, and abbreviations of the originals. The text printed from the transcripts of the manuscripts has been carefully checked, while the book was in proof, and every endeavour has been made to insure its fidelity. It must be remembered that in all handwriting there

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are possible ambiguities, which may be differently interpreted. Of the letters of which the originals have not been traced the text now printed is that of the first printed versions or of transcripts made by Mitford and others. The most important printed sources are Mason's *Memoirs*, the *Works of Lord Orford*, and Mitford's different collections, of which some account has been given above. With the knowledge that we possess of the neglect of Mason and Mitford to transcribe correctly, we have no reason to accept as Gray's text obvious mistakes, which they printed. Errors in Greek, Latin, or French have generally been corrected. If the correction is serious it is mentioned in the notes, but misspellings and false accents have been corrected *sub silentio*. It has seemed possible to detect more serious mistakes in Mitford, and attention has been called to such as seemed capable of correction. In particular he appears to have been at fault in deciphering obliterated passages in Gray's letters to Brown.

Some letters are reprinted from the *Gentleman's Magazine* (380, 399*), others from books not directly concerned with Gray: part of a letter to Christopher Anstey (343) from John Anstey's *Life of his father*, letters to Bonstetten (515, 520, 523) from Friedrich Matthisson's *Auserlesene Gedichte*, one letter to Beattie (444) and one from him, from Sir William Forbes's *Life and Writings of James Beattie*, other letters are derived from the Catalogues of Auction Sales or of Booksellers. It is always possible that other letters of Gray may come to light.¹

List of Letters It was necessary at an early stage of the work to make a provisional list of letters, with numbers in sequence. The discovery of new letters, the transposition of letters owing to the correction of the dates previously attached, the decision taken, when the work had been some time in progress, to insert in the text notes on non-extant letters, made it necessary to use

¹ Dr Clerke and the Rev William Robinson were intimate friends of Gray. Mason printed one letter to Clerke, but there were many others (see preliminary note to Letter 318). Robinson declined to help Mason, when he was writing the *Memoirs* (see preliminary note to Letter 380), one letter to him was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Dr Toynbee was informed by Mr A. K. Carlyon of Roselyon, Harrow on the Hill, that he had heard that a packet of letters from Gray to Thomas Carlyon (see Letter 136, n. 3) had been preserved at Tregehan, the family seat, and that in one of them, 'Gray described with much vigour of language the practical joke played upon him at Peterhouse, which led to his removal to Pembroke Hall'. In spite of a careful search at Tregehan no trace of them has been found. There are also said to have been letters from Gray to Algarotti in existence.

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starred numbers to mark changes after the original list had been drawn up ¹

Non-extant letters Notes are inserted, in the text, describing letters known to have been written by Gray at an approximately certain date of which mention is made in extant letters or in the letters of his correspondents. The notes are given numbers in chronological sequence. It has not seemed advisable generally to insert notes of letters written to Gray, with the following exceptions

- 1 Letters from West to which reference is made in Gray's letters to him are noted to show, as far as possible, the complete correspondence
- 2 In cases in which it is known that on some particular occasion many letters passed of which only some have survived the missing letters are noted, in order to make it easier to understand the letters which are extant. This is the case with letters concerning the publication of Bentley's *Designs* (169** ff), and with letters concerning the offer of the Laureateship to Gray (258* ff)
- 3 Letters are noted of which the contents are known, as the Duke of Grafton's letter to Gray (478) and Cole's letter to Gray of 22 Dec 1770 (538), to which Gray's letter of the same date (539) is a reply

Dating of Letters A consistent effort has been made to fix the correct dates of the letters, or, where this is not possible, to determine the approximate dates. Gray himself was erratic in dating his letters: sometimes he gives a precise date, but he might omit the year, or the day of the month, sometimes he combines the day of the week with the year, sometimes, as is only to be expected, he made mistakes ². Mason, apart from his combination of parts of letters of different dates, sometimes inserted dates many of which are demonstrably inaccurate ³. Wharton endorsed many letters, apparently a long time after they were written, with the dates of the years (in some cases with an alternative), but his memory was often at fault, and correction is necessary ⁴.

¹ Three numbers in the list, 205A, 261A, 511A, are attached to copies of poems and to part of Gray's *Journal in the Lakes and Yorkshire*, which were not letters. The reasons why they are printed are stated in the notes.

² Mistakes in the year will be found in Letters 353, 354, in the month in Letters 193, 266*, in the day in Letters 6, 10.

³ Instances of Mason's errors occur in Letters 26, 43, 379.

⁴ Wharton's endorsements are wrong in Letters 115, 116, 123, 137, 163, 169*.

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For the purpose of this edition the dates of Gray's residence at Cambridge have been traced, and thus a most important clue for dating many letters has been supplied. College records, which determine, within narrow limits, the date of Gray's return to Cambridge on different occasions, the duration of his residence, and the date of his departure, are still in existence. At Peterhouse the book of accounts for 'Hall Commons' (i. e. for dinners and suppers in Hall) shows the charges made to those resident for each week or half-week, and makes it possible to determine within a margin of two or three days whether Gray was in Cambridge at any particular time. In the same way, after Gray had migrated to Pembroke, the Butler's book of 'Sizings for Bread and Ale' contains against the names of all members on the Boards marks for each week, showing within a day or two the details of their residence. From these records, combined with references in Gray's letters or his pocket-books, and in other documents, a chart of his life has been drawn up, which shows, as far as our information goes, where he was from day to day for the greater part of his life. This chart has been used in drawing up the Chronological Table printed below.

Postmarks, where they are found on the outside of extant letters, afford positive evidence of date. It is to be noted that generally, when Gray was writing from Cambridge or elsewhere out of town, the postmark is a day later than the day of writing. This is not invariably the case, and letters from London often bear the postmark of the day when the letter was written.

Internal evidence, such as reference to events of which the date is known, the connexion of allusions in one letter with those in another, is of great importance. It is unnecessary to illustrate this in detail, but mention may be made of the dates of publication of books mentioned in the letters, which is sometimes decisive.

The application of these methods of external and internal evidence has enabled a more correct and more precise dating of the letters than has hitherto been possible. Letters have been transferred in date, very many dates of letters hitherto accepted have been corrected, and many letters dated vaguely by the year or month have had the dates more nearly determined. The dates of some sixty letters in all have been altered or more closely defined. It has not, of course, been possible to settle the dates of all letters: some can only be conjecturally dated, the dates of some few remain uncertain.

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Gray's Handwriting It seems doubtful whether, except for the letters written during Gray's first residence, any certain inference of date can be drawn from the handwriting Gray seems to have fixed his handwriting during his foreign tour, and it would probably be difficult to trace any distinct variation thereafter He wrote with a small crow-quill (as Cole informs us), and this enabled him to maintain the regularity of his small, neat script If the pen that he used were broader or softer, this would affect his writing it is noteworthy that the addresses on the outside of his letters are written in a larger and bolder hand, and for these he may have used an ordinary goose-quill In some letters, written in the last year or two of his life, there are differences traceable, which may have been due to illness The specimens of his handwriting, reproduced in facsimile in this work, have been chosen to enable the opinion that has been advanced to be tested.

Notes. The notes are intended to comment on the men or things that interested Gray, to give an account of his friends and acquaintances, to explain his allusions to events, whether in public affairs or in college life, to illustrate his journeys, to trace the composition and publication of his poems, and to discuss his references to books, plays, and operas The sources from which information has been particularly derived are given below Gray's own manuscripts have been constantly used College records are important to explain college events contemporary correspondence, whether published or unpublished, is of great value in illustration or explanation It is only right to record that any one who studies Gray's letters is under great obligation to the researches of Mitford and Tovey.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LETTERS

The letters to Wharton, except one (268) printed by Mason, of which the original is missing, are in the British Museum (Egerton 2400) with manuscripts of Gray's poems in Gray's or Wharton's handwriting Of the letters to or from Walpole the originals still in existence, except two (119, 167), are in the possession of Sir Wathen Arthur Waller, Bart, at Woodcote, Warwick The letters to or from Mason are in the collection of Mr A T Loyd of Lockinge (with two letters to West and four to Brown) The letters to John Chute are in the possession of Mr. Charles L Chute of the Vyne, Hampshire The letters to Nicholls, except one (477), are

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in the Eton College Library The letters to or from Beattie, of which the originals are extant, are in the Aberdeen University Library The letters to Edward Bedingfield, now printed for the first time, are in the Henry E Huntington Library at San Marino, California The letters from Hurd to Gray are in the library of the Bishop of Worcester at Hartlebury Castle The letters to or from How are in the British Museum (*Add MS* 26889, see Appendix O) ¹

The letters to Brown have been widely dispersed A brief note may be given of their history Mason printed only one letter to Brown (367) this was a formal letter intended to be sent to How, which How kept and put at Mason's disposal It seems probable that Brown was not willing to let Mason publish any other of Gray's letters to him We can trace in all forty-two letters to Brown At some time, possibly after Brown's death, the letters came into Mason's hands, and passed from him to Stonhewer, and from Stonhewer to Mr Bright Thirty-nine of them were included in Mr Bright's sale in 1845, three of these were presented by Captain Montagu Montagu, R N, to the Bodleian Thirty-six were acquired by Mr Penn, and were sold in single lots in 1854

Of the forty-two letters it has been possible to trace the originals of twenty-four, divided among the following owners the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, the Eton College Library, the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the Harvard College Library, Messrs Quaritch, Messrs Maggs, and the Rosenbach Company of Philadelphia and New York

Eight letters to Mary Antrobus and one to her mother were sold at Messrs Sotheby's on 8 July 1915 Photographs of six of the letters to Mary Antrobus were kindly supplied by Mr A E Newton, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and the Rosenbach Company The letter to Mrs Antrobus is in the Charles A Brown Collection of Autographs and Manuscripts at the University of Rochester, New York Of this Mr Robert F Metzdorf has sent a photograph

Other letters, chiefly single letters to different correspondents, are, or were formerly, owned as follows letters to Thomas Percy and James Dodsley, by the British Museum, letters to Walpole, one by Haverford College Library, and one by Messrs Knight, Frank and Rutley, letters to Birkett and Ashby, by Pembroke College, Cambridge, letters to Cole and Stonhewer, by Mr R B Adam, a letter to Robert Dodsley, by Eton College, a letter to Palgrave, by Lady Charnwood, a letter to Alderson, by Canon Rowland A Wilson, one letter to Ashton, by Messrs Quaritch, and one by the Henry E

¹ Photographs or rotographs were obtained of the letters to Wharton, Mason, Bedingfield, Nicholls, of the correspondence with Beattie, of most of the letters to Brown of which the originals have been found, and of other single letters

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Huntington Library, San Marino, California, one letter to Mrs. Jennings, by the Society of Antiquaries, and another by Mr G H Last, a letter from Miss Speed, by the Pierpont Morgan Library, and a letter from Thomas Warton, by Trinity College, Oxford

To the owners, whether institutions or individuals, grateful acknowledgement is due for photographic reproductions or transcripts of letters, and for permission to publish them. Thanks are especially due to Sir Wathen Arthur Waller, Bart, and Mr A T Loyd of Lockinge, for allowing their great collections of original letters to be used and also for settling doubtful points in the manuscripts

Sources of information illustrating the letters

MANUSCRIPTS

1 *Gray's own manuscripts*

(a) Commonplace-book in three volumes. This was left by Mason to Stonhewer, and by Stonhewer to Pembroke College. It contains notes of Gray's reading and copies of most of his own poems, many of them dated, and of poems by Walpole and West. The entries may, with fair probability, be dated approximately as made between 1737 and 1761

(b) Note-books and detached notes made on his travels. There is a note-book of his travels in France, owned by Sir John Murray (printed in Gosse, *Works*, vol 1, pp 237 ff), and detached notes of his travels in France and Italy, in the Morris Collection at Eton (printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp 203 ff). Of his journeys in England and Scotland there are note-books, owned by Sir John Murray, described by Gray as follows: (1) Suffolk 1761, Southampton 1764, Old Park, Hartlepool 1765. (2) Scotland, Glamis 1765, Bishoprick, Old Park &c, Cumberland 1769. (3) Kent, Denton, and Ramsgate, London and Kent 1766, 1768. (4) Cumberland and Westmorland, and Lancashire and Yorkshire 1769.

The note-books generally contain notes on antiquities and natural history. Two of them (2 and 4) have the complete Journal of his Tour in the Lakes and Yorkshire (see Letter 505, n 1).

(c) Various note-books on his reading are in the British Museum, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and elsewhere.

(d) Pocket-diaries. It was Gray's custom for many years to keep a pocket-diary. In these diaries he made notes of the budding and flowering of plants, &c (the source in some instances of the botanical Calendars sent to Wharton). In some years he wrote notes of the symptoms of his ill health in Latin. At intervals he made entries of his receipts and expenses, and these sometimes give us definite dates of his journeys, &c.

After Gray's death Mason found pocket-diaries for twelve years,

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between 1754 and 1770, and wrote brief notes of the contents in blank pages of Gray's Commonplace-book. The diaries seem to have remained at Aston after Mason's death, and Mitford, who visited William Alderson at Aston, quotes from six of them. Two of these, the diaries for 1755 and 1760, are in the Pembroke College Library.

2 College documents

(a) Cook's or Butler's accounts which give records of residence (discussed above)

(b) College Registers or Order Books referring to the transaction of College business, the election of Fellows, &c

(c) College Admission Books giving the dates of admission of students with details of their age, parentage, &c

(d) College books of account, in which, for example, Gray's expenses at Peterhouse and Pembroke are entered, and from which information is derived as to the rooms he occupied in College

(e) The Library Register, still preserved at Pembroke, shows the books borrowed by Gray (many of them while he was still at Peterhouse)

3 Other manuscripts

(a) Cole's voluminous manuscripts in the British Museum contain many references to Gray and his contemporaries. A copy of Mason's *Memoirs* with notes by Cole was lent by Samuel Rogers to Mitford, who printed the notes in Appendix D to the first volume of his edition of *Gray's Works* (1836). Two volumes of Cole's diaries, edited by Mr F G Stokes, have been published.

(b) Mason's Commonplace-book is in the York Minster Library. His letters to Wharton are with Gray's letters to Wharton in the British Museum (Egerton 2400). Mason's letters to Christopher Alderson, his curate at Aston (138 in number), have been lent by their present owner, the Rev Canon Rowland Wilson.

(c) Unpublished notes of Walpole, letters of Mann to Walpole, and a letter of Nicholls to Temple owned by Mr W S Lewis, have been used.

PRINTED SOURCES

Of contemporary writings the letters of Walpole, Mason, Hurd, and others are of obvious importance. The *Gentleman's Magazine* and John Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes* and *Illustrations* present a great deal of information. The London newspapers (most of which were published twice a week) are important for allusions to contemporary events. Cradock's *Memoirs*, Granger's *Letters*, Polwheles's *Traditions and Recollections*, and Egerton Brydges's *Autobiography* contain references to Gray.

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Cantabrigia Depicta, A Concise and Accurate Description of the University and Town of Cambridge (the earliest edition of which, that has been traced, was published in 1763) contains *An Exact List of the Posts, Coaches, Stage Waggon and other Carriers to or from Cambridge*. This is of service in giving the posts and the means of communication between Cambridge and London and elsewhere

Mention should also be made of Mr Ralph Straus's *Robert Dodsley*, which contains *A Chronological List of all the Books published by Robert Dodsley* (1735-64), with the precise date of publication. This has proved of the greatest use in connexion with many books mentioned by Gray

BOOKS QUOTED BY SHORT TITLES

Mason, <i>The Poems of Mr Gray to which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life and Writings</i> First Edition, 1775	Mason, <i>Poems</i> Mason, <i>Memoirs</i>
Mitford, <i>The Works of Thomas Gray</i> , in 2 volumes, 1816	Mitford (1816)
Mitford, <i>The Works of Thomas Gray</i> , 4 vols , 1835-6 the fifth volume containing the correspondence of Gray and Nicholls was added in 1843	Mitford (1835-43).
Mitford, <i>The Correspondence of Thomas Gray and William Mason with Letters to the Rev James Brown</i> , 1853 (second edition, corrected, 1855)	Gray-Mason, 1853
Mitford, <i>The Correspondence of Horace Walpole and the Rev William Mason</i> 2 vols , 1851	Walpole-Mason Correspondence
Gosse, <i>Gray</i> , in <i>English Men of Letters Series</i> , 1882	Gosse, <i>Life</i>
Gosse, <i>The Works of Thomas Gray</i> 4 vols , 1884	Gosse, <i>Works</i>
Tovey, <i>The Letters of Thomas Gray</i> 3 vols (1900, 1904, 1912)	Tovey
Toynbee, <i>The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton</i> 2 vols , 1915	Toynbee (1915) or Gray-Walpole Correspondence
<i>The Correspondence of Richard Hurd and William Mason and Letters of Richard Hurd to Thomas Gray</i> 1932	Hurd-Mason Correspondence

LIST OF LETTERS

THE list of letters indicates the dates when, the places at which the letters were written, and the names of Gray's correspondents to whom, or by whom, each letter was written. Letters to Gray from his correspondents are shown as '*From Walpole*', &c, non-extant letters of which note has been taken in the text have the names of the correspondent in italics.

A further purpose served by the list is to give the source from which the text of each of the letters has been derived. Nearly three-fourths of the letters have been printed from the original manuscripts, (see Introduction). Other letters come from printed sources or from manuscript transcripts of letters of which the originals cannot now be traced.

In the Introduction an account has been given of the chief manuscripts, and acknowledgement has been made to the owners who have allowed their manuscripts to be photographed or copied. A reference to the account will explain the abbreviated form under which the names of institutions or individual owners are indicated in the list.

Of the printed sources the most important are William Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr Gray* (1775), *The Works of Lord Orford* (1798), and the editions in which, at different times, Mitford published Gray's correspondence. Other printed sources include books not directly connected with Gray, Magazines, and Sale Catalogues. Precise indications of the particular editions of Mitford and of other printed sources are given in the preliminary notes to the letters. The transcripts (indicated by T in the sixth column of the list) include two made by Gray himself (58**, 261 A), others made by Cole, Fess, copyists whose names are not known, and seven by Mitford (in one of his note-books now in the British Museum).

[Two numbers survive in the list (387, 396) with no letters attached to them. The letters were transposed in date after the general order had been settled.]

VOLUME I

<i>No of Letter</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Original Source</i>	<i>Printed Source or Transcript</i>
	1734				
1	16 Apr		Walpole	Waller	
2	31 Oct	Cambridge	"	"	
3	17 Nov	"	"	"	
4	8 Dec	"	"	"	
5	Dec	"	"	"	
6	23 Dec	"	"	"	
	1735				
7	6 Jan	"	"	"	
8	12 Jan	"	"	"	
9	14 Jan	"	"	"	
10	19 Jan	"	"	"	
11	21 Jan	"	"	"	
12	27 Jan	"	"	"	
13	4 Feb	"	"	"	
14	25 Feb	"	"	"	
15	5 Mar	"	"	"	
15*	c 1 July	"	<i>From West</i>		
16	3 July	"	Walpole	Waller	
17	c 15 Oct	"	<i>From Walpole</i>		Mrs Toynbee
18	14 Nov	Oxford	<i>From West</i>		Mason
19	c 20 Dec	Cambridge	West		"
	1736				
20	3 Jan	London	Walpole	Waller	
21	11 Mar	Cambridge	"	"	
22	8 May		West	Loyd	
22*	9 May	Oxford	<i>From West</i>		
22**	May	Cambridge	West		Mason
23	24 May	Oxford	<i>From West</i>		"
24	11 June	London	Walpole	Waller	
25	15 July	"	"	"	
26	Aug	Burnham	"	"	
27	26 Sept	"	"	"	
28	3 Oct	London	"	"	
29	8 Oct	"	Birkett	Pemb Coll	
30	Oct	Cambridge	<i>From Birkett</i>	"	
31	12 Oct	London	Walpole	Waller	
32	27 Oct	Cambridge	"	"	
33	Dec	"	West		Mason
34	22 Dec	Oxford	<i>From West</i>		"
35	29 Dec	Cambridge	Walpole	Waller	
	1737				
36	16 Jan	"	"	"	
37	March	"	West		Mason
38	4 July	Oxford	<i>From West</i>		"
39	July	Cambridge	Walpole	Waller	
40	22 Aug	London	West		Mason
41	c 22 Aug	"	Walpole	Waller	

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No of Letter	Date	Place	Correspondent	Original Source	Printed Source or Transcript
1737					
41*	Oct or Nov	London	From West	Waller	Mason
42	c 12 Nov	London	Walpole		
43	2 Dec	Oxford	From West	Waller	
44	29 Dec	Cambridge	Walpole		
1738					
45	10 Jan	"	"	"	Mason
46	15 Jan	"	"	"	
47	22 Jan	"	West	"	
48	21 Feb	London	From West	Waller	
49	23 Feb	Cambridge	Walpole		
50	7 Mar	"	"	"	Mason
51	20 Mar	"	"	"	
52	28 Mar	"	"	"	
53	June	"	West	"	
54	30 June	"	Ashton	Waller	Mitford (T)
55	29 Aug	London	From West		Mason
55*	c 7 Sept	Cambridge	Ashton		Mason
56	Sept	"	West		
57	17 Sept	London	From West	"	
58	19 Sept	"	Walpole	Waller	
58*	Dec	"	West		
1739					
58**	Jan	Epsom	From West	Huntington	Gray (T)
59	1 Apr	Amiens	Mrs Gray		Mason
60	12 Apr	Paris	West		"
61	21 Apr	"	Ashton		Mitford (T)
61*	Apr or May	"	West	Mason	Mason
62	c 15 and 22 May	"	West		
63	29 May	"	Ashton		
63*	June	London	From West		
63**	June	Rheims	West	Mason	Mitford (T)
64	21 June	"	Mrs Gray		
65	July	"	Gray and Walpole to Ashton		
66	25 Aug	"	Ashton		
67	11 Sept	Dijon	Philip Gray	Waller	Mason
68	18 Sept	Lyons	West		"
69	24 Sept	London	From West to Gray and Walpole		Mason
70	28 Sept	"	From West		
71	13 Oct	Lyons	Mrs Gray	"	
72	25 Oct	"	Philip Gray	"	
73	7 Nov	Turin	Mrs Gray	"	
74	16 Nov	"	West	"	
75	21 Nov	Genoa	"	"	
76	9 Dec	Bologna	Mrs Gray	"	
77	19 Dec	Florence	"	"	

Note The dates of letters written by Gray from France and Italy were New Style

List of Letters

No of Letter	Date	Place	Correspondent	Original Source	Printed Source or Transcript
1740					
78	15 Jan	Florence	West	Egerton	Mason
78*	Feb or Mar	London	From West		
78**	Mar or Apr	Florence	West		
79	12 Mar	"	Wharton		
80	19 Mar	"	Mrs Gray		Mason
81	2 Apr	Rome	"		"
82	15 Apr	"	"		"
83	16 Apr	"	Walpole and Gray to West	Quaritch	Orford
84	Apr	London	From West		Mason
85	14 May	Rome	Walpole and Gray to Ashton		
86	20 and 21 May	Tivoli	West		Mason
87	May	Rome	"		"
88	14 June	Naples	Mrs Gray		"
89	5 June (o s)	London	From West		"
90	10 July	Florence	Philip Gray	Chute	"
91	16 July	"	West		"
92	31 July	"	Walpole and Gray to West		Orford
93	21 Aug	"	Mrs Gray		Mason
93*	Aug	London?	From West		
94	25 Sept	Florence	West		Mason
95	9 Oct	"	Philip Gray		"
1741					
96	12 Jan	"	West	Chute	"
96*	c Apr	"	From West		
96**	Apr	London?	West		Mason
97	21 Apr	Florence	Chute		
98	c 1 Sept	Dover	Chute		
99	7 Sept	London	Chute		
99*	Sept	"	From Conway		
1742					
100	28 Mar	Popes	From West	Loyd	Mason
101	c 1 Apr	London	West		"
102	4 Apr	Popes	From West		"
103	8 Apr	London	West		"
104	c 12 Apr	Popes	From West		"
105	23 Apr	London	West		Mason and Prideaux
106	5 May	Popes	From West		Mason
107	8 May	London	West	Chute	"
108	11 May	Popes	From West		
108*	c 20 May	London	Chute		
109	24 May	"	Chute		Mason
110	27 May	"	West		
110*	c 3 June	Stoke	West		Mitford (T)
111	17 June	"	Ashton		
112	July	London	Chute and Mann	Chute	

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<i>No of Letter</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Original Source</i>	<i>Printed Source or Transcript</i>
	1743				
113	25 Oct (1743 or 1744)	Cambridge	Chute	Chute	
114	27 Dec	"	Wharton	Egerton	
	1744				
115	26 Apr	Cambridge	"	Egerton	
	1745				
116	14 Nov	Stoke	"	"	
	1746				
117	3 Feb	Cambridge	Walpole	Waller	
118	28 Mar	"	"	"	
119	7 July	"	"	Haverford	
120	10 Aug	Stoke	Wharton	Lgerton	
121	11 Sept	"	"	"	
122	c 6 Oct	London	Chute	Chute	
123	8 Oct	"	Wharton	Lgerton	
124	12 Oct	Cambridge	Chute	Chute	
125	20 Oct	"	Walpole	Waller	
126	23 Nov	"	Chute	Chute	
127	11 Dec	"	Wharton	Fgerton	
128	22 Dec	"	Walpole		Orford
129	27 Dec	"	Wharton	Egerton	
	1747				
130	Jan	"	Walpole		Orford
131	8 Feb	"	"	Waller	
132	c 15 Feb	"	"	"	
133	c 22 Feb	"	"	"	Mason
134	1 Mar	"	"	"	"
135	17 Mar	"	Wharton	Egerton	
136	26 Mar	"	"	"	
137	c 10 Apr	"	"	"	
138	13 May	Stoke	Walpole	Waller	
139	c 15 June	Cambridge	"	"	Mitford
140	Aug	Stoke	"	Waller	
141	9 Sept	"	"	"	
142	Nov	Cambridge	"	"	Orford
143	30 Nov	"	Wharton	Egerton	
143*	c Dec	"	Whalley		
	1748				
144	Jan or Feb	"	Walpole	Waller (part)	Orford (part)
145	5 June	London	Wharton	Egerton	
146	19 Aug	Stoke	"	"	
147	c 1748	Cambridge	Cole	R B Adam	
147*	c 1748?	"	Chute	Chute	
	1749				
148	9 Mar	"	Wharton	Egerton	
149	25 Apr	"	"	"	
150	8 Aug	"	"	"	
151	7 Nov	"	Mrs Gray		Mason
152	12 Nov	"	Walpole	Waller	

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<i>No of Letter</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Original Source</i>	<i>Printed Source or Transcript</i>
1750					
153	12 June	Stoke	Walpole	Egerton	Orford
154	9 Aug	"	Wharton		Mason
154*	Sept	"	From Lady Schaub		
155	Oct	"	From Miss Speed	Egerton	Mitford (T)
156	18 Dec	Cambridge	Wharton		
1751					
157	11 Feb	"	Walpole	Waller	Orford
158	20 Feb	"	"		
159	3 Mar	"	"	Waller	"
160	16 Apr	"	"		
161	8 Sept	"	"	"	Egerton
162	29 Sept	"	"	"	
163	10 Oct	"	Wharton	Egerton	Waller
164	26 Nov	"	Walpole	Waller	
165	31 Dec	"	"	"	Mitford
165*	c Dec	"	Mason		
1752					
166	9 Apr	London	Wharton	Egerton	<i>The Times</i>
167	28 May	Cambridge	Walpole		
168	8 July	Stoke	"	Waller	Orford
169	July	"	"	Egerton	
169*	29 Sept	"	Wharton		
169**	Nov	London	From Robert Dodsley		
169***	Nov	Cambridge	Dodsley	Waller	
169***	c 15 Dec	London	From Dodsley		
170	17 Dec	Cambridge	Walpole	Egerton	
171	19 Dec	"	Wharton		
1753					
171*	c 11 Feb	London	From Walpole	Eton	Waller
172	12 Feb	Cambridge	Dodsley		
173	13 Feb	"	Walpole	Waller	
173*	c 15 Feb	London	From Walpole		
173**	c 17 Feb	Cambridge	Walpole	Waller	
174	20 Feb	London	From Walpole		
175	27 Feb	Stoke	Walpole	"	Egerton
176	15 Mar	"	Wharton	Egerton	
177	28 June	Cambridge	"	"	Morgan
178	14 July	"	"	"	
179	24 July	Durham	Brown	Loyd	"
180	21 Sept	"	Mason	"	
181	23 Sept	Hull	From Mason	"	Egerton
182	26 Sept	Durham	Mason	"	
183	18 Oct	Stoke	Wharton	Loyd	Brit Mus
184	5 Nov	"	Mason		
184*	c 1754	Cambridge	Brockett		

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<i>No of Letter</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Original Source</i>	<i>Printed Source or Transcript</i>
1754					
185	15 Feb	Cambridge	Walpole	Waller	
186	3 Mar	"	"	"	
187	17 Mar	"	"	"	
188	11 Apr	"	"	"	
189	23 May	"	"	"	
189*	23 May	"	Chute		
190	20 July	Stoke	Wharton	Egerton	
191	13 Aug	"	Wharton		
192	18 Sept	"	"	"	
193	10 Nov	Cambridge	"	"	
194	26 Dec	"	"	"	
1755					
195	1 Mar	London	From Mason	Loyd	
196	9 Mar	Cambridge	Wharton	Egerton	
197	27 June	Hanover	From Mason	Loyd	
198	22 July	The Vyne	Walpole	Waller	
199	6 Aug	Stoke	Wharton	Egerton	
200	8 Aug	"	Walpole	Waller	
201	10 Aug	"	"	"	
202	14 Aug	"	"	"	
203	14 Aug	"	Chute	Chute	
204	21 Aug	"	Stonhewer		Mason
205	21 Aug	"	Wharton	Egerton	
205A			Text of the Bard	"	
206	10 Sept	Tonbridge	From Mason	Loyd	
207	14 Oct	Stoke	Walpole	Waller	
208	18 Oct	"	Wharton	Egerton	
209	26 Nov	Widworth	From Mason	Loyd	
210	25 Dec	Cambridge	Bedingfield	Huntington	
211	25 Dec	London	From Walpole	Waller	
212	25 Dec	Chiswick	From Mason	Loyd	

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No of Letter	Date	Place	Correspondent	Original Source	Printed Source or Transcript
1756					
213	9 Jan	Cambridge	Wharton	Egerton	
214	25 Jan	"	"	"	
215	29 Apr	"	Bedingfield	Huntington	
216	8 June	"	Mason	Loyd	
217	14 June	"	Wharton	"	
218	23 July	Stoke	Mason	Loyd	
219	30 July	"	Walpole	Waller	
220	30 July	"	Mason	Loyd	
221	4 Aug	"	Walpole	Waller	
222	27 Aug	"	Bedingfield	Huntington	
223	29 Aug	"	Walpole	Waller	
224	8 Sept	The Vyne	"	"	
225	12 Sept	"	"	"	
226	19 Sept	"	"	"	
227	21 Sept	"	"	"	
228	15 Oct	Stoke	Wharton	Egerton	
229	12 Nov	"	"	"	
230	19 Dec	Cambridge	Mason	Loyd	
231	29 Dec	"	Bedingfield	Huntington	
1757					
231*	7 Jan	"	From Hurd	Hartlebury	
232	12 Feb	"	Bedingfield	Huntington	
233	17 Feb	"	Wharton	Egerton	
234	3 Mar	"	"	"	
235	11 Mar	London	Walpole	Waller	
236	17 Apr	Cambridge	Wharton	Egerton	
237	23 Apr	"	Mason	Loyd	
237*	c Apr	"	From Hurd	Hartlebury	
238	24 or 31 May	"	Mason	Loyd	
239	11 June	"	"	"	
240	11 July	Stoke	Walpole	"	Orford
241	25 July	"	Brown	Loyd	
242	1 Aug	"	Mason	"	
243	10 Aug	"	Walpole	Waller	
244	10 Aug	"	Bedingfield	Huntington	
245	14 Aug	"	Brown	Morgan	
245*	16 Aug	Cambridge	From Hurd	Hartlebury	
246	17 Aug	Stoke	Wharton	Egerton	
247	25 Aug	"	Hurd	"	Mitford
247*	28 Aug	Cambridge	From Hurd	Hartlebury	
248	7 Sept	Stoke	Mason	Loyd	
249	7 Sept	"	Wharton	Egerton	
250	28 Sept	"	Mason	Loyd	
251	7 Oct	"	Wharton	Egerton	
252	13 Oct	"	Walpole	Waller	
253	13 Oct	"	Mason	Loyd	
254	21 Oct	"	Walpole	Waller	
255	31 Oct	"	Wharton	Egerton	
256	31 Oct	"	Bedingfield	Huntington	

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<i>No of Letter</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Original Source</i>	<i>Printed Source or Transcript</i>
1757					
256*	c 2 Dec	Andover	<i>From Butler</i>	Egerton	Mason
257	8 Dec	Cambridge	Wharton		
258	12 Dec	"	"		
258*	c 13 Dec	London	<i>From Mason</i>	Loyd	
258**	c 15 Dec	Cambridge	<i>Mason</i>		
258*.*	c 17 Dec	London	<i>From Mason</i>		
259	19 Dec	Cambridge	Mason		
260	c 27 Dec	"	<i>Mason</i>		
1758					
261	5 Jan	Syon Hill	<i>From Mason</i>	Loyd	Gray (T)
261A			Gray's Copy of Mason's Ode		
262	13 Jan	Cambridge	Mason	Loyd	Mason
263	16 Jan	Syon Hill	<i>From Mason</i>	"	
263*	c 16 Jan	Cambridge	<i>Butler</i>	Waller	
264	17 Jan	"	Walpole		
265	22 Jan	"	Mason	Loyd	
265*	c 23 Jan	Andover	<i>From Butler</i>	Huntington	
266	31 Jan	Cambridge	Bedingfield		
266*	3 Feb	"	Mason	Loyd	
267	21 Feb	"	Wharton	Egerton	
268	8 Mar	"	"	Loyd	Mason
269	24 Mar	"	Mason		
270	9 Apr	"	Wharton	Egerton	Mason
271	18 June	"	"	"	
272	20 June	"	Mason	Loyd	
273	22 July	Stoke	Walpole	Waller	
273*	Aug	"	Palgrave	Lady Charnwood	
274	9 Aug	"	Wharton	Egerton	
275	11 Aug	"	Mason	Loyd	Mason
276	18 Aug	"	Stonhewer	"	
277	31 Aug	"	Wharton	Egerton	Mason
278	6 Sept	"	Palgrave	"	
279	7 Sept	"	Brown	Harvard	Mitford
280	16 Sept	"	Wharton	Egerton	
281	28 Oct	"	Brown	"	Maggs
282	9 Nov	"	Wharton	Egerton	
283	9 Nov	"	Mason	Loyd	
283*	Nov ?	"	Mary Antrobus	"	
284	Nov	Aston	<i>From Mason</i>	Loyd	
284*	c 28 Nov	Stoke	Mason	"	
285	2 Dec	"	Wharton	Egerton	
1759					
286	18 Jan	London	Mason	Loyd	
287	22 Jan	Aston	<i>From Mason</i>	"	
288	25 Jan	"	"	"	
289	14 Feb	London	Walpole	Waller	

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No of Letter	Date	Place	Correspondent	Original Source	Printed Source or Transcript
1759					
290	15 Feb	London	From Walpole	Waller	Mason
291	1 Mar	Cambridge	Mason	Loyd	
292	10 Apr	London	"	"	
293	3 May	"	Mary Antrobus	A E Newton	
294	28 May	"	Brown	Fitzwilliam Museum	
295	c May?	"	Mary Antrobus		
296	21 July	"	Wharton	Egerton	
297	23 July	"	Mason	Loyd	
298	24 July	"	Palgrave		
299	8 Aug	"	Brown	Loyd	
299*	11 Aug	"	"	"	
299**	c 20 Aug	"	Miss Speed		
300	25 Aug	Stoke	From Miss Speed	Morgan	
301	c 15 Sept	London	Mary Antrobus	Rosenbach	
302	8 Sept	"	Mrs Antrobus	Rochester	
303	18 Sept	"	Wharton	Egerton	
304	6 Oct	Stoke	Mason	Loyd	
304*	27 Oct	London	Mrs Jennings	Antiquaries	
305	24 Nov	"	Mary Antrobus	Rosenbach	
306	28 Nov	"	Wharton	Egerton	
307	1 Dec	"	Mason	Loyd	
1760					
308	23 Jan	"	Wharton	Egerton	Orford
309	c 28 Mar	"	Brown	Pennsylvania	
310	c Apr	"	Walpole		
311	22 Apr	"	Wharton	Egerton	
311*	May	"	Maipherson		
312	7 June	"	Mason	Loyd	
313	c 20 June	"	Wharton	Egerton	
314	27 June	"	Mason	Loyd	
315	29 June	[London]	Stonhewer		
316	26 July	London	Brown		
317	7 Aug	Cambridge	Mason	Loyd	Mason
318	12 Aug	"	Clerke		Mason
319	Aug	Strawberry Hill	From Walpole	Waller	
319*	c 31 Aug	Cambridge	Mason	Loyd	
320	2 Sept	"	Walpole	Waller	
321	21 Oct	London	Wharton	Egerton	
322	23 Oct	"	Brown	Pennsylvania	
323	25 Oct	"	"	Quaritch	
324	c 28 Oct	"	Walpole	Waller	
324*	c Oct	"	Mrs Jennings	Last	
325	8 Nov	"	Brown	Eton	
326	28 Nov	Aston	From Mason	Loyd	

Note For Letters 301, 302 see Addendum in Vol II

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<i>No of Letter</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Original Source</i>	<i>Printed Source or Transcript</i>
	1760				
327	10 Dec	London	Mason	Loyd	Orford
328	Dec	"	Walpole		
	1761				
329	8 Jan	Aston	<i>From</i> Mason	Loyd	Mitford
330	22 Jan	London	Mason	"	
331	31 Jan	"	Wharton	Egerton	
332	9 Feb	"	Brown	Eton	
333	9 May	"	Wharton	Egerton	
333*	May?	"	Walpole	Waller	
334	26 May	"	Brown	Pemb Coll	
335	13 June	"	"	"	
336	23 June	Cambridge	Wharton	Egerton	
337	19 July	"	"	"	
338	20 July	Aston	<i>From</i> Mason	Loyd	Morrison Catalogue K Fess (T)
339	Aug	Cambridge	Mason	"	
340	2 Sept	"	Percy	Brit Mus	
341	Sept ?	"	Anstey	"	
342	8 Sept	London	Wharton	Egerton	
343	10 Sept	"	Walpole	Waller	
344	19 Sept	"	Brown	"	
345	24 Sept	"	"	"	
346	c 20 Oct	"	Mason	Loyd	
347	22 Oct	"	Brown	"	
348	22 Oct	"	Wharton	Egerton	Transcript at Pemb Coll
349	7 Nov	"	Brown	Loyd	
350	13 Nov	"	Wharton	Egerton	Mason
351	8 Dec	Cambridge	Mason	Loyd	
351*	Dec	"	Stonhewer	"	
351**	Dec	"	Walpole	Waller	
	1762				
352	11 Jan	Cambridge	Mason	Loyd	Orford
353	11 Jan	"	Wharton	Egerton	
354	5 Feb	"	Mason	Loyd	
355	11 Feb	"	Walpole	Waller	
356	28 Feb	"	"	"	
357	17 Mar	"	Mason	Loyd	
358	4 June	"	Wharton	Egerton	
359	21 June	"	Mason	Loyd	
360	10 July	York	Wharton	Egerton	
361	19 July	Old Park	Brown	"	Mitford
362	1 Sept ?	"	Mason	Loyd	
363	4 Dec	Cambridge	Wharton	Egerton	
364	21 Dec	"	Mason	Loyd	
	1763				
365	15 Jan	Aston	<i>From</i> Mason	"	Brit Mus Loyd
366	8 Feb	Cambridge	Mason	"	
367	Feb	"	Brown	"	
368	6 Mar	"	Mason	"	

Last of Letters

No. of Letter	Date	Place	Correspondent	Original Source	Printed Source or Transcript
1763					
369	24 Apr	Pisa	From Algarotti	Loyd	Transcript in Brit Mus
370	25 Apr	"	From How	Brit Mus	
371	28 June	York	From Mason	Loyd	
372	July	Cambridge	Mason	"	
373	5 Aug	"	Wharton	Egerton	
374	9 Sept	"	Algarotti	"	
375	10 Sept	"	How	Brit Mus	
376	12 Sept	"	Walpole	Waller	
377	19 Sept	"	"	"	
378	29 Sept	Spa	From How	Brit Mus	
379	8 Oct	Cambridge	Mason	Loyd	Gent Mag
380	10 Oct	"	Robinson	"	
381	8 Nov	Brussels	From How	Brit Mus	
382	Nov	London	How	"	
1764					
383	27 Jan	Cambridge	Walpole	Waller	Mitford "
384	31 Jan	"	"	"	
385	21 Feb	"	Wharton	Egerton	
386	18 Mar	"	Walpole	Waller	
387	No letter corresponding to this number				
388	25 Apr	Cambridge	Walpole	Waller	
389	10 July	"	"	"	
390	10 July	"	Wharton	Egerton	
391	17 Aug	"	Walpole	Waller	
391*	Sept or Oct	London	Mary Antrobus	Pennsylvania	
392	1 or 8 Oct	Southampton	Brown	Brit Mus	
393	13 Oct	"	"	Pennsylvania	
394	25 Oct	London	"	"	
395	29 Oct	"	"	"	
396	No letter corresponding to this number				
397	19 Nov	London	Nicholls	Eton	
398	30 Dec	Cambridge	Walpole	Waller	
1765					
399	17 Jan	"	Mason	Loyd	Gent Mag Mason
399*	March	"	Bentham	"	
400	March	"	Palgrave	"	
400*	14 Apr	"	Walpole	Waller	
401	29 Apr	"	Wharton	Egerton	
402	May?	London	Brown	Pemb Coll	Tovey Forbes
403	20 May	"	"	Bodleian	
404	23 May	"	Mason	Loyd	
405	4 June	York	Bedingfield	Huntington	
406	6 June	"	Wharton	Egerton	
407	8 July	Old Park	Mason	Loyd	
408	22 July	Aston	From Mason	"	
409	15 Aug	Old Park	Brown	"	
410	30 Aug	Aberdeen	From Beattie	"	
411	8 Sept	Glasgow	Beattie	Aberdeen	

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<i>No of Letter</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Original Source</i>	<i>Printed Source or Transcript</i>
	1765				
412	30 Sept	Glamis	Wharton	Egerton	
413	2 Oct	"	Beattie	Aberdeen	
414	2 Nov	London	Brown	Bodleian	
415	8 Nov	"	Mason	Loyd	
416	10 Nov	"	Walpole	Waller	
417	19 Nov	Paris	From Walpole	"	
418	13 Dec	Cambridge	Walpole		Orford
418*	Dec	"	Mary Antrobus	Rosenbach	

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<i>No of Letter</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Original Source</i>	<i>Printed Source or Transcript</i>
1766					
419	25 Jan	Paris	<i>From Walpole</i>		Orford
420	5 Mar	Cambridge	Wharton	Egerton	
421	15 May	London	Brown		Mitford
422	26 Aug	Cambridge	Nicholls	Eton	
421	26 Aug	"	Wharton	Egerton	
424	c 26 Aug	"	Mason	Loyd	
425	23 Sept	"	Nicholls	Eton	
426	24 Sept	"	Walpole	Waller	
426	c 23 Sept	"	<i>Stonhewer</i>		
427*	5 Oct	"	Mason	Loyd	
428	9 Oct	London	"	"	
429	13 Oct	"	Nicholls	Eton	
430	23 Oct	"	Brown		Mitford
431	18 Nov	"	"	Rosenbach	
1767					
432	19 Jan	Cambridge	Nicholls	Eton	
433	27 Jan	"	Mason	Loyd	
434	2 Feb	London	<i>From Mason</i>	"	
435	15 Feb	Cambridge	Mason	"	
436	28 Mar	"	"	"	
437	30 Mar	Aberdeen	<i>From Beattie</i>		Mason
438	1 Apr	Bath	<i>From Mason</i>	Loyd	
439	May	London	Mary Antrobus	Rosenbach	
440	23 May	"	Mason	Loyd	
441	c 28 May	"	Brown		Mitford
442	2 June	"	"		"
443	6 June	"	"		"
444	6 June	"	Mason	Loyd	
445	21 June	Aston	Wharton	Egerton	
446	10 July	Old Park	Mason	Loyd	
447	15 July	York	<i>From Mason</i>	"	
448	19 July	Old Park	Mason	"	
449	26 July	"	"	"	
450	27 July	York	<i>From Mason</i>	"	
451	9 Aug	Old Park	Mason	"	
452	12 Aug	"	Beattie	Aberdeen	
453	11 Sept	"	Mason	Loyd	
454	31 Oct	York	Brown	Maggs	
455	5 Nov	London	Nicholls	Eton	
456	17 Dec	Cambridge	"	"	
457	24 Dec	"	Beattie	Aberdeen	
458	24 Dec	"	Walpole	Waller	
459	28 Dec	"	Wharton	Egerton	
460	31 Dec	"	Nicholls	Eton	
1768					
461	8 Jan	"	Mason	Loyd	
462	12 Jan	"	How	Brit Mus	

List of Letters

<i>No of Letter</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Original Source</i>	<i>Printed Source or Transcript</i>
1768					
463	17 Jan	Cambridge	Wharton	Egerton	
464	28 Jan	"	Nicholls	Eton	
465	c 1 Feb	"	James Dodsley	Brit Mus	
466	1 Feb	"	Beattie	Aberdeen and A H H Murray	
467	3 Feb	"	Nicholls	Eton	
468	14 Feb	"	Walpole		Orford
469	16 Feb	Aberdeen	From Beattie	Aberdeen	
470	18 Feb	London	From Walpole		Orford
471	25 Feb	Cambridge	Walpole		"
472	26 Feb	London	From Walpole		"
473	6 Mar	Cambridge	Walpole		"
474	8 Mar	London	From Walpole	Waller	
475	15 Mar	Cambridge	Wharton	Egerton	
476	27 Apr	London	Brown		Gosse
477	29 May	"	Nicholls		Mitford
477*	27 July	"	From Duke of Grafton		
478	27 or 28 July	"	Duke of Grafton		Mason
479	29 July	"	Mary Antrobus		Mitford
480	1 Aug	"	Wharton	Egerton	
481	1 Aug	"	Mason	Loyd	
482	3 Aug	"	Nicholls	Eton	
483	6 Aug	Blundeston	From Nicholls		Mitford
484	8 Aug	Hornby Castle	From Mason	Loyd	
485	27 Aug	London	Nicholls	Eton	
486	7 Sept	Cambridge	Mason	Loyd	
487	31 Oct		Beattie	Aberdeen	
488	8 Nov		Nicholls	Eton	
488*	Dec		Palgrave		
489	29 Dec		Mason	Loyd	
1769					
490	2 Jan		Nicholls	Eton	
491	26 Jan		"	"	
491*	end Jan		Percy [?]	Brit Mus	
492	Apr	London	Walpole	Waller	
493	20 Apr		Wharton	Egerton	
494	c 20 Apr		Brown		Mitford
495	26 May	Cambridge	Walpole	Waller	
496	7 June		Nicholls	Eton	
497	12 June		Stonhewer		Mason
498	14 June	Blundeston	From Nicholls		Mitford
499	24 June	Cambridge	Nicholls	Eton	
500	3 July	Blundeston	From Nicholls		Mitford
501	16 July	Cambridge	Beattie	Aberdeen	
502	17 July		Wharton	Egerton	
503	26 Aug	Old Park	Mason	Loyd	
504	10 Oct	Lancaster	Brown		Mitford

List of Letters

No of Letter	Date	Place	Correspondent	Original Source	Printed Source or Transcript
1769					
505	18 Oct	Aston	Wharton	Egerton	Mitford
506	29 Oct	Cambridge	"	R B Adam	
507	2 Nov		Stonhewer	Aberdeen	
507*	Nov	Aberdeen	From Beattie		
508	27 Nov	Bath	From Nicholls		
508*	Nov	Cambridge	Wharton	Egerton	
509	2 Dec		Mason	Loyd	
509*	4 Dec	London	From Hurd	Hartlebury	
510	14 Dec	"	Mason	Loyd	
1770					
511	3 Jan	Cambridge	Wharton	Egerton	Sotheby
511A			Continuation of Journal	Murray	
512	6 Jan	Cambridge	Bonstetten and Gray to Nicholls	Eton	
512*	Feb or Mar	"	Lort		
512**	Feb or Mar	London	From Bonstetten		
513	20 Mar	Cambridge	Nicholls	Eton	
513*	Mar 1770 to Apr 1771		From Bonstetten		
514	4 Apr	Cambridge	Nicholls	Eton	
514*	Apr and May		To and from Mason		
515	12 Apr	Cambridge	Bonstetten		
516	12 Apr		Farmer		Sale Catalogue
517	14 Apr		Nicholls	Eton	Transcript in Brit Mus
518	15 Apr		Warton		
519	18 Apr		Wharton	Egerton	Matthiesson
520	19 Apr		Bonstetten		
521	20 Apr	Winchester	From Warton	Trin Coll Oxon	
522	1 May	Aberdeen	From Beattie	Aberdeen	Matthiesson
523	9 May	Cambridge	Bonstetten		
524	22 May	London	Nicholls	Eton	Pennsylvania
525	22 May		Brown		
525*	c 24 May		Mason		Mitford
526	26 May	Blundeston	From Nicholls		
527	c 2 June	Cambridge	Nicholls	Eton	Mason
527*	23 June		Alderson	R A Wilson	
528	24 June		Nicholls	Eton	Mitford
529	2 July		Beattie		
530	24 Aug		Wharton	Egerton	
531	7 Sept		Mason	Loyd	
532	12 Sept		Walpole	Waller	
533	14 Sept		Nicholls	Eton	
534	18 Sept		Walpole	Waller	
535	24 Oct	Cambridge	Mason	Loyd	
536	25 Nov		Nicholls	Eton	
537	28 Nov	Blundeston	From Nicholls		Mitford

List of Letters

<i>No of Letter</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Original Source</i>	<i>Printed Source or Transcript</i>
	1770				
538	22 Dec	Milton	<i>From Cole</i>		
539	22 Dec	Cambridge	Cole		Cole (T)
	1771				
540	26 Jan		Nicholls	Eton	
541	31 Jan	Blundeston	<i>From Nicholls</i>		Mitford
541*	Jan or Feb	Cambridge	Ashby	Pemb Coll	
542	2 Feb		Wharton	Egerton	
543	24 Feb		Nicholls	Eton	
544	8 Mar		Beattie		Forbes
545	16 Mar	Blundeston	<i>From Nicholls</i>		Mitford
545*	17 Mar	Cambridge	Walpole		Mason
545**	c 23 Mar		<i>Walpole</i>		
546	25 Mar	London	<i>From Walpole</i>	Waller	
547	27 Mar	"	<i>From Mason</i>	Loyd	
547*	c 13 Apr	Cambridge	<i>Stonhewer</i>		
548	15 Apr	London	<i>From Mason</i>	I oyd	
549	29 Apr	Blundeston	<i>From Nicholls</i>		Mitford
550	3 May	Cambridge	Nicholls	Fton	
551	14 May	Blundeston	<i>From Nicholls</i>		Mitford
552	20 May	London	Nicholls	Fton	
553	24 May		Wharton	Egerton	
554	27 May	Blundeston	<i>From Nicholls</i>		Mitford
555	22 June	London	Brown	Bodleian	
556	28 June		Nicholls	Eton	
557	29 June	Paris	<i>From Nicholls</i>		Mitford

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

THE following table serves a double purpose

The first column shows where Gray was at different dates it records his places of residence, his journeys, and where he stayed By a reference to this column the place from which any particular letter was written can be traced

The second column gives the more important events in Gray's uneventful life and records the dates of the composition and publication of his works The numbers of the letters are given for some of the entries It should be noted that some of the dates are approximate, and that the time spent on Gray's journeys from place to place is not always stated

1716	26 Dec to	} Living in Cornhill	26 Dec	Born at his father's house in Cornhill		
c 1725						
c 1725 to	} At School at Eton		4 July	Entered at Peterhouse		
1734 Sept				9 Oct	Admitted at Peterhouse	
1735	9 Oct to	} Cambridge	22 Nov	Admitted at Inner Temple		
	31 July					
	31 July to	} London and elsewhere				
	18 Oct					
	18 Oct to 24 Dec	Cambridge				
1736	24 Dec to	} London	9 Feb	Dr Audley's Opinion (App A)		
	23 Jan			12 Feb	His Aunt Sarah Gray died and left him her property	
	23 Jan to	} Cambridge	Mav	<i>Hymeneal</i> on the Marriage of the Prince of Wales in the Cambridge <i>Gratulatio</i> (23)		
	12 Feb					
	12 Feb to 5 Mar	London				
	5 Mar to	} Cambridge				
	6 June					
	6 June to	} London and Burnham				
	22 Oct					
	1737	23 Oct to	} Cambridge	Mar	<i>Luna est habitabilis</i> (Tripos Verses, 35)	
28 July						
		28 July to	} London and elsewhere.			
	15 Nov					
1738	15 Nov to	} Cambridge				
	27 Apr					
		27 Apr to 26 May	London(?)			
		26 May to 14 Sept	Cambridge			
1739	14 Sept to	} London	29 Mar	Began his tour to France and Italy with Walpole (59)		
	18 Mar (O S)					
		29 Mar (N S) ¹ to	} Journey to Paris			
	4 Apr					

¹ The dates during Gray's journey are in New Style.

Chronological Table

1739	4 Apr to 2 June	Paris	
	2 June to 7 Sept	Rheims	
	7-15 Sept	Journey to Lyons	
	13 Sept to	Lyons with excursion to Geneva	
	31 Oct		
	31 Oct	Journey from Lyons to	
	16 Dec		by Turin, Genoa, Bologna to Florence
	16 Dec to	Florence	
1740	21 Mar		
	21-25 Mar	Journey to Rome	
	25 Mar to	Rome with excursions to Tivoli and Naples	
	4 July		
	4-7 July	Journey to Florence	
	7 July to	Florence with excursion to Bologna in Aug 1740	<i>De Principis Cogitandi</i> begun (sometime in 1740)
1741	24 Apr		
	24 Apr to 3 May	To Bologna and Reggio, and at Reggio	c 3 May Quai-rel with Walpole at Reggio
	3 May to 15 July	Venice	
	15 July to	Journey by Padua, to Verona, Milan, Lyons, and Paris to London	21 Aug <i>Ode</i> written in the album at the <i>Grande Chartreuse</i>
	12 Sept		
	1 Sept (O S) to	London with visits (probably to Stoke)	6 Nov Philip Gray died
1742	28 May		Winter (1741-2) <i>Agrippina</i> begun (101)
	28 May to	Stoke	Mar (?) <i>Hymn to Ignorance</i> written
	19 June		1 June West died (110*)
	19 June to c 15 July	London	1 June <i>Ode on the Spring</i> sent to West
	c 15 July to	Stoke and London	Aug <i>Eton Ode</i> , <i>Sonnet on the death of West</i> , and <i>Hymn to Adversity</i> composed
	15 Oct		
	15 Oct to	Cambridge	15 Oct Returned to Peterhouse as a Fellow-commoner
1743	23 June		21 Oct Jonathan Rogers died
	23 June to	Stoke and London	Dec (?) Mrs Gray and Mary Antiochus retired from Cornhill to Stoke
	30 Sept		
	30 Sept to	Cambridge	Dec Admitted to degree of Bachelor of Laws (114)
	8 July		
1744	8 July to	Stoke and London	
	5 Oct		
	5 Oct to	Cambridge	
1745	12 May		
	12 May to	Stoke and London	
	13 Sept		

Chronological Table

- 1745** 13 Sept. to 7 Nov Cambridge
7-22 Nov London and Stoke 8 Nov Reconciliation with Walpole and Ashton (116)
- 1746** 22 Nov to } Cambridge
13 July }
13 July to 10 Oct London and Stoke (with an excursion to Hampton Court and other places (120))
10-30 Oct Cambridge
30 Oct to 15 Nov London
15 Nov } Cambridge (with a to } few days' absence in February)
- 1747** 8 May }
8-22 May Stoke and London
22 May to 16 Aug Cambridge
16 Aug to 23 Oct London, Stoke, Strawberry Hill, &c
23 Oct to } Cambridge
- 1748** 8 Apr }
8 Apr to 5 Nov London and Stoke with visit to Strawberry Hill and perhaps visit to Cobham &c (191, n 22)
5 Nov to } Cambridge
21 May }
21 May to } Stoke and London
27 June }
27 June to 14 Sept Cambridge
14-26 Sept Stoke(?)
26 Sept to 23 Nov Cambridge
- 1749** 23 Nov to } Stoke and London
5 Jan }
5 Jan to } Cambridge
3 June }
3 June }
to } Stoke
15 Nov }
15 Nov to 7 Dec London
- 1750** 7 Dec to } Cambridge
10 Mar }
10-29 Mar London
29 Mar to 6 June Cambridge
- 1 Mar *Ode on the Cat* sent to Walpole (134)
30 May *Eton Ode* published (139)
15 Jan Dodsley's *Collection of Poems* (containing three poems by Gray) published (144)
25 Mar Fire in Cornhill Gray's house burnt (145)
Aug (?) *Alliance of Education and Government* begun (146)
5 Nov Mary Antrobus died (151)
12 June The *Elegy* finished and sent to Walpole (153)
Oct (?) The *Long Story* sent to Lady Cobham (155)
15 Feb The *Elegy* published (157)

Chronological Table

1751	6 June to 2 Sept	Stoke and London	
	2 Sept to	Cambridge (with brief visit to Abbots Ripton in Sept	
1752	2 Apr		
	2-15 Apr	London	
	15 Apr to 21 June	Cambridge	
	21 June	Stoke (with visits to Strawberry Hill and	July or (before) <i>Progress of Poesy</i> begun (169)
	13 Oct	London	
	13 Oct to		
1753	22 Feb	Cambridge	
	22 Feb to	Stoke	11 Mar Mrs. Gray died (176)
	13 Apr		29 Mar <i>Six Poems with Bentley's Designs</i> published (175)
	13 Apr to 16 July	Cambridge	
	16 July to 3 Oct	Trip to the north and visit to Durham	
	3-4 Oct	Cambridge	
	4 Oct to		
	21 Dec	Stoke and London	
	21 Dec to		
1754	21 Jan	Cambridge	
	21 Jan to 8 Feb	London(?)	
	8 Feb to 16 June	Cambridge	
	16 June	Stoke (with tour to Northants, Warwick, &c) and London	
	27 Sept		
	27 Sept to	Cambridge	Dec (or before) <i>Progress of Poesy</i> finished (194)
	20 Dec		
	20-27 Dec	Away from Cam- bridge	
	27 Dec to		
1755	24 Apr	Cambridge	1754-5 <i>The Bard and Ode on Vicissitude</i> begun (196)
			1755 ¹ Offer of Secretaryship to Earl of Bristol at Lisbon declined
	24 Apr to 15 July	London, Stoke, the Vyne, &c	
	15-31 July	The Vyne with trip to Portsmouth, Southampton, Winchester, &c	
	1 Aug	Stoke (with visit to Strawberry Hill) and	
	26 Nov	London	
	26 Nov to		
1756	3 Apr	Cambridge	5 Mar Migration from Peterhouse to Pembroke (214)

¹ Walpole in his brief *Memoir of Gray* (App Y) says in the winter of 1755 the winter of 1754-5 seems to have been meant

Chronological Table

1756	3-8 Apr	London	
	8 Apr to 16 June	Cambridge	
	16 June to 3 Dec	London and Stoke (with visit to Straw- berry Hill)	
	3 Dec to	Cambridge	
1757	5 Mar		Feb Tuthill deprived of his Fellowship at Pembroke (App G)
	5 Mar to 2 Apr	London	
	2 Apr to 17 June	Cambridge	
	17 June	London and Stoke to } with visit to Straw- berry Hill	
	4 Dec		8 Aug <i>Odes</i> published (240, n 2)
	4 Dec	Cambridge (with a brief visit to Abbots Ripton at the end of	
	10		15 Dec Poet Laureateship offered to Gray and declined (258*)
1758	16 Apr	Jan)	Jan (or before) <i>Eptaph on Mrs Clerke</i> composed (266)
	16 Apr to 15 May	London	
	15 May	Cambridge (with tour to Ely, Peterborough, &c)	
	29 June		-
	29 June	London and Stoke, to } Hampton Court and Strawberry Hill &c	
	31 July		July(?) <i>Eptaph on a Child</i> written for Wharton (271)
	31 July to	Stoke with brief visit to London in Oct	
	12 Dec		Sept Mrs Rogers died (281)
	12 Dec to	London	
1759	15 Feb		
	15 Feb to 4 Mar	Cambridge	
	4 Mar to 29 June	London	
	29 June to 9 July	Cambridge	
	9 July	London with excur- sion to Strawberry Hill, &c	
	29 Sept		July Gray took up his residence in London (296)
	23 Sept to	Stoke (at Lady Cobham's)	
	15 Oct		Sept Alderman Nutting died (302)
	15 Oct	London with visit to Strawberry Hill in	
1760	28 June		Mar Lady Cobham died (311)
	28 June to	Shiplake	
	21 July		June to July Gray and Miss Speed stayed with Mrs Jennings (318)
	21-29 July	London	
	29 July to 6 Oct	Cambridge	
	6 Oct to	London	
1761	15 June		Apr (or before) <i>The Fatal Sisters</i> and <i>The Descent of Odin</i> composed (471, n 1a)
	15-29 June	Cambridge	

Chronological Table

1761	29 June to } Tour in Suffolk 11 July } and Norfolk 11 July to } Cambridge 8 Sept } 8 Sept to } London 19 Nov }	Aug <i>Eptaph on Sir W Williams</i> composed (339) Oct Song (<i>Thyrsls</i>) written for Miss Speed 12 Nov Miss Speed married to Baron de la Perrière (353) Nov Gray gave up his lodgings in London (347) Sometime in this year <i>The Triumph of Owen</i> and other imitations of Welsh poetry composed (App M)
	19 Nov } to } Cambridge	
1762	22 Mar }	
	22 Mar to 30 May London 30 May to 1 July Cambridge 1 July to } York and Old Park 11 Nov }	
	11-18 Nov Journey to London 18-25 Nov London	Nov Gray's name suggested for the Regius Professorship of Modern History (363)
	25 Nov to } Cambridge	
1763	6 May }	
	6 May } London with 'a little to } jaunt to Epsom and 16 June } Boxhill' 16 June to 19 Sept Cambridge 19 Sept to } 'A ramble away 4 Oct } from Cambridge' 4 Oct to 4 Nov Cambridge 4 Nov to 8 Dec London	
	8 Dec to } Cambridge	
1764	16 May }	March(?) <i>The Candidate</i> composed (App P)
	16 May to 25 June London 25 June to 4 Sept Cambridge 4 to 25 Sept London 25 Sept to 22 Oct Winchester, Southampton, Salisbury, Wil- ton, Stonehenge, &c. 22 Oct to 21 Nov London	
	21 Nov to } Cambridge	
1765	30 Apr }	
	30 Apr to } London with visit 27 May } to Windsor 27 May } York and Old Park to } with visits to Hartle- 18 Aug. } pool	

Chronological Table

- 1765** 18 Aug to 17 Oct Journey to Glamis, stay at Glamis, with excursion to the Highlands
 7-14 Oct Journey by Perth, Stirling, and Edinburgh to Old Park
 14-28 Oct Old Park
 28 Oct to 2 Dec London
- 1766** 2 Dec to } Cambridge
 16 Apr }
 16 Apr to 16 May London
 16 May } Canterbury and Den-
 to } ton with excursion to
 4 July } Margate and Dover
 4-17 July London
 17-24 July Cambridge
 24 July to 3 Aug Away from Cambridge
 3 Aug to 11 Sept Cambridge
 11-22 Sept Suffolk and Norfolk
 22 Sept to 6 Oct Cambridge
 6 Oct to 5 Dec London
- 1767** 5 Dec to } Cambridge
 20 Apr }
 20 Apr to 13 June London
 with excursion to Chiswick,
 Strawberry Hill, &c, at the
 end of May
 13-15 June Cambridge
 15 June to 1 July Aston (with a
 visit to Dovedale and the
 Peak) and York
 1 July to 24 Oct Old Park with
 visits to Rokeby and Rich-
 mond, Hartlepool, Carlisle,
 Keswick, &c
 24 Oct to 2 Nov York
 2 Nov to 14 Dec London
- 1768** 14 Dec to } Cambridge
 7 Apr }
 7 Apr } Ramsgate, Denton,
 to } and other places in
 15 July(?) } Kent
 15 July(?) to } London
 31 Aug }
 1-15 Sept Cambridge
 15 Sept to 6 Oct Lovingsland,
 Norwich, and Newmarket
 6 Oct to } Cambridge
 10 Nov }
- 12 Mar *Poems* published by Dodsley (470)
 4 May *Poems* published by Foulis (487)
 July *Verses on Lord Holland's Villa* com-
 posed (App T)
 28 July Appointed Regius Professor of
 Modern History (477* ff)
 Oct (?) New edition of *Poems* published
 by Dodsley (487)

Chronological Table

1768	10 Nov to 23 Dec	London	
	23 Dec to }	Cambridge	
1769	3 Apr		
	3 Apr to }	London and else-	Apr <i>Installation Ode</i> composed (493)
	16 May	where	
	16 May to }	Cambridge	1 July Installation of Chancellor
	8 July		
	8-16 July	London	
	18-23 July	York	
	23 July to 29 Sept	Old Park	
		with excursion to Hartlepool	
	29 Sept }	Tour in the Lakes,	
		to Lancashire and	
	15 Oct }	Yorkshire	
	15-22 Oct	Journey to Cam-	
		bridge by Leeds, Aston, &c	
	22 Oct to 4 Dec	Cambridge	
	4-21 Dec	London	Dec Made acquaintance of Bonstetten and took him to Cambridge (508, 512)
	21 Dec to }	Cambridge	
1770	21 Mar		
	21 Mar to 2 Apr	London	Mar Bonstetten left England (514)
	2-23 Apr	Cambridge	
	23 Apr to }	Thrapston and	
	7 May }	Lovingland	
	7-10 May	Cambridge	2 July Made his will (App X)
	10-31 May	London	
	31 May to 3 June	Cambridge	
	3-19 June	Aston	
	19 June to 2 July	Cambridge	
	2 July to 3 Aug	Tour in Wor-	
		cestershire, Gloucestershire,	
		Monmouthshire, Hereford-	
		shire, &c	
	3-17 Aug	London	
	17 Aug to }	Cambridge	
1771	1 Jan		Dec James Brown elected Master of Pembroke (540)
	1-17 Jan	London	
	17 Jan to 16 May	Cambridge	
	16 May to 22 July	London	
	22-30 July	Cambridge	30 July Died (App W)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I

- THOMAS GRAY *Frontispiece*
 from the painting by J G Eckhardt in the National Portrait Gallery
 The attitude and dress of the picture were taken from the portrait of a musician by
 Vandyck, at the Duke of Grafton's (see *Works of Lord Orford*, vol II, p 436) It
 was painted for Walpole, probably in 1748 (see Letter 145, n 6)
- FACSIMILE OF LETTER 29 *facing page 52*
 from the original in Pembroke College Library
- FACSIMILE OF LETTER 105 *facing page 196*
 from the original in the possession of A T Loyd, Esq , of Lockinge
 The letter was followed by a translation from Propertius The notes at the top of the
 page '1742 p 145 Mem Letter printed Verses not —' are in Mason's hand, 'p 145'
 refers to the page in *The Memoirs*, where the letter was to be printed
- CARICATURE OF THE REV HENRY ETOUGH *facing page 302*
 from an engraving by I Parke of a drawing by William Mason
 The engraving was published in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Gray*, second edition
 (1800), edited by Stephen Jones, who stated in the Preface that Mason's sketch had
 been put at his disposal by John Nichols, Esq (see Letter 144, n 50)
- PLAN OF THE GREAT FIRE IN THE CITY ON MARCH 25, 1748 *facing page 305*
 from the engraving published by M Payne
 This is not the plan that was printed in *The London Magazine* (referred to in Letter
 145, n 2), but 'a larger Plan with the names of the Sufferers engraved on the
 place of their respective habitations' which 'may be had of Mr Payne at the White
 Hart, in Paternoster Row'
- CARICATURE OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE AND HIS COOK CLOUET *facing page 322*
 from an engraving in the British Museum
 For Clouet see Letter 407, n 11 The caricature can be dated soon after December
 1745, when a proclamation against Jesuits and Popish Priests was published
- PENCIL DRAWING OF STOKE MANOR HOUSE BY THOMAS GRAY *facing page 363*
 in the possession of W S Lewis, Esq
 This is the sketch that was sent with Gray's letter to Walpole of 8 July 1752 (Letter
 168)
- FACSIMILE OF LETTER 176 *facing page 375*
 from the original in the British Museum
 The year '1753' was added by Wharton
- HORACE WALPOLE IN THE LIBRARY AT STRAWBERRY HILL *facing page 407*
 from a water-colour drawing by J H Muntz in the possession of Colonel
 Bruce Campbell-Johnston
- JOHN CHUTE FROM A PAINTING BY POMPEO BATTONI *facing page 426*
 in the possession of Charles L Chute, Esq , of the Vyne

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 and letters, for permission to reproduce them

ERRATA AND ADDENDA

VOLUME I

Page 51, n 3, *for* nn 3, 6 *read* nn 2, 6

Page 59, n 3, *for* Appendix A *read* Appendix B

Page 61, n 1, *for* Appendix A *read* Appendix B

Page 142 n 8, *for* between 1752 and 1758 *read* between 1754 and 1758

Page 222, Letter 114, Preliminary Note, *for* notes 3 and 13 *read* notes 3 and 12

Page 231, Letter 119, *for* the Preliminary Note *read as follows*

'Now first printed from the original The manuscript is endorsed: "Original letter from Mr Gray the Poet to Mr Walpole, given me by Mr W" The endorsement was, no doubt, made by J Pinkerton, who printed a facsimile of the last three lines of the letter, as a specimen of Gray's handwriting in his *Walpoliana* '

Page 267, n 5 at end of note *add* 'She acted the part of Euanthe the heroine of the play'

Page 287, n 4, line 2, *for* in 1750 when he was sixty-four *read* on 5 June 1747

Page 313, n 1, line 15 of note, *for* bought Strawberry Hill *read* moved to Strawberry Hill

Page 342, n 4, *for* Bentley *read* Dodsley

Page 405, n 14, *ad fin* *for* Letters 302, 373 *read* Letters 303, 373

Page 420, n 3, *for* Thomas Philips Jenkin *read* Jenkin Thomas Philips

VOLUME II

Pages 638-40, see Addendum, vol II, pp xxxv-xxxvi

VOLUME III

Page 487, n 1, *for* 5 May *read* 4 May

Page 1149, last line of text 'a two months residence' *add to the notes* '7a

There is at Trinity College a book of Commons (headed *In Victualibus*) The indications of residence are not clear, but it seems probable that, from the time that Lord Richard entered the College in 1768 down to the date of this letter, he resided for a considerable part of each term. It seems possible that Gray wrote "two month's residence" by a slip for "two years residence"'

1. GRAY TO WALPOLE¹

[April 16, 1734]^{1a}

[]²

I BELIEVE by your not making me happy in a longer letter than that I have just received, you had a design to prevent my tiring you with a tedious one, but in revenge for your neglect I'm resolved to send you one five times as long S^r, do you think, that I'll be fob'd off³ with eleven lines and a half³ after waiting this week in continual expectation, & proposing to myself all the pleasure, that you, if you would, might give me; Gadsbud! I am provoked into a fermentation⁴ when I see you next, I'll firk you, I'll rattle you with a Certiorari⁴ let me tell you; I am at

LETTER 1 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 1 Mason (*Memoirs*, p 16, n) remarks 'Mr Walpole, on my informing him that it was my intention to publish the principal part of Mr Gray's correspondence with Mr West, very obligingly communicated to me the letters which he had also received from Mr Gray at the same period From this collection I have selected such as I thought would be most likely to please the generality of readers, omitting, though with regret, many of the more sprightly and humorous sort, because either from their personality, or some other local circumstance, they did not seem so well adapted to hit the public taste' Of the thirty-eight extant letters from Gray to Walpole written between 1734 and 1739 Mason printed one and parts of five others

¹ Horace Walpole (1717-97), third surviving son of Sir Robert Walpole, entered Eton in 1727, where he became an intimate friend of Gray, West, and Ashton See Letter 2, n 8

^{1a} The date of the month is supplied by the postmark (which in letters written from the country is usually a day later than the date of writing, see Letter 10, n 1) The letter (in a round schoolboy hand) must have been written during Gray's holidays from Eton in 1734, in which year Passion Week (which is mentioned in the letter) ended on April 13

² A piece containing the initial address (probably 'My Dearest Celadon', as in Letter 9) has been cut out, as in many of Gray's letters to Walpole, these excisions were no doubt made by Walpole, in accordance with the suggestion of Mason, who in a letter to Walpole, dated 4 Jan 1774, while he was engaged upon his *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr Gray*, wrote 'As to your preserving Mr Gray's letters I have only to say that I wish when you look them over again, you would only erase some passages, for instance the infantine beginnings and conclusions of some of them, which are hardly fit for schoolboys, and yet will not be considered as written by a schoolboy, this was a liberty I once thought of taking myself, before I returned them'

³ 2 *Hen IV*, II 1 'Quickly I have been fubbed off, and fubbed off, and fubbed off, that it is a shame to be thought on'

⁴ Congreve, *Double Dealer*, II 4 'Sir Paul Plyant Gadsbud! I am provoked into a fermentation I'll rattle him up, I warrant you, I'll firk him with a certiorari'

present as full of wrath & choler, as—as—you are of wit & good-nature; though I begin to doubt your title to the last of them, since you have balked me in this manner what an excuse do you make with your Pafsion-week & fiddle-faddle, as if you could ever be at a losſ what to ſay, why, I, that am in the country⁵ could give you a full & true account of half a dozen Intrigues, nay I have an amour carried on almost under my window between a boar & a ſow, people of very good faſhion, that come to an aſſignation, and squeak like ten masquerades, I have a great mind to make you hear the whole progreſs of the affair, together with the humours of Miſs Pigmies, the lady's Conſidente, but you will think perhaps I invent it, & ſo I ſhall let it alone but I wonder you are not aſhamed of yourſelf, in town, and not able to furniſh out an epiſtle as long as a Cows tail¹ (excuse the ruſticity of my ſmile) in ſhort, I have tried and condemned you in my mind, all that you can alledge to ſave yourſelf won't do, for I find by your excuſes you are brought to your derniere Chemiſe,⁶ and as you ſtand guilty, I adjudge you to be drawn to the place of execution, your chamber, where taking pen in hand, you ſhall write a letter as long as this, to him, who is nothing, when not

your ſincere friend
& moſt devoted humble Serv^t

[

]'

T GRAY

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Mr Horatio [Wal-]pole at the houſe of th[e
right] honourable Sr Robert [Walpole] in St James's Square^a Lond[on]
Postmark N^o 17 AP

⁵ In what place is uncertain (ſee n 9)

⁶ This is no doubt an alluſion to Cibber's comedy, *Love's Laſt Shift*, the title of which had been rendered in French as *La Derniere Chemiſe de l'Amour*

⁷ A poſtſcript (apparently) has been cut out, carrying with it part of the addreſs on the other ſide (as indicated by the ſquare brackets)

^a Letters addreſſed by Gray to Horace Walpole in St James's Square can be aſſigned with certainty to a date anterior to 22 Sept. 1735, on which day, as appears from the following announcement, his father transferred his reſidence to Downing Street 'Yeſterday the Right Hon Sir Robert Walpole, with his Lady and Family removed from their Houſe in St James's Square, to his new Houſe adjoining to the Treasuſy in St James's Park' (i.e. in Downing Street) (*London Daily Poſt*, Tueſday, 23 Sept. 1735)

^b The poſtmark of the place is undecipherable, ſave for the impreſs of a final N It is poſſible that Gray at this time was ſtaying with his uncle, Rev William Antrobus, Rector of Everdon, Northants (ſee Letter 283*, n 1) If ſo, the poſtmark may have been Northampton

2 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, Oct 31, 1734]¹[]²

FOR Gods sake send me your Quære's, & I'll do my best to get information upon those Points, you don't understand I warrant, you imagine that People in one College, know the Customs of others, but you mistake, they are quite little Societies by themselves y^e Drefses, Language, Customs &c are different in different Colledges what passes for Wit in one, would not be understood if it were carried to another thus the Men of Peter-house, Pembroke & Clare-hall of course must be Tories, those of Trinity, Rakes, of Kings, Scholars, of Sidney, Wigs, of St Johns, Worthy men & so on now what to say about this Terra Incognita, I don't know, First then it is a great old Town, shaped like a Spider, with a nasty lump in the muddle of it, & half a dozen scrambling long legs it has 14 Parishes, 12 Colledges, & 4 Halls, these Halls only entertain Students, who after a term of years, are elected into the Colledges ³ there are 5 ranks in the University, subordinate to the Vice-chancellour, who is chose annually these are [Masters, Fellows, Fellow-Commoners, Pensione]⁴rs, & Sizars, The Masters of Colledges are twelve grey-hair'd Gentlefolks, who are all mad with Pride, the Fellows are sleepy, drunken, dull, illiterate Things, the Fellow-Com are imitators of the Fellows, or else Beaux, or else nothing the Pension. grave, formal Sots, who would be thought old, or else drink Ale, & sing Songs against y^e Excise The Sizars are Graziers Eldest Sons, who come to get good Learning, that they may all be Archbishops of Canterbury these 2 last Orders are qualified to take Scholarships,

LETTER 2 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 2

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark The date 1735 has been inserted in the original by Mason, but the actual date must be 1734, when Gray was a freshman at Peterhouse

² A strip containing the initial address has been cut out (see Letter 1, n 2), carrying with it a line of the text on the other side

³ Gray was mistaken—there was no difference between a 'Hall' and a 'College' in Cambridge The terms were used indifferently in the case of Clare, Pembroke, and St Catharine's Gray himself dates from 'Pembroke Hall' and 'Pembroke College' (see Letters 471, 473, 532, 534) The name 'Hall' survives only in the case of Trinity Hall

⁴ Piece cut out (see n 2), the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

one of which, your humble Serv^t has had given him^s first they led me into the hall, & there I swore Allegiance to y^e King, then I went to a room, where I took 50000 Latin Oaths, such as, to wear a Square Cap, to make 6 verses upon the Epistle or Gospel every Sunday morning, to chant very loud in Chappel, to wear a clean Surplice, &c &c ⁶ Now as to eating the Fellow-Com dine at the Fellows Table, their Commons is worth 6^s-4^d a-week, the Pensioners pay but 2^s-4^d, if any body don't like their Commons, they send down into the Kitchen to know, what's for Sizing ⁷ the Cook sends up a Catalogue of what there is, & they chuse, what they please they are obliged to pay for Commons, whuther they eat it, or no there is always Plenty enough the Siziers feast upon the leavings of the rest, as to drefs, the Fell Commoners usually wear a Prunella Gown with Sleeves, a hat & no band, but their proper habit has its Sleeves trimmed with Gold-lace, this they only wear at publick Ceremonies, neither do the Noblemen use their pr Habit commonly, but wear only a black Padesoy Gown the Men of Kings are a sort of University by themselves, & differ in Customs from all the rest, every body hates 'em & when Almanzor⁸ comes to me, our Peoples stare at him, like a Lord-mayors Show, & wonder to see a human Creature among them if I tell you,

⁵ Gray, who began residence at Peterhouse on 9 Oct 1734, three weeks before the date of this letter, had been appointed Cosin Scholar on 17 Oct (See *Peterhouse Admission Book*, ed T A Walker, p 267)

⁶ 'The provisions of the tenure of both Scholarships [the Cosin, and the Hale, to which Gray was subsequently elected] were drafted on the same model. They aimed at securing propriety of demeanour and the regular pursuit of definite studies. With regulations as to the wearing of wide sleeved gown and squared cap, the avoiding of extravagance in dress, and modest deportment in Hall and elsewhere, were combined some particular requirements as to the student's mental fare. As Cosin Scholar Gray would be forbidden to wear long locks or use hair powder. Whether as Cosin or Hale Scholar, he would be required to study music under the College organist, so as to take part in the chanting and singing of the Chapel choir, on each Sunday and feast-day he would produce to the Master and to the President or Senior Dean at dinner hour fair copies of Greek and Latin verses on a subject taken from the Gospel for the day' (T A Walker, 'Thomas Gray at Peterhouse', in *Athenæum*, 20 Jan 1906)

⁷ 'In his first year Gray's expenditure was very modest, the item "Sizings", which represents specially ordered "extras" in dietary, amounting to a few shillings only. In later years he became more luxurious. And in 1736-7 the charge for Sizings each quarter exceeded the charge for Commons' (T. A. Walker, *loc cit*)

⁸ A character in Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*. The individual in question was no doubt Thomas Ashton, now at King's, who with Gray ('Orosmaides'),

Oct 1734

Gray to Walpole

Letter 2

I never stirr out, perhaps you won't believe me; especially when you know, there's a Club of Wits kept at the Mitre, all such as come from Eton, where Alm would introduce me, if I so pleased —yet you will not think it strange, that I don't go abroad, when I tell you, that I am got into a room,⁹ such [a]¹⁰ hugeous one, that little 1 is quite lost in it, so [that]¹⁰ when I get up in the morning, I begin to travel [tow]¹⁰ards the middle of it with might & main, & with much ado about noon bate at a great Table, which stands half-way it so then, by that time, (after having pursued my journey full speed), that I arrive at the door, it is so dark & late, & I am so tired, that I am obliged to turn back again so about Midnight I get to the bedside. then, thinks you, I suppose, he goes to sleep hold you a bit; in this Country it is so far from that, that we go to bed to wake, & rise to sleep in short, those that go along the street, do nothing but walk in their sleep they run against every Post they meet but I beg pardon, for talking so much of myself, since that's not, what you care for—(To be continued)

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq at the house of the right
Hon^{ble} Sr Robert Walpole in St James's Square London *Postmark*
CAMBRIDGE 1 NO

3 GRAY TO WALPOLE

With care
Carriage paid

To mie Nufs att London

Present
These

[Cambridge] 23^d Sund^y after Trin

[Nov 17, 1734]¹

Honner'd Nurse

THIS comes to let you know, that I am in good health, but that I should not have been so, if it had not been for your kind promise of coming to tend me yourself, & see the effect of

Walpole ('Celadon'), and Richard West ('Favonius' or 'Zephyrus'), had formed the 'Quadruple Alliance' at Eton Ashton received the name of 'Almanzor' perhaps from having acted the part in a performance at Eton, just as John Dodd, another Eton contemporary, for a similar reason, as we know from Walpole, was called 'Tamerlane'

⁹ See Appendix K, on Gray's Rooms

¹⁰ MS torn

LETTER 3 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 3

¹ The date of the year is determined by the reference to Stevens (see n 16)

your own Prescription and I should desire of you, so please you, as how that, you would be so good as to be so kind, as to do me the favour of bringing down with you a quantity of it, prepared as your Grandmothers Aunt, poor M^{rs} Hawthorn (God² rest her soul, for she was as well a natured, a good Gentlewoman, as ever broke bread,¹ or trod upon Shoe-leather,⁴ though I say it, that should not say it; for you know, she was related to me, & marry¹ not a jot the worse, I trow) used to make it now I would not put you to this trouble, if I could provide myself of the Ingredients here, but truly, when I went to the Poticaries for a drachm of Spirit of Ridicule, the saucy Jackanapes of a Prentice-Boy fleered at me, I warrant ye, as who should say, you don't know your Errand so by my troth, away ambles me I (like a fool as I came) home again, & when I came to look of your Receipt, to be sure, there was Sp^t of Rmicule in great Letters, as plain as the nose in one's face & so, back hurries I in a making-Water-while, as one may say,⁵ & when I came there, says I, you stripling, up-start, worsted-stocking, white-liver'd, lath-backed,⁶ impudent Princox,⁷ says I, abuse me! that am your betters every day in the week, says I, you ill-begotten, pocky, rascally, damned Son of a Bitch, says I—for you know, when he put me in such a perilous Pafsion, how could one help telling him his own—why, 'twould have provoked any Christian⁸ in the world, tho' twere a Dog—to speak, & so if you'll be so kind, I'll take care you shall be satisfied for your trouble so, this is all at present from

your ever-dutifull & most
obedient & most affectionate,
loving God-daughter

PRU OROSMADES⁹

² This word was changed by Walpole into 'fudge', and then smudged

³ *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1 4 'an honest maid as ever broke bread'

⁴ *Julius Caesar*, 1 1 'As proper man as ever trod upon neat's leather'

⁵ Wycherley, *Plain Dealer*, III 1 'Widow Blackacre O no, stay but a making-water while (as one may say) and I'll be with you again'

⁶ *Plain Dealer*, II 1 'Widow Blackacre Thou pitiful, paltry, lath-backed fellow'

⁷ *Romeo and Juliet*, 1 5 Capulet 'You are a princox, go!'

⁸ For this word, which has been scored through, Walpole substituted 'man'

⁹ Orosmales was the name by which Gray was known among the members of the 'Quadruple Alliance' (see Letter 2, n 8) 'Orosmales' is an alteration, which occurs in Lee's *Rival Queens*, II 1 (see *Mod Lang Rev* xii).

A Discourse

Πάντα κόνις, καὶ πάντα πῖος,
καὶ πάντα τόβακκο¹⁰

If I should undertake to prove to you, that everything is Tobacco, it might be looked upon as an Absurdity after the revrd & learn^d Dⁿ Swift has made it so manifest, that every thing is a Pudding¹¹ but I conceive it will not be so difficult to shew, that Tobacco is every thing (at least here) for there is not a soul in our Colledge (a body I should say) who does not smoke or chew: there's nothing but Whiffing from Fellow to Sizer, nay, even the very Chimnies, that they may'nt be thought partic'lar, must needs smoke, like the rest whilst unfashionable I labour thro' clouds of it, with as much pains, as Milton's poor Devil took, when he travel'd through Chaos¹²—but, as to the Guzzling affair, you mistook in thinking it was the Old fellows, that were with me, no 'twas a thousand times worse; they were all young ones—do but imagine me pent up in a room hired for the purpose, & none of the largest, from 7 a-clock at night, till 4 in the morning¹ 'midst hogsheads of Liquor & quantities of Tobacco, surrounded by 30 of these creatures, infinitely below the meanest People you could even form an Idea off, toasting bawdy healths & deafned with their unmeaning Roar, Jesus!¹³ but I must tell you of a fat Mortal, who stuck close to me, & was as drunk (as Miss Edwards¹⁴—which story I'm afraid by the by, was too well-fancied, to be real) well¹ he was so maudlin & so loving & told me long Stories, interrupted by the sourest Interjections, with moral Discourses upon God knows wha !

29–30), whence probably Gray took it, of Oromasdes, the name of the principal Zoroastrian divinity

¹⁰ This is a parody of the first line of an epigram by Glycon in the Greek Anthology 'Πάντα γέλωις, καὶ πάντα κόνις, καὶ πάντα τὸ μηδέν' Gray's πῖος is a pseudo-Greek word, to represent 'pie', as an equivalent of 'pudding' (see n 11) 'All is dust, and all is pie, and all is tobacco'

¹¹ Not Swift apparently, but Henry Carey, who in *A Learned Dissertation upon Dumpling* (1726) says 'The universe itself is but a pudding of elements Empires, kingdoms, states and republics are but puddings of people differently made up The celestial and terrestrial orbs are decipher'd to us by a pair of globes or mathematical puddings'

¹² *Paradise Lost*, Book 11, ll 927 ff

¹³ This word has been scored through

¹⁴ This name has been heavily scored through, but is just decipherable, the person in question is perhaps the 'Mrs Edwards, who died of drams', mentioned in Walpole's letter to Mann of 2 Dec 1748

that I was almost drunk too oh—I must just beg leave to men]¹⁵ tion one more, who, they tell me, has no fault, but that, he's a little too *foppish* & talks like a London-Rake; this fine Gentleman is quite master of the Spectator & retails it for ever; among the rest, he gave his humble Opinion of the present state of the Play-house, that Stevens¹⁶ had a very graceful Motion, spoke well, &c, but that he must needs give his Voice for M^r Quin,¹⁷ M^{rs} Thurmond¹⁸ too was in great favour with him. as for the Opera's he could not understand them, but had heard Margaretta¹⁹ & Nicolini²⁰ highly commended by those, that were judges by God, says another, those Opera's are the ruin of the nation, no honest people can go to 'em, & those, that do, are ashamed of themselves, else why should they go in Masques & Disguises thither—no body in the company found out his blunder, so no body laugh'd but I, which was taken for applause. you'll think it a strange compliment, when I tell you how often I thought of you, all the while but will forgive me, when you recollect, that 'twas a great piece of Philosophy in me, to be able, in y^e midst of Noise & Disturbance, to call to mind the most agreeable thing in nature when you could give me so much Pleasure, absent, what must you do, when with me? tho' perhaps its policy in you to stay away so long, that you may increase my Desire of seeing you in your next send me word, how soon you design, to come to the relief

of your []²¹

¹⁵ Piece cut out (see n 21), the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

¹⁶ Stevens (or Stephens) made his first appearance on the stage at Covent Garden on 19 Oct of this year (1734), as Othello

¹⁷ James Quin (1693–1766), he had played Othello at Drury Lane (his first appearance there for sixteen years) on 10 Sept Articles comparing the acting of 'Mr Stevens, the new actor', with that of Quin and Cibber appeared in the *Grub-street Journal* for 31 Oct, 7 Nov, and 14 Nov (See *Gent Mag* 1734, p 593)

¹⁸ Mrs Thurmond (*née* Lewis) played Desdemona to Quin's Othello at Drury Lane

¹⁹ The Italian opera-singer, Francesca Margherita de l'Épine, known as Margherita, who sang for some years in London between 1692 and 1718, and died in England about 1750

²⁰ Nicolino Grimaldi, known as Nicolini, performed in London between 1708 and 1717

²¹ A piece containing the signature has been cut out

4 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, Dec 8, 1734]¹[]²

I (THO' I say it) had too much modesty to venture answering your dear, diverting Letter, in the Poetical Strain myself but, when I was last at the DEVIL,³ meeting by chance with the deceased M^r Dennis⁴ there, he offer'd his Service, &, being tip'd with a Tester, wrought, what follows—⁵

From purling Streams & the Elysian Scene,
 From Groves, that smile with never-fading Green
 I reascend; in Atropos' despight
 Restored to Celadon,⁶ & upper light
 Ye gods, that sway the Regions under ground,
 Reveal to mortal View your realms profound,
 At his command admit the eye of Day,
 When Celadon commands, what God can disobey?
 Nor seeks he your Tartarean fires to know,
 The house of Torture, & th' Abyfs of Woe,
 But happy fields⁷ & Mansions free from Pain,
 Gay Meads, & springing flowers best please y^e gentle Swain.
 That little, naked, melancholy thing
 My Soul,⁸ when first she tryed her flight to wing;

LETTER 4.—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 4

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year is determined by the address (see Letter 1, n 7)

² See Letter 1, n 2

³ The Devil Tavern in Fleet Street (see *Dunciad*, 1 325, and note, and *Imitations of Horace*, Epist II 1 41)

⁴ John Dennis, author and critic, the object of the ridicule of Swift and Pope, he died on 6 Jan of this year (1734). The name has been scored through, but is still legible, and Walpole has written it in again above

⁵ These are no doubt the verses referred to by Horace Walpole in his memoir of Gray (see Appendix Y), in which he says 'One of his first pieces of poetry was an answer in English verse to an epistle from H. W.'

⁶ Celadon (the name of the amorous shepherd in D'Urfé's pastoral romance of *Astrée*, and hence that of the luckless swain in Thomson's *Summer*, and of numerous others) was the pseudonym under which Walpole figured in his youthful correspondence with Gray and West (see Letter 2, n 8)

⁷ *Par Lost*, 1 249

⁸ Perhaps a reminiscence of Hadrian's lines to his soul

'Animula vagula blandula
 Pallidula rigida nudula'

Began with speed new Regions to explore,
 And blunder'd thro' a narrow Postern door,
 First most devoutly having said its Prayers,
 It tumbled down a thousand pair of [Stairs],⁹
 Thro' Entries long, thro' Cellars vast & deep,
 Where ghostly Rats their habitations keep,
 Where Spiders spread their Webs, & owlish Goblins sleep.
 After so many Chances had befell,
 It came into a mead of Asphodel
 Betwixt the Confines of y^e light & dark
 It lies, of 'Lyziun y^e S^t James's park.
 Here Spirit-Beaux flutter along the Mall,
 And shadows in disguise scate o'er y^e Iced Canal
 Here groves embower'd, & more sequester'd Shades,
 Frequented by y^e Ghosts of Ancient Maids,
 Are seen to rise the melancholy Scene
 With gloomy haunts, & twilight walks between¹⁰
 Conceals the wayward band here spend their time
 Greensickness Girls, that died in youthful prime,
 Virgins forlorn, all drest in Willow-green-
 With Queen Elizabeth and Nicolini.¹¹

More to reveal, or many words to use
 Would tire alike your patience & my muse
 Believe, that never was so faithful found
 Queen Proserpine to Pluto under ground,
 Or Cleopatra to her Marc-Antony
 As Orozmades¹² to his Celadony

P S.

Lucrece for half a crown will shew you fun,
 But M^{rs} Oldfield¹³ is become a Nun
 Nobles & Cits, Prince Pluto & his Spouse
 Flock to the Ghost of Covent-Garden house
 Plays, which were hiss'd above, below revive;
 When dead applauded, that were damn'd alive
 The People, as in life, still keep their Passions,
 But differ something from the world in Fashions.

⁹ Piece cut out, the missing word has been supplied in pencil by Walpole

¹⁰ *Par Lost*, ix 1107 'echoing walks between'

¹¹ The well-known opera-singer (see Letter 3, n 20)

¹² See Letter 3, n 9

¹³ Mrs Oldfield (1683-1730), the actress, and mistress of General Charles Churchill.

Dec 1734

Gray to Walpole

Letter 4

Queen Artemisia¹⁴ breakfasts on Bohea
And Alexander wears a Ramlie.¹⁵

*Addressed To The Honble Horatio Walpole Esq at the house of the right
honble Sr Robert Walpole in St James's Square London Postmark
CAMBRIDGE 9 DE*

5 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Præscript you don't send me word when you think you shall
come to Sarag¹

From St Peters Charnel-house [Dec 1734]²

Dear Dimidium animæ meæ³

As you take a great deal of pleasure in concluding that I am
dead, & resolve not to let me live any longer, methinks you
ought to be good to my Ashes, & give 'em leave to rest in peace—
but instead of that, whereas I ought to be divested of all human
Passions, & forget the Pleasures of your World, you must needs
be diverting me, so that I made every nail in my Coffin start
with laughing it happen'd, that on the 26th Instant at twelve
of the clock at midnight, being a hard frost, I had wrapt myself
up in my Shroud very snugg & warm, when in comes your
Letter, which (as I told you before) made me stretch my
Skeleton-jaws in such a horse-laugh, that all the dead pop'd up
their heads & stared. but to see the frowzy Countenances of the
Creatures especially one old Lady-Carcase, that made most
hideous Grimaces, & would needs tell me, that I was a very
uncivil Person to disturb a Woman of her Quality, that did me
the honour to lie so near me & truly she had not been in such
a Surprise, this threescore & ten Year, come next March
besides her Commode was discomposed, & in her hurry she had
lost her Wedding Ring, which she was buried in; nay, she said,

¹⁴ Wife and sister of Mausolus, king of Caria, to whose memory she erected
the Mausoleum

¹⁵ A wig having a long plait behind tied with a bow at top and bottom.
(O E D)

LETTER 5 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 5

¹ This name (the origin of which has not been traced) has been crossed
through by Walpole, who has substituted 'Cambr'

² The date of the month is conjectural, the postmark having been cut off
(see n 5), but the reference to 'a hard frost' shows that it was winter, the
date of the year is determined by the address (see Letter 1, n 8), if the
conjectural restoration (see n 6) be correct

³ Horace, 1 *Odes*, iii 8

she believed she should fall in fits, & certainly, that would be her Death. but I gave her a Rowland for her Oliver, 'i'gad: I told her Ladyship the more she sturred, the more she'd stunk & that to my knowledge, tho' she put a good face upon the matter, she was not sound. so she lay'd her down very quietly, and crept under her Winding-Sheet for fear of Spirits now your Arrival only can deliver me from such a state of Separation; for, as your Soul is large enough to serve for both of us, it will be ill-natured of you, if you don't reanimate my Corps at least I hope for a place in your heart, as formerly tho', by your last letter, but one, it seems, you have either forgot yourself, or entertain a less favourable Opinion of me, than that, with which you once honoured

your friend, the Defunct . .

As my letter ends so prettily in that p 4

Addressed [To] [The Hon^{ble} Horatio] Wal-[pole Esq at the house of t]he
right [Hon^{ble} Sr Robert Wal]pole in [St James's Square] [Lond]on⁵

6 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Dec 24 [23] [1734]¹—Peter-house

[]²

AFTER having been very piously at St Mary's church yesterday, as I was coming home, somebody told me, that you was come, & that your Servant had been to enquire for me.

⁴ Three parts of the second leaf of the letter have been torn and cut off, carrying away a part of the signature and postscript, as well as nearly the whole of the address on the other side

⁵ The address is restored conjecturally (see n 4), on the analogy of that of the previous letter

LETTER 6—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 22

¹ The date is conjectural, in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence* this letter was dated 1735. But it appears from Gray's letter to Walpole of 3 Jan 1736 (Letter 20) that he spent the Christmas vacation of 1735 at home in London, and his absence from Cambridge is confirmed by the Peterhouse books. Further, in this letter he is evidently expecting Walpole's arrival in Cambridge for the first time. But Walpole went up to King's on 11 March 1735. Again, Gray's mention of his having been at St Mary's church the day before is difficult to explain if the year be 1735. It was the duty of undergraduates to attend service at the University Church on Sundays, but in 1735 Dec 23 was Tuesday, not Sunday. On the other hand, the year 1734 fits the circumstances, for Gray as the Peterhouse books show,

Dec. 1734

Gray to Walpole

Letter 6

whereupon throwing off all the Pruderie & Reserve of a Cambridge Student, in a great extasie, I run in a vast hurry to set the Bells a-ringing, & kindle a thousand Bonfires—when amidst these Convulsions of Joy, I was stopt by one of our Colledge, who inform'd me, that a fine Gentleman in a laced hat & scarlet Stockings wanted me so, you may conclude, as soon as I set eyes on him, I was ready to eat him for having your Livery on, but he soon checked me by acquainting me 'twas not You, that was come, but—Your Service now undoubtedly after being so terribly bauked, one could not have lived, but by the help of Hartshorn, Hungary-Water,^{2a} & your Journal, which gives one a greater Flow of Spirits, than ei[ther of them]³ [but, dear Celadon],⁴ nothing gave me half so much pleasure, as to find, that after the toil of the day was over, you could be so good as to throw away a moment in thinking of me, & had Spirits enough left, to make all the hideosities you underwent agreeable by describing them —by all that's frightful, I was in agonies for you, when I saw you planted at the upper end of a Table so elegantly set out, like the King of Monsters in the Fairy-tales never was any one's curiosity half so much raised by a blot, as mine is by that in your Diary 'tis so judicious a Scratch, so genteel a Blurr, that I shall never be easy, till I know what it conceals, no more than I shall be, till I receive the things that are to come by word of mouth, w^{ch} (if 'twere possible) would make me wish to see you more than ever⁵ sure West is as much improved as he says⁶ Plato⁷ is, since you

was in residence during the whole of December that year, while Walpole had not yet gone up to King's The difficulty as to Gray's attending church on 23 Dec still remains, for that date in 1734 was a Monday The most probable explanation is that Gray, who was occasionally careless in dating (see Letter 10), by an oversight wrote 24 instead of 23, in which case 'yesterday' would be 22 Dec, the fourth Sunday in Advent

² See Letter 1, n 2

^{2a} See Letter 9, n 4

³ Piece cut out (see n 2), the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

⁴ Piece cut out, the missing words are supplied conjecturally from the fragments of writing which have escaped the scissors

⁵⁻⁵ This sentence has been heavily scored through, but is still decipherable

⁶ Gray originally wrote 'you say', which he altered to 'he says'

⁷ There are some grounds for supposing that 'Plato' may have been William Cole (1714-82), the antiquary, who, though somewhat older, had been at Eton with Gray, Walpole, and West, and was a friend of all three (See the references to 'Plato', in Nos 19 and 94 of *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, and

could have the conscience to persuade him to come to Cambridge^s . . .⁸

7 GRAY TO WALPOLE

To the faithful Miradolin,
third Son of the Vizier-azem
Continuance of Health & long life¹

WHEN the Dew of the morning is upon me, thy Image is before mine eyes, nor, when the night overshadoweth me, dost thou depart from me: shall I ne'er behold thine eyes, until our eternal meeting in y^e immortal Chioses² of Paradise, and sure at that hour, thy Soul will have little need of Ablution in the sight of Israphiel,³ the Angel of examination: surely, it is pure as the Snow on Mount Ararat, & beautiful as the cheeks of the Houries: the Feast of Ramadan⁴ is now past away, &

to Cole, in Gray's letters to Walpole of Aug. and 27 Oct., 1736—Letters 26 and 32.) At this time Cole was at Clare, but he migrated to King's in 1735 (see Letter 26, n. 17).

⁸ The second leaf, containing the remainder of the letter, and the address, &c., has been torn off.

LETTER 7—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No. 6

¹ Gray had evidently been reading *The Turkish Spy*, in which most of the oriental names and imagery in this letter have been traced by Professor Edward Bensly. Several letters (e.g. *Lett* 1, *Bk* 1, and *Lett* 1, *Bk* III, of *Vol* VII, and *Lett* 3, *Bk* 1, of *Vol* VIII) are addressed 'To Mirmadolin, Holy Santone of the Vale of Sidon'. Others (e.g. *Lett* 2, *Bk* II, of *Vol* VI) are addressed, 'To the Vizier Azem at the Porte', who in the index at the beginning of *Vol* I is defined as 'the First Minister of State'.

² These are several times mentioned in *The Turkish Spy*, e.g. 'Houses which might vie with the most delightful Chioses of the Mussulman Grandees' (*Lett* 35, *Bk* 1, of *Vol* III), 'a little Chiose or bower' (*Lett* 9, *Bk* 1, of *Vol* IV), 'the Chioses of Eden, on the Banks of immortal Streams' (*Lett* 8, *Bk* III, of *Vol* V).

³ Israfil is the archangel who will sound the trumpet at the day of resurrection (Hughes, *Dict of Islam*). He is called Israphuel in *The Turkish Spy*: 'May Gabriel, the Friend of the Prophet, pray for him, then Michael, Israphuel, and the Messenger of Death' (*Lett* 8, *Bk* III, of *Vol* V).

⁴ Properly speaking, Ramadan is not a feast, but a thirty days' fast, during the hours of daylight, throughout the ninth month of the Mahometan year. Gray presumably means Christmas (see n. 12). *The Turkish Spy*: 'I die in Contemplation of the same Fasts and Feasts, the nocturnal joys of Ramezan, the Revels and cheerful Illuminations of Beiram' (*Lett* 17, *Bk* IV, of *Vol* VI). 'The successive variations of the Great Fast causing it sometimes to fall at the very Times of the most solemn Festivals among the Nazarenes, such as

thou thinkest not of leaving Candahar,⁵ what shall I say unto thee, thou unkind one³ thou has lost me in oblivion, & I am become as one, whom thou never didst remember: before, we were as two Palm-trees in the Vale of Medina, I flourish'd in thy friendship, & bore my head aloft but now I wander in Solitarinefs, as a traveller in the sandy desarts of Barca, & pine in vain to tast of the living fountain of thy conversation I have beheld thee in my Slumbers, I have attempted to seize on thee, I sought for thee & behold! thou wert not there! thou wert departed, as the smoke, or as the Shadows, when the Sun entreth his bed-chamber were I to behold thy countenance, tho' afar off; my heart should bound as the Antelope, yea! my soul should be as light, as the Roe-buck on the hills of Erzerom I swear by Abubekir,⁶ thou art sweet in my thoughts as the Pine-apple of Damascus to the tast, & more refreshing, than the fragrant Breezes of Idumea the chain of Destiny has link'd me unto thee, & the mark, which Gabriel⁷ stamped on my forehead at my Nativity, was Born for Miradolin let not the Demon Negidher⁸ separate us, nor the evil Tagot⁹ interpose between us Be thou unto me, as Mohammed to Ajesha,¹⁰ as the Bowers of Admoim¹¹ to those, whom the Sun hath overtaken, or as the costly Sherbets of Stamboul to the thirsty the grace of that which they call their *Christmas*, which is a Feast of thirteen Days' (*Lett 1, Bk 1, of Vol v*)

⁵ London *The Turkish Spy* 'The Description thou hast made of *Candahar*' (*Lett 21, Bk 11, of Vol 111*)

⁶ Abubakr was the father of Ayes Shah, Mahomet's wife, and the first Khalifah or successor of Mahomet (Hughes, *Dict of Islam*) *The Turkish Spy* 'Omar stretching forth his Hand to *Abu Becre*, saluted him *Caliph*' (*Lett 15, Bk 11, of Vol v*)

⁷ *The Turkish Spy* 'Thou knowest that our *holy Doctors* affirm the *Angel Gabriel* to have Wings with one of which he once gave a Mark to the *Moon*' (*Lett 3, Bk 1v, of Vol 1v*)

⁸ *The Turkish Spy* 'His lungs breath nothing but Infernal Smokes, the Spirit *Negider* times the *Systole* and *Diastole* of his Heart' (*Lett 14, Bk 1, of Vol vii*)

⁹ Tagut, which Sale says properly signifies an idol, and also the devil, is mentioned in the *Koran* *The Turkish Spy* 'Tagot has set his Foot in all my Works' (*Lett 1, Bk 1, of Vol vii*) 'The Back Blows of *Tagot*, *Negidher*, and the *Great Devil*, be upon him and them' (*Lett 8, Bk 1v, of Vol v1*) 'May my Portion be with *Tagot*, if I am not ur'd with seeing nothing but these ridiculous *Franks*' (*Lett 20, Bk 11, of Vol v1*)

¹⁰ His wife

¹¹ *The Turkish Spy* 'The *Valley of Admoim*, the Place of my Nativity' (*Lett 5, Bk 11, of Vol 111*) 'Let thy Heart be like the *Valley of Admoim*, Fragrant as a Grove of Spices' (*Lett 10, Bk 1, of Vol v*)

providence, and the smles of heaven be upon thee may white
Angels guard thee from the efforts of the rebellious Geniï.

Adieu

OROZMADES

The last day of the Ramadan,

6th of y^e 1st Moon¹² [Jan 6, 1735]¹³

8 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge] Jan 12 [1735]¹

How severe is forgetful old Age
To confine a poor Devil so?
That I almost despair
To see even the Air,
Much more my dear Damon—hey ho!

Thou dear envious Imp, to set me a longing with accounts of Plays & Opera's, & Masquerades after hearing of which, I can no more think of Logick & Stuff, than you could of Divinity at a Ball, or of Caudle & Carraway-Comfits after having been stuffed at a Christening heaven knows¹ we have nobody in our Colledge, that has seen London, but one; and he, I believe comes out of Vinegar-yard,² & looks like toasted Cheshire cheese, strewed with brown Sugar I beg you, give me the minutest Circumstances of your Diversions & your Indiversions, tho' if it is as great a trouble to you to write, as it is a pleasure to me to get 'em by heart, I fear I shan't hear from you once in a twelve-month, & dear now, be very punctual & very long— if I had the least particle of pleasure, you should know it, & so you should if I had any thing troublesome, tho' in Cambridge there is nothing so troublesome, as that one has nothing to trouble one every thing is so tediously regular, so samish, that I expire for want of a little variety I am just as I was, & so is

¹² Doubtless meant to indicate Twelfth Night (6 Jan) In *The Turkish Spy* the letters are regularly dated at the end by this method

¹³ Three parts of the second leaf of the letter have been torn off, carrying away the address, postmark, &c The date 1735 is assigned conjecturally, on the strength of a fragment of the address, which contains the last two letters of the words 'Walpole' and 'St James's' (see Letter 1, n 8)

LETTER 8—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 7

¹ The date of the year is determined by the address (see Letter 1, n 8)

² Vinegar Yard, Drury Lane

Jan. 1735

Gray to Walpole

Letter 8

every thing about me; I hope you'll forgive my formality, in being just the same

Friend of yours, & just
the same Servant

OROZMADES

*Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq at his house in St James's
Square London Postmark SAFFRON WALDEN 13 1A*

9 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, Jan 14, 1735]¹

Tityre, dum patulæ recubo sub tegmine fagi²

Though you'll think perhaps it's a little too cold weather for giving oneself languishing airs under a tree, however supposing it's by the fireside, it will be full as well, so as I was going to say—but, I believe, I was going to say nothing, so I must begin over again—

My Dearest Celadon^{2a}

YESTERDAY morning, (being the morning I set apart for lying abed till one a'clock) I was waked about ten with hollowing & the Noise of a Bagpipe at the door, so I got up, & open'd the door, & saw all the court full of strange appearances: at first I concluded 'twas you with a whole Masquerade at your heels, but upon more mature deliberation imagined it might be Amadis de Gaul come to set me free from this enchanted Castle with his train of conquer'd Monsters & Oddities the first, whom I took for the Knight in person, had his face painted after the manner of y^e ancient Britains he played melodiously on the aforementioned Instrument, & had a Plow upon his Back, what it meant, I did not apprehend at first he said nothing at all, but made many very significant Grimaces before him & on each side a Number of Folks cover'd over with Tags & Points form'd themselves into a Country Dance there follow'd something,

LETTER 9—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 8

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, and by the reference to Plough-Monday (see n 5), that of the year is determined by the address (see Letter 1, n 8), and by the reference to 'Pope's Letter' (see n 8)

² Virgil, *Ecl* 1 1 (adapted)

^{2a} These three words have been scored through, but are plainly legible (see Letter 4, n 6)

which I apprehended was the beauteous Oriana,¹ in a white Dimoty Petticoat & Boddice, her head & face were veil'd. she was supported by her two Gentlemen-ushers, & seem'd to be very obstreperous, for she struggled & kicked, & snorted, & fizzled. I concluded she was falling in fits, & was running with my Hungary water Bottle:⁴ when she was so violent, that she got loose from her Attendants, & run away upon all fours into the middle of y^e Court, & her hood falling off discover'd a large pair of Ears in short, Oriana was metamorphosed into a very genteel Jack-ass upon this the whole crowd set up a great Shout of, God speed the Plough. after all I was inform'd by a Negro Gentlewoman with a very long beard, who had a great deal to do in the Ceremony, that it was Plough-Monday,⁵ & that all this was the Custom of the Country; they march in this manner thro' all the Colledges in Town the Term is now begun again, & I have made such a wonderful progress in Philosophy, that I begin to be quite persuaded, that black is white, & that fire will not burn, & that I ought not, either to give credit to my eyes or feeling; they tell me too, that I am nothing in the world, & that I only fancy, I exist do but come to me quickly & one lesson of thine, my dear Philosopher, will restore me to the use of my Senses, & make me think myself something, as long as I am

your friend & Servant

T GRAY

[]⁶

P S the inclosed is the oath of Matriculation⁷ I am charmed with Popes Letter⁸—never did any body long for anything, as

¹ Oriana is the heroine of the romance of *Amadis of Gaul*, whom Amadis eventually marries

⁴ Vanbrugh, *Provok'd Wife*, v 6 'Your bottle of Hungary water to your lady' This was 'a distilled water, denominated from a Queen of Hungary, for whose use it was first prepared . . . made of rosemary flowers infused in rectified spirits of wine, and thus distilled' (Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, 1728)

⁵ Plough-Monday is the first Monday after Epiphany, it fell this year (1735) on 13 Jan, hence the date of this letter (Plough-Monday being 'yesterday') is Tuesday, 14 Jan

⁶ A piece beneath the signature has been cut out, carrying with it part of the address on the other side (as indicated by the square brackets)

⁷ For the oath (in Latin), see Wall's *Account of the Different Ceremonies in the University of Cambridge*, p 39

⁸ That is, *The Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot* (the Prologue to the Satires), which was published in the January preceding Arbuthnot's death (27 Feb 1735).

Jan 1735

Gray to Walpole

Letter 9

I do for your Masquerade; pray d'ye design to go, as a Judge, or a Devil, or undisguised. or as an Angel in propriâ Personâ ⁹ I wonder how you can dislike the Distressed Mother¹⁰—

[

]¹¹

Addressed To [T]he Honorble Mr Horace Walpole [at]¹² the House of ye right honble [S]^r Robert Walpole in St James's Square London Postmark CAMBRIDGE 15 1A

10 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge] Sunday Jan 21¹ [19] [1735]²

[

]³

Y^{ou} have perform'd your promise as fully, as I could have wish'd it there seems to have been no occasion for ushering it in with an Apology, since I have long learnt to be more than contented with whatever comes from a hand so dear the things, that are to be deliver'd by word of mouth, give me so much impatience, that I would desire you to send down your mouth by the coach, if I were not apprehensive what a loss it would be to the next Masquerade, & what a dearth of pretty things it might occasion in town; however I hope you'll not fail to send your thoughts by the post, without a Masque you are extremely good in making me a feast every other day, I have kept myself alive all this long Christmas by the help of your letters, & a few

⁹ These seven words have been scored through and almost obliterated, but are just decipherable

¹⁰ By Ambrose Philips, it was this play (an adaptation of Racine's *Andromaque*, produced at Drury Lane in 1712) which was ridiculed by Henry Carey in his *Namby-Pamby*

'He no longer writes of mammy
Andromache and her lammy,
Hanging panging at the breast
Of a matron most distressed'¹

¹¹ The last line of the postscript has been cut out

¹² See n 6

LETTER 10 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 9

¹ This letter was evidently misdated Jan 21 fell on Sunday in 1733, but this letter, as the postmark shows, was written from Cambridge, where Gray did not begin residence until 9 Oct 1734 Further, the postmark, which in the case of letters written by Gray from Cambridge is usually a day later than the date of the letter, is 20 Jan, so that the correct date must be 19 Jan, which fell on Sunday in 1735

² The date of the year is determined partly by the address (see Letter 1, n 8), partly by the considerations mentioned in the previous note.

³ See Letter 1, n 2

Letter 10

Gray to Walpole

Jan 1735

Mince-pyes, which an old Gentlewoman⁴ in this town sends me, & in whose favour I have made no small progrefs, I can assure you you must know, I make my Addresfes to her by calling her, Grandmother, in so much, that she sends her Niece every day to know how I do N B the other [day she]⁵ was dying, as every one thought, but herself and when the Physician told her how dangerous her case was, she fell into a violent pafsion with him marry come up¹ she dye¹ no, indeed would'nt she, dye quotha¹ she'd as soon be hang'd in short she was so resolutely bent upon not dying, that she really did live, & is now as well as

your sincerest friend

OROZMADES

P S. Punch⁶ is more smart, than ordinary

Addressed To The Honble Mr Horace Walpole at his house in St James's Square London Postmark CAMBRIDGE 20 1A

II GRAY TO WALPOLE

Tuesday Jan 21 [1735]¹ P C ²

I, OROZMADES, Master of the noble Science of Defence, I hearing of the great reputation of thee, Timothy Celadon, do challenge & invite thee to contend with me at long-love, great-affection, or whatever other weapon you shall make choice of, in Kings-Colledge Quadrangle, a Week hence precisely — — —

Vivat Rex —

And that you may not fail me, I believe I shall see you at London beforehand, Almanzor³ persuades me, and I have a

⁴ Possibly some member of the Nutting family of Cambridge Gray's uncle, William Antrobus, had married in 1727 a daughter of Alderman Nutting, who had two other married daughters living in Cambridge (see Letter 283*, n 1, and Genealogical Table)

⁵ Piece cut out (see n 3), the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

⁶ Perhaps a reference to the Punch in one of Rich's pantomimes, the other characters of which were Harlequin and Scaramouch, or possibly the nickname of some former Eton acquaintance now at Cambridge

LETTER 11 — First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 10

Jan 21 fell on Tuesday in 1735, which year is also indicated by the address (see Letter 9, n 1)

² That is, Peterhouse (St Peter's College), cf Letter 14, which is dated from Pet Col

³ See Letter 2, n 8

Jan. 1735

Gray to Walpole

Letter 11

months mund⁴ to it myself; tho' I think it a foolish undertaking enough would you advise me to come, or not? for I stand wavering but pray, don't importune, don't prefs,⁵ dear S^r Celadon, oh Jesus!⁶ I believe, if you should importune, I shall—be very coming —if I do venture, I must borrow your Disguise;⁷ for nobody, but you, must know, that I am in town well¹ be it, as it will, you have got my Soul with you already; I should think, 'twould be better, for you to bring it hither to the rest of me, than make my body take a journey to it, besides it would be cheaper to me, for that can come down in the coach with you; but my limbs must pay for their passage up I hate living by halves, for now I lead such a kind of I don't know how—as it were— in short, what the devil d'ye mean by keeping me from myself so long? I expect to be pay'd with interest, & in a short time to be a whole thing, whereas at this present writing, I am but a

DEMI—OROZ

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Mr Horace Walpole at the house of the right hon^{ble} S^r Robert Walpole in St James's Square London Postmark CAMBRIDGE 22 1A

12 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, Jan 27, 1735]¹

[]²

DON'T believe, that I would refuse to do anything for your sake, since at this present I am starving for you, & losing my dinner, that I may have the better opportunity of writing you could not have given me a fairer occasion for shewing my obedience to your commands, than you have done in bidding me stay, where I am, for tho' before I was quite set upon coming to town, you give me so many reasons against it, that I am

⁴ Congreve, *Way of the World*, III 6 'Foible She has a month's mind, but I know Mr Mirabell can't abide her'

⁵ Congreve, *Way of the World*, III 1 'Lady Wishfort Will he be importunate, Foible, and push?'

⁶ Walpole first altered this word to 'Crimini', and then scored it through, and re-wrote 'Jesus' above the line, the original word is still decipherable.

⁷ No doubt an allusion to the masquerades mentioned in the previous letters

LETTER 12 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 11

¹ The year 1735 has been inserted in the original (by Mason), this is confirmed by the address (see Letter 1, n 8)

² See Letter 1, n 2

perfectly easy, & shall expect your coming with great resignation, that is, if you don't make it too long first I read yesterday in the news, that S^r R. W^a youngest Son, a young Gentleman of great hopes, was coming to Trinity-Colledge, Cambridge; pray, let me know, whither you are acquainted with him, & what hopes we may entertain of him, there are few here, but what give a good character of him, especially a long ungainly Mortal of Kings Col^l & a little, waddling Fresh-man of Pet-House,⁴ who pretend to be intimate with him I can't see, how it should be; but however every body begins to envy the[m] already, they are p^l⁵ecople of very bad Repute, one of 'em is neither a Whig, nor a Tory, & the other pases for a Conjuror—there is nothing to be seen in the Streets, at present, but new-made Batchelors, who walk to & fro, to shew their new Gowns, their examination is now over, during which time, they are obliged to set in the theatre for three days, from 8 in the morning till 5 at night without any fire, the first two days, they are liable to all the impertinent Questions w^{ch} any Master of arts is pleased to ask them; they must answer every thing in Philosophy, which is proposed to them, & all this in Latin the 3^d day the first Moderator⁶ takes 'em out, half a dozen at a time into a Gallery atop of the theatre, in sight of every body, but out of hearing, he examines them again, as long as he will, & in what Sciences he pleases the Junior-Moderator does the same thing in the afternoon, & then both the Proctors, if they have a mind, but they seldom do the next day the Vice-chancellour & two Proctors tell them, whither they shall have their degrees, or not, & put on their Batchelours Gown & Cap then they go all into the Schools, & one fellow belonging to each of the Colledges, gets into the Rostrum, & asks each of his Batchelours some strange Question: this was one, wh^{ch} was asked t'other day—Mⁱ Fili, Domine, Domine N^o quid est Matrimonium? The Answer was, Est conjunctio nunc copulativa, nunc disjunctiva so then every body must laugh & the ceremony is ended I tell you thus, because it will be mine own Case some time or other, so I hope you will excuse me for tiring

³ Ashton Cole described Ashton in his *Athenae Cantabrigienses* as 'a large raw-boned man' (see Letter 14, n. 3)

⁴ Gray himself, he often alludes to his own diminutive stature

⁵ Piece cut out (see n. 2), the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

⁶ The Moderators were the Examiners in the Tripos

Jan. 1735

Gray to Walpole

Letter 12

you with the account. and now, my dearest Hamlet, heaven send me safe from Wittemberg, or thee . ⁷

P.S my letter last time was too late for the Post, so I hope you'll forgive it—

Jan 27 Rome . ⁷

Addressed To [Th]e Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole [E]sq at the house of the [r]ight Hon^{ble} Sr Robert Walpole [i]n St James's Square London

13 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, Feb 4, 1735]¹

[

]²

I HAVE so little to write, & so much to say, that, when you really do come, you may expect for the first fortnight to do nothing, but hearken to my Questions, & to spend the next month in answering them nay, I assure you, I limit the time only that you may rest a while, to take breath, otherwise I could listen to you for the whole two years with an infinite deal of pleasure I am forming the image to myself of your journey hither, I suppose you will come down Essex way, & if you do, first you must cross Epping forest,³ & there you must be rob'd. then you go a long way, & at last you come to Gog-magog hills,³ and then you must be overturn'd I hope, you have not hurt yourself, but you must come at last to Foulmoor⁴ fields, & then you must fall Squash into a bog, pray, don't be frightened, for in about an hour and half you may chance to get out, now perhaps if it is not dark, you may see the top of King's Chappel; tho' if it should be night, it is very likely, you won't be able to see at all. however at last you get into Cambridge, all bemuddled & tired, with three wheels and a half to the coach, four horses lame, and two blind the first thing, that appears, is a row of Alms-houses, & presently on the right-hand you'll see a thing

⁷ Piece torn off, carrying with it part of the address on the other side (as indicated by the square brackets), as well as the postmark

LETTER 13 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 12

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year is determined by the address (see Letters 1, n 8)

² See Letter 1, n 2.

³ Compare Walpole's letter to Gray of Oct. 1735 (Letter 17)

⁴ Foulmere (or Foulmire) is nine miles from Cambridge on the road to London

⁵ Piece cut out, the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

like two Presbyterian Meeting-houses with the backside of a little Church between them, & here you must find out by Sympathy, that this is Peter-house, & that I am but a little way off, I shall soon feel how near you are, then you should say—no, no, I should say—but I believe I shall be too much overjoy'd to say anything, well, be that, as it will, I still hope, you will be almost as much so dear S^r, you are welcome to Cambridge; what d'y^e think? Pilk Hale⁶ about 3 months ago had a great inclination to visit Malepert,⁷ but thought it would not be well-bred not to let him know it beforehand, & being at a loss, who he should send, I persuaded him to go himself, & let him know M^r Hale would wait upon him in the afternoon and so he did Mal promised to return it very soon, & ever since the other has staid at home with all his fine things set out to the best advantage, & is quite sure he'll come, & expects him every hour —⁸

Addressed [To] The H[on^{ble} Horace Walp]ole Esq a[t his house in S^t James's Squa[re London] Postmark 5 FE

14 GRAY TO WALPOLE

May it please your We-ship

I^N consideration of the time your Petitioner has past in your honours Service, as also on account of the great Services your petitioner's relations have had the honour to perform for your Honour's Ancestors, since it is well known that your petit^{rs} Grandmother's Aunt's Cousin-german had y^e honour to pull out your honour's great Uncle's Wife's brother's hollow tooth, as also, to go further backwards, your Pet^{rs} relation was Physician to King Cadwallader, one of your highnesses fore-fathers, and cured him of a fishes-bone, which had stuck in his throat fifteen

⁶ This was probably William Hale, eldest son of Sir Bernard Hale, of King's Walden, Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer (d. 1729) Hale, who was a contemporary of Gray and Walpole at Eton, was admitted a Pensioner at Peterhouse on 12 July 1734, nine days after Gray, his Tutor was the Rev. George Birkett, who was also Gray's Tutor (see Letter 29, n. 1) Hale died at Chelsea on 14 Sept. 1793. General Bernard Hale and General John Hale were his younger brothers (*Peterhouse Admission Book*, ed. Walker, p. 268).

⁷ Presumably an Eton schoolfellow, perhaps a Fellow-commoner

⁸ The middle of the second leaf of the letter has been cut out, carrying with it the concluding portion of the text, as well as the postmark of the place, and most of the address on the other side (as indicated by the square brackets).

LETTER 14 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No. 13

years, & three days and would neither come up, nor down. also the Emperour Maximus, a very near relation of your serene Haughtinesses, entertain'd your Petit^{re} progenitor in his army, as a Jester, who is said to have had so much wit, that he could devour ten peck-loaves at a Meal, & tofs off as many hog-heads of strong beer without taking breath I could enumerate more than all this, but hope, this will be sufficient to prevail upon your generosity to make me your first Minister, and Confidant

And your Pet^r shall *ever pray*

Thou hast been for this month, like an auctioneer's mallet, just a-coming¹ just a-coming¹ and pray what has next Thursday in it, more than last Wednesday, to make me expect you with any tolerable Certainty² when these two eyes behold thee, I question, whether I shall believe them three long months is a long while, for a poor lone woman¹ to bear, and I have born, & born, and been fub'd off, & fub'd off from this day to that day by you, thou Honey-suckle Villain (as Mrs Quickly says) oh! thou art an infinitive thing upon my score of impatience² remember you are a day in my debt for every hour you have made me wait, & I shall come upon you for the payment, & perhaps with interest — I begin to bear my Crest aloft when I hear of your pride, I dare not tell Ashton³ anything about it,

¹ Altered by Walpole to 'creature', which he has also written in above the line

² ² *Hen IV*, 11 1 'Mrs Quickly He's an infinitive thing upon my score

A hundred mark is a long one for a poor lone woman to bear, and I have borne, and borne, and borne, and have been fubbed off, and fubbed off, and fubbed off, from this day to that day Ah! thou honey-suckle villain!

³ This name has been scored through, but is still decipherable Thomas Ashton, who is almost certainly to be identified with 'Almanzor' of the 'Quadruple Alliance' (see Letter 2, n 8)—the 'long, ungainly mortal of King's' of Gray's letter to Walpole of 27 Jan 1735 (Letter 12)—was the son of a school-master at Lancaster He was born in 1716, the same year as Gray and West, and entered Eton about the same time, but was apparently somewhat their senior From Eton he was elected to King's College, Cambridge, in 1733, and was admitted Scholar in 1734 In 1737, through the good offices of Walpole, he was appointed tutor to the youthful Earl of Plymouth In 1738 he was elected to a Fellowship at King's, and having been ordained in 1740, he was in 1742, again by Walpole's influence, nominated to the Crown living of Aldingham, in Lancashire. In 1745 he was elected Fellow of Eton, which also, according to Cole, he owed to Walpole In 1749 he was presented to the rectory of Sturminster Marshall, in Dorsetshire, which in 1752 he exchanged for that of St Botolph, Bishopsgate In 1759 he took the degree of D D at Cambridge, and in 1760 married a Miss

Letter 14

Gray to Walpole

Feb 1735

for he hopes to see you behave with great affability to every body, & you'll have many lectures upon that Subject I begin to pity the poor Man, that is to be with you he is extremely modest, & as humble as you could wish, you may snub him with a look, I fancy he will intrude very little make hast & pack up your things, the Coach is at the door drive away to ⁴

Feb- 25 [1735]⁵ Pet Col

Addressed To The Honble M^r Horac[e] Walpole at his house [in] St James's Square Londo[n] Postmark CAMBRIDGE 26 FE

15 GRAY TO WALPOLE

March 5 [1735]¹ Cambridge

[]²

IF you please to remember, that about a fortnight ago, you sent me to Almanzor's³ room, there to wait for you & there it seems I might have stayed till this time, & been never the nearer after all this, I see nothing should hinder, but that about the 29th of next February there may be some small probability of your being just a-going to think of setting out on y^e 29th of Febr Anno Domini, 1737 ⁴ at which time your humble servant will most punctually meet you, but in the mean time I would advise with you how Almanzor & I shall pass the time, whither you think it best for us to double our selves up nicely in the corner of some old Draw, that at your arrival, we may come out spick & span new in all our pleats, but perhaps by that time we may grow out of fashion, or moth-eaten, or to compose ourselves with a good dose of Laudanum for a year or two, & so dream of

Amyand In 1761 he was elected to the preachiership at Lincoln's Inn, which he held for two years He died at Bath in 1775 His portrait by Eckhardt hung in Walpole's bed-chamber at Strawberry Hill, and he was also painted by Reynolds and Gainsborough For the part played by Ashton in the quarrel between Gray and Walpole, see Letter 116, n 8

⁴ The signature of the letter has been cut away (see Letter 1, no 2), carrying with it part of the address on the other side (as indicated by the square brackets)

⁵ The date of the year is determined by the address (see Letter 1, n 8)

LETTER 15 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 14

¹ The year, which has been inserted in the original (by Mason), is confirmed by the address (see Letter 1, n 8)

² See Letter 1, n 2

³ See Letter 2, n 8

⁴ An equivalent of the Greek Calends

March 1735

Gray to Walpole

Letter 15

you, [but then you may]⁵ find it too hard a matter to wake us, or perhaps you will let us lye, & snore on till Doomsday prithe don't mind Finances & my lord Chancellour,⁶ but make haste hither oh! I forgot how obligingly in your last letter to me, you let us both know, that you did not care a farthing, whither you saw us this twelve-month, for I imagine you mean't it to both, because it was directed to me at Kings-colledge ⁷ I own, I quite believe you, but did not think you would mortify me so much as to tell me so, however I have learn'd to be pleased with anything, that comes from you, & still try to persuade myself, that you would think Cambridge more disagreeable without, than you will with

yours most faithfully

[]⁸

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} [M^r Horace] Walpole at [his house in] S^t James's [Square London]⁹

15* West to Gray

[c 1 July 1735]

[In his letter to Walpole of 3 July 1735, Gray says that he had received the day before 'a long letter in Latin' from West (see Letter 16, n 6)]

16 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge] July-3^d-[1735]¹

My Dearest Horace

Donec gratus eram tibi²

I WAS happier than D^r Heighington,³ or his Wife Lydia,⁴ however I find being from you agrees as ill with me, as if I never had felt your absence before I have composed a hymn about

⁵ Piece cut out (see n 2), the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

⁶ Charles Talbot (1685-1737), first Baron Talbot of Hensol, Lord Chancellor, 1733-7

⁷ Almanzor (i.e. Ashton) was at King's, Gray, of course, was at Peterhouse

⁸ The signature has been cut out (see Letter 1, n 2)

⁹ The upper half of the second leaf of the letter has been torn off, carrying with it (apparently) a postscript, as well as the postmark and part of the address on the other side (as indicated by the square brackets)

LETTER 16 — First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 15

¹ The date of the year is determined by the address (see Letter 1, n 8)

² Horace, 3 *Odes*, ix 1

³ Musgrave Heighington (1690-c 1774), a native of Durham, well known in East Anglia, between 1733 and 1746, as a musician and composer He was

it mighty moving, & thrum it perpetually, for I^{ve} changed my harp into a harpsicord & am as melodious, as the Day is long: I am sorry, I can give you no further Information about M^r Cornwallis,⁵ there was a Congregation held yesterday, but nothing further done about his degree for the present I received a long letter mighty pretty, in Latin, from West⁶ yesterday, partly about butter'd Turnips, partly about an

for a time organist at Great Yarmouth, and during this period gave concerts in Norwich, Spalding, Yarmouth, and Holt (in the neighbourhood of Sir Robert Walpole's seat at Houghton) In 1745 he published *Six Select Odes of Anacreon in Greek and Six of Horace in Latin, set to Music*, dedicated to Robert Walpole, second Earl of Orford In his preface to this work he speaks of these odes as having been 'chiefly compos'd for the private Entertainment, and some of them by the particular Command of your Lordship's noble Father, under whose Patronage, had Fate permitted, they were design'd to appear in Publick' One of the odes of Horace set by him (p. 23) is that quoted by Gray, the ninth of the third book, which is written for two voices, one part being assigned to 'Lydia', a character in the ode Mrs Heighington (an Irish lady, whose maiden name was Anne Conway) sang with her husband at concerts It is evident that Walpole had lately heard her sing the part of 'Lydia' in Heighington's setting of this ode, and that he had mentioned it to Gray, who hence refers to Mrs Heighington as 'Lydia'. Among the subscribers to Heighington's work is a long list of Walpoles and Conways, and it is probable that Sir Robert Walpole's patronage of him and his wife was due to the latter's being a family connexion of the Conways, who were nearly related to the Walpoles through the marriage of Francis Conway, first Baron Conway, with Charlotte Shorter (as his third wife), sister of Catherine Shorter, the wife of Sir Robert Walpole

⁴ See previous note

⁵ Hon. Frederick Cornwallis (1713-83), seventh son of Charles, fifth Baron Cornwallis, a contemporary (though some years their senior) of Gray and Walpole at Eton, whence he went to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted as a Pensioner in Feb. 1732, and of which he became a Fellow in 1738 (see Letter 51, n. 4) He took his M.A. degree in 1736, without taking the B.A., as being the son of a Peer He was successively Canon of Windsor (1746), Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (1750), Dean of St. Paul's (1766), and Archbishop of Canterbury (1768-83)

⁶ The letter referred to by Gray has not been preserved See Letter 15* Richard West, known from his name as 'Favonius' or 'Zephyrus' in the 'Quadruple Alliance' (see Letter 2, n. 8), of which he was the only member to go to Oxford, was the only son of Richard West, an eminent lawyer, who became Lord Chancellor of Ireland, on his mother's side he was a grandson of Bishop Burnet He was born in 1716, and went to Eton probably in 1726, the year of his father's death He was a delicate youth, Cole, who had been intimate with him at Eton, describes him as 'tall and slim, of a pale and meagre look and complexion, and promised not half what he performed' He went from Eton to Christ Church, Oxford, as a Commoner, in May 1735, and came away, after a residence of three years, without taking a degree He had early been destined for his father's profession of the bar, and to

July 1735

Gray to Walpole

Letter 16

Eclipse, that I understood no more than the Man in the Moon; he desired his love to you in English:

I wish a great deal of happiness to you, a good journey to Houghton,⁷ & a more entertaining Companion, than

yours most sincerely

T. GRAY

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq in S^t Jame's Square
London Postmark CAMBRIDGE 4 1Y

17 WALPOLE TO GRAY

From Cambridge, [c 15 Oct], 1735.

In the style of Addison's *Travels* ¹

Dear Sir,

I BELIEVE you saw in the newspapers that I was going to make the tour of Italy,² I shall therefore give you some account of the places I have seen, which are not to be found in Mr Addison, whose method I shall follow ³ On 9th of

this end had been admitted at the Inner Temple in 1733 On leaving Oxford in 1738 he settled in the Temple, where it was intended that Gray should join him, but this arrangement was upset by Gray's continental tour with Walpole West, however, had no ambition 'to sit upon a bench', as he wrote to Gray in June 1740 (see Letter 89), and before the return of the latter he had left the Temple, and turned his thoughts to the army Meanwhile the state of his health was becoming rapidly worse Gray found him weak and dispirited, and before long, in the spring of 1742, he began to complain of a racking cough, which sapped his strength and robbed him of his sleep (see Letter 102) He died shortly after (1 June 1742) in a country house near Hatfield so suddenly that both Gray (see Letter 110*) and Ashton (see *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, no 152) addressed letters to him after he had been dead some days Gray gave expression to his own grief in the well-known sonnet *On the Death of Richard West*, and in some lines in the fragmentary fourth book of his Latin poem *De Principis Cogitandi*, which was dedicated to West (see Letter 131)

⁷ Walpole usually spent part of the summer at his father's Norfolk seat

LETTER 17 —First printed by Mrs Paget Toynbee in *Letters of Horace Walpole*, vol 1, pp 4–8, from a copy in Walpole's handwriting The heading and marginal notes are by Walpole The page references in the marginal notes are to Addison's book

¹ *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* Lond 1705

² 'Horatio Walpole, Esq, third Son to Sir Robert Walpole, is setting out to make the Tour of Italy' (*Daily Journal*, Wed 8 Oct 1735) Walpole started on the 9th Oct, and from his account arrived in Cambridge about the 14th The date of the letter must have been about the 15th

³ The places mentioned in this letter are on the high road from London to Cambridge

^aLondon. Oct^r., 1735, we set out from Lodone^a (the Lugdunum of the Ancients), the capital city of Lombardy, in a chariot-and-four. About 11 o'clock, we arrived at a place the Italians call Tempialbulo^b Virgil seems to have prophesied of this town when he says—

Amisit verum vetus Albula nomen ⁴

By *Time* the founder's great design was crost,
And *Albula* its genuine title lost

Here are no remains of Roman antiquity but a statue of Marc Aurelius,^c which the Lombards call Guglielmo Terzo, one of their kings, and some learned men^d St George and the Dragon. It is an equestrian statue, and almost equal to that of Charlemagne, at the Great Cross,^e at Lodone. The church is an old Gothic building, and reckoned the most ancient in Italy. Here was some time ago an altar-piece of the Lord's Supper, in which the painter having quarrelled with the Abbot^f of this church, represented him like Judas,^g with this epigram—

^hStatue of King William at a stone-cutter's.
ⁱSee Addison, *Trav*, p. 26.
^jStatue of King Charles at Charing Cross.
^kDr White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough.

*Falleris, hæc qui te pungi sub imagine credis,
Non similis Judas est tibi—poenituit*

Think not, vain man, thou here art represented,
Thou art not like to *Judas*—he repented

From thence we made the best of our way to a town, which in English we should call Stony-Stratford, and corresponds with the description which Virgil has given of it—

— *invo prætervehor Ostia Saxo
Stratfordi, Megarosque sinus, Tapsumque racentem* ⁷

Those that follow are little dirty towns, that seem to have been built only to be 'knocked⁸' on the head, like

Antithæum, Glaucumque, Medontaque, Thersilochumque ⁸

The next town of note is Arc,^h so called from its being built

ⁱExpression of Addison on this line.
^jBow

⁴ *Aen* viii 332

⁵ 'In Pavia is a statue in brass of Marcus Antoninus on horseback, which the people of the place call Charles the Fifth, and some learned men Constantine the Great'

⁶ The correct version of this story is as follows. Dr Richard Welton (d. 1726), the nonjuring Rector of Whitechapel, who resented Kennett's opposition to Sacheverell, employed the artist James Fellowes (d. 1730) to depict Kennett as Judas in an altar-piece in his church

⁷ *Aen* iii 688–9 (adapted)

⁸ *Aen* vi 483 (adapted).

Oct. 1735

Walpole to Gray

Letter 17

in the shape of a bow—*ab Eoo curvatur in Arcum*. From Arc we travelled through a very pleasant country to Epino,¹ Epping whose forest is celebrated by Virgil in these lines:—

*Sylvæ Epini latè dumis, atque ilicè nigra
Horrida, quam densæ complerant undique sentes,
Rara per occultos ducebat semita calles*⁹

Epinum's woods with shrubs and gloomy oak
Horrid, and all with brambles thick o'ergrown,
Through which few narrow paths obscurely led

*Mr Trapp*¹⁰

We were here shown, at a distance, the thickets rendered so famous by the robberies of Gregorio.¹ Here I was met by a very distant and troublesome relation My namesake hints at such an one in those lines of his—

*Accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum
Arreptâque manu, Quid agis, Cosinussum, rerum*¹²

Horace

There stepp'd up one to me I hardly knew,
Embraced me, and cried, Cousin, how d'ye do?

*Mr Creech*¹³

We lay that night at Oggerell,^k which is famous for nothing but being Horace's Oppidulo, *quod versu dicere non est*¹⁵

In our way to Parvulun,^l we saw a great castle,^m belonging to the Counts of Suffolcia it is a vast pile of building, quite in the old taste Parvulun is a small village, formerly remarkable for several miracles,ⁿ said to be performed there by a Welsh saint,¹⁶ who, like Jupiter, was suckled by a goat, whence they think it

Porrum et Caepe nefas nefas violare Juv¹⁷

⁹ *Aen* ix 381-3 (with some errors of memory)

¹⁰ Joseph Trapp (1679-1747), first Professor of Poetry at Oxford (1708) He translated Virgil into blank verse

¹¹ 'We were here shown at a distance the Deserts, which have been rendered so famous by the penance of Mary Magdalene'

¹² *1 Sat* ix 3-4 (adapted)

¹³ Thomas Creech (1659-1700), of Wadham and All Souls Colleges, Oxford, the translator of Lucretius, Horace, and Theocritus

¹⁴ In Hertfordshire, close to Bishop's Stortford, 30 miles from London on the road to Cambridge

¹⁵ *1 Sat* v 87

¹⁶ Henry Winstanley (1644-1703), draughtsman and engineer The 'tricks in mechanics' mentioned by Walpole were shown, for the benefit of his widow, at Winstanley's former house at Littlebury in Essex

¹⁷ Juvenal, *Sat* xv 9

¹Gregory, a noted highwayman See Addison, *Trav*, p 1¹¹

^kHock-
erel¹⁴

^lLittle-
bury
^mAudley
Inn, the
seat of the
Earl of
Suffolk
ⁿWin-
stanley's
Wonders,
or Tricks
in Me-
chanics

^oBone
Bridge ¹⁸

The wonders of Parvulun are in great repute all over Lombardy. We have very bad ways from hence to Pont Ossoria,^o where are the ruins of a bridge that gives name to the town. The account they give of it is as follows—St. Bona being desirous to pass over the river, met with a man who offered to carry her over, he took her up in his arms, and under pretence of doing her service, was going to ravish her, but she praying to the Virgin Mary for help, the wretch fell into the stream and was drowned, and immediately this bridge rose out of the water for her to go over. She was so touched with this signal deliverance, that she would not leave the place, but continued there till her death in exercises of devotion, and was buried in a little chapel at the foot of the bridge, with her story at length and this epitaph—*Hæc sita sunt fossâ Bonae Venerabilis ossa*¹⁹

^pEpitaph
of Vener-
able Bede
^qNew-
market

From Pont Ossoria we travelled by land to Nuovo Foro^q (the Novum Forum of Jockius), where are held the greatest races in all Italy. We were shown in the treasury of the Benedictines' Convent an ancient gold cup which cost an hundred guineas (a great sum in those days),¹⁹ and given, as the friar told us that attended us, by a certain German Prince, he did not very well know who, but he believed his name was one King George.^r The inhabitants are wonderfully fond of horses, and to this day tell you most surprising stories of one Looby, a Boltognian. I saw a book dedicated to the head of that family, intituled *A Discourse on the Magnanimity of Bucephalus, and of the Duke of Boltogne's Horse Looby*.^{s 22}

^rSee
p 78 ²⁰

^sSee
p 30 ²¹
Duke of
Bolton ²³

¹⁸ Bournbridge, between Saffron Walden and Cambridge

¹⁹ A fling at George II's parsimony

²⁰ 'I asked an abbot that was in the church, what was the name of this Gothic prince, who, after a little recollection, answered me, That he could not tell precisely, but that he thought it was one Julius Caesar'

²¹ 'When I was at Milan I saw a book newly published, that was dedicated to the present head of the Borromean family, and entitled *A discourse on the Humility of Jesus Christ, and of St Charles Borromée*'

²² Looby, whose sire was Bay Bolton, won a roval plate at Newmarket 'Last Monday was run the great Match at Newmarket, on which was depending upwards of 30,000 *l* between the Duke of Bolton's Looby against Mr Panton's Conqueror, 4 miles for 300 Guineas a Side which was won by Mr Panton's Conqueror' (*Daily Gazetteer*, Wed 8 Oct 1735—a few days before this letter was written)

²³ Charles Paulet (1685–1754), third Duke of Bolton

Oct. 1735

Walpole to Gray

Letter 17

I staid here three days, and in my way to Pavia^t stopped at the Palace of Delfini,^u which is built on the top of a large barren mountain, and at a distance looks like the Ark resting on Mount Ararat This mountain is called Gog, and opposite to one called Magog They are very dangerous precipices, and occasioned the famous verse—

Incidit in Gogum qui vult vitare Magogon v

^tCam-
bridge
^uLord Go-
dolphon's
house on
Gogma-
gog Hills

^vIncidit in
Scyllam
qui vult
vitare
Charib-
dum

I need not repeat the history of Gog and Magog, it being known to every child, and to be found at large in most books of travels.

Pavia and its University are described by Mr Addison, so I shall only mention a circumstance which I wonder escaped that learned gentleman It is the name of the town, which is derived from the badness of the streets. *Pavia à non pavendo*, as *Lucus à non lucendo*

Till next post, adieu!

Yours ever,
HORATIUS ITALICUS

18 WEST TO GRAY

YOU use me very cruelly You have sent me but one letter since I have been at Oxford, and that too agreeable not to make me sensible how great my loss is in not having more Next to seeing you is the pleasure of seeing your handwriting, next to hearing you is the pleasure of hearing from you. Really and sincerely I wonder at you, that you thought it not worth while to answer my last letter. I hope this will have better success in behalf of your quondam school-fellow; in behalf of one who has walked hand in hand with you, like the two children in the wood,

Through many a flowery path and shelly grot,
Where learning lull'd us in her private maze

The very thought, you see, tips my pen with poetry, and brings Eton to my view Consider me very seriously here in a strange country, inhabited by things that call themselves Doctors and Masters of Arts, a country flowing with syllogisms and ale, where Horace and Virgil are equally unknown;

LETTER 18 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 6-7

Letter 18

West to Gray

Nov 1735

consider me, I say, in this melancholy light, and then think if something be not due to

Yours

Christ Church Nov 14 1735

P S I desire you will send me soon, and truly and positively, a history of your own time ¹

19 GRAY TO WEST

[c 20 Dec. 1735]¹

PERMIT me again to write to you, though I have so long neglected my duty, and forgive my brevity, when I tell you it is occasioned wholly by the hurry I am in to get to a place where I expect to meet with no other pleasure than the sight of you, for I am preparing for London in a few days at furthest I do not wonder in the least at your frequent blaming my indolence, it ought rather to be called ingratitude, and I am obliged to your goodness for softening so harsh an appellation ² When you have seen one of my days, you have seen a whole year of my life, they go round and round like the blind horse in the mill, only he has the satisfaction of fancying he makes a progress, and gets some ground, my eyes are open enough to see the same dull prospect, and to know that having made four-and-twenty steps more, I shall be just where I was, I may, better than most people, say my life is but a span, were I not afraid lest you should not believe that a person so short-lived could write even so long a letter as this, in short, I believe I must not send you the history of my own time, till I can send you that also of the reformation ³ However, as the most undeserving people in the world must sure have the vanity to wish somebody

¹ An allusion to the *History of my own Time* (published in 1723-34) of West's maternal grandfather, Bishop Burnet

LETTER 19 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 7-8, in combination with part of another letter (Letter 22)

¹ Date conjectural. Gray speaks of 'preparing for London in a few days at furthest' From the Peterhouse records it appears that he left Cambridge about 26 Dec The letter was presumably written in the previous week

²⁻³ When this letter was reprinted in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence* (No 21), the first eight lines were assumed to be a concoction of Mason's, and were omitted, but as the substance of the passage is probably Gray's it has now been restored

³ Carrying on the allusion to the other history written by Mr West's grandfather Mason —See postscript to Letter 18 Burnet's *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, in 3 vols, was published 1679-1715

Dec 1735

Gray to West

Letter 19

had a regard for them, so I need not wonder at my own, in being pleased that you care about me You need not doubt, therefore, of having a first row in the front box of my little heart, and I believe you are not in danger of being crouded there; it is asking you to an old play, indeed, but you will be candid enough to excuse the whole piece for the sake of a few tolerable lines.

20 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Jan 3 — [1736]¹ London

[]²

A THOUSAND thanks for the thousand happy New-years you sent me, & which, I suppose, a thousand good-natured people have made you a present of, in the overflowings of their zeal

—May each revolving year

With blessings crown'd, like this, returning smile

On []³ the happiest of his Kind—

I need not wish anything further, since (as I wish, what you do) to be sure you know my wishes already Wise folks say the wise mans happiness is in himself, pray, are you the wise man? they tell you too, that mortal happiness is not of long continuance, heaven send, yours may last, till you wish for a little misery, nay⁴ and longer still I can't tell whither our situations are much changed, since this time twelvemonth; certain I am however, that there is a great alteration I don't succeed to your diversions in town, I believe, & yet am absent from Cambridge without regret, nay with pleasure, tho' not infinitely happier here —I have very little to tell you, as to the place, call'd London — Adriano⁴ expired a few days ago, & his auncient Predecessour Artaxerxes⁵ succeeds him for the present, w^{ch} I think to visit to

LETTER 20 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 23

¹ The date of the year is determined by the references to the performances of *Adriano* and *Artaserse* (see nn 4, 5), and of *Zara* (see n 13)

² See Letter 1, n 2

³ The name (probably Celadon) has been cut out, carrying with it a word on the other side (see n 15)

⁴ *Adriano* (adapted from Metastasio's *Adriano in Siria*, with music by Veracini) had been produced, as 'a new opera', at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, on 29 Nov 1735, it was performed several times in December, and was then withdrawn until the following February

⁵ 'An opera call'd Artaxerxes' (adapted from Metastasio's *Artaserse*, with music by R Broschi and Hasse) was announced for performance at the

night: the [Town (in submissio)⁶n to your judgement) don't much admire Delane,⁷ M^{rs} Porter⁸ acts in y^e Albion Queens,⁹ but I shall stay for another Play, before I see her, neither have I much inclination for old Cibber¹⁰ in S^r Courtly Nice,¹¹ nor for young M^{rs} Cibber¹² in Voltaire's Zara,¹³ in w^{ch} she performs the principal part for y^e first time of her appearance in that way: I went to King Arthur¹⁴ last night, which is exceeding fine, they have a new man to [suppl]¹⁵y Delane's place, one Johnson,¹⁶ with y^e finest person & face in the world to all appearance; but as awkward, as a Button-maker,¹⁷ in short, if he knew how to

King's Theatre in the Haymarket on the Saturday (10 Jan) following the date of this letter

⁶ Piece cut out, the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

⁷ Dennis Delane (d 1750), an Irish actor, who began his career in Dublin, and came to London in 1730

⁸ Mary Porter (d 1765) made her first appearance in 1699, and retired in 1743. After the retirement of Mrs Oldfield (1730) she was the leading actress on the London stage. At this time (Jan 1736) she was playing at Covent Garden

⁹ By John Banks (fl 1696), it was originally (1684) called *Island Queens*, but the name was changed to *Albion Queens* on its first production at Drury Lane in 1704. Mrs Porter was playing the part of Queen Elizabeth

¹⁰ Colley Cibber (1671-1757), actor, dramatist, and poet laureate (1730), the hero of the *Dunciad* on the deposition of Lewis Theobald (1688-1744), the original hero ('Tibbald'). He retired from the stage in 1733, but made several reappearances during the next twelve years. He played Sir Courtly Nice, one of his most famous parts, at Drury Lane on 29 Dec 1735, and 2 Jan. 1736

¹¹ *Sir Courtly Nice, or It cannot be*, comedy by John Crowne (d c 1703), it was first produced in 1685, and held the stage for upwards of a century

¹² Susannah Maria Cibber (*née* Arne) (1714-66), singer and tragic actress, wife (1734) of Theophilus Cibber (son of Colley Cibber). She made her first appearance as an actress in the part of Zara at Drury Lane on 12 Jan of this year, and was an immediate success

¹³ Voltaire's *Zaire*, the motive of which was borrowed from *Othello*, was produced in 1732, it was adapted for the English stage by Aaron Hill (see Letter 256, n 6), and on its first appearance at Drury Lane had an uninterrupted run of fourteen nights

¹⁴ *King Arthur, or the British Worthy*, by Dryden, music by Purcell, first produced in 1691. It had been revived by Giffard at Goodman's Fields on the previous 19 Dec., and ran for thirty-six nights

¹⁵ Piece cut out, the missing word is supplied conjecturally from the fragments of writing which have escaped the scissors

¹⁶ Originally an artist, he engaged himself to the managers of Drury Lane (Booth, Cibber, and Wilks), by whom, it was alleged, he was unfairly ousted from the best parts, he appears to have died c 1742. He played the part of Arthur in *King Arthur* at Goodman's Fields

¹⁷ This may be a glance at the actor Stevens (see Letter 3, n. 16)

manage his Beauties to advantage, I should not wonder, if all the Women run mad for him the enchanted part of the play, is not Machinery, but actual magick the second scene is a British temple enough to make one go back a thousand years, & really be in ancient Britain the Songs are all Church-musick, & in every one of y^e Choruf's M^{rs} Chambers¹⁸ sung y^e chief part, accompanied with

Roarings, Squawlings & Squeakations dire¹⁹

M^{rs} Giffard²⁰ is by way of Emmeline, & should be blind, but, heaven knows¹ I would not wish to see better than she does, & seems to do, for when Philidel²¹ restores her to sight, her eyes are not at all better than before, she is led in at first, by a Creature, y^t was more like a Devil by half, than Grimbald²² himself, she took herself for Madame la Confidente, but every body else took her to be in the Circumstances of Damnation when Emmeline comes to her sight, she beholds this M^{rs} Matilda²³ first, & cries out

Are Women all like thee? such glorious Creatures!²⁴

which set the people into such a laugh, as lasted the whole Act the Frost Scene is excessive fine, the first Scene of it is only a Cascade, that seems frozen, with the Genius of Winter asleep & wrapt in furs, who upon the approach of Cupid, after much quivering, & shaking sings the finest song in the Play just after, the Scene opens, & shows a view of arched rocks covered with Ice & Snow by y^e end of y^e Stage, between the arches are upon pedestals of Snow eight Images of old men & women, that seem frozen into Statues, with Icicles hanging about them & almost hid in frost, & from y^e end come Singers, viz M^{rs} Chambers, &c & Dancers all rubbing their hands & chattering with cold with fur gowns & worsted gloves in abundance, there are several more beautiful Scenes, but rather than describe 'em, I ought to

¹⁸ The same, no doubt, who subsequently made a hit as Polly Peachum in *The Beggar's Opera*, which she played to Lowe's Macheath

¹⁹ Milton, *Par Lost*, li 628 'Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chumæras dire'

²⁰ Wife of the actor, who was manager of the theatre in Goodman's Fields It was under his management that Garrick made his first appearance Giffard played the part of Oswald, and his wife that of Emmeline, in *King Arthur*

²¹ An Aury Spirit

²² An Earthy Spirit—'the grossest, earthiest, ugliest fiend in hell'

²³ Emmeline's attendant

²⁴ Act iii, Sc 2. '*Emmeline* (staring on *Matilda*) Are women such as thou? Such glorious creatures?'

Letter 20

Gray to Walpole

Jan 1736

beg pardon for interrupting your happiness so long, and conclude myself

your poor Servant ever

[]²⁵

21 GRAY TO WALPOLE

March 11 [1736]¹—Cambridge

My Dearest Horace

I was obliged by an unexpected accident to defer my journey somewhat longer than Monday,² tho' it gave not at all the more time for pleasure, if it had, I should have been at the Masquerade with you. Ashton terrifies me with telling me, that according to his latest Advices we are to remain in a State of Separation from you the Lord knows how much longer; we are inconsolable at the News, & weep our half Pint apiece every day about it, if you don't make more haste, instead of us you may chance to find a couple of Fountains by your fireside if that should be our fate I begg I may have the Honour of washing your hands, & filling your Tea-kettle every morning,³

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} M^r Horace Walpole near Whitehall⁴ Westminster
Postmark SAFFRON WALDEN 12 MR

22 GRAY TO WEST

May 8 —Cantabr [1736]

My Dear West

MY letter enjoys itself, before its open'd, in imagining the Confusion you'll be in, when you hear, that a Coach & six

²⁵ Signature cut off, the top of a 'd' is visible, so that Gray probably signed himself Orozmadcs

LETTER 21 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 27

¹ Gray had been away from Cambridge and had recently returned. The Peterhouse records show that in 1735, 1737, and 1738 he was in residence for the whole of March, but that in 1736 he was absent from c. 12 February to c. 5 March. To this year the letter must be assigned.

² As Gray resumed residence in 1736 c. Friday, 5 March, this would be 1 March.

³ The rest has been cut off

⁴ That is, at the Treasury in Downing Street. Sir Robert Walpole had removed from St James's Square to the Treasury in Downing Street on 22 Sept 1735. Among the publications announced in the *London Magazine* for Oct 1735 is 'Congratulatory verses to Sir Robert Walpole upon his taking Possession as first Commissioner of the Treasury, of the new House in St James's Park, in September, 1735' (See Letter 1, n 8).

LETTER 22 —First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason, *Memoirs*, pp 7-10, first printed in full by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 1-4, now reprinted from original

May 1736

Gray to West

Letter 22

is just stop'd at Christ-church Gates, & desires to speak with you,¹ with a huddle of things in it, as different as ever met together in Noah's Ark, a fat one, and a lean one, and one, that can say a little with his mouth, & a great deal with his pen; & one that can neither speak, nor write, but you'll see 'em; joy be with you, I hope too, I shall shortly see you, at least in congratulatione Oxoniensi: my dear West, I more than ever regret you,² it would be the greatest of pleasures to me, to know wh^t you do, wh^t you read, how you spend your time, &c' &c' & to tell you wh^t I do not do not read, & how I do not, &c' &c' for almost all the employment of my hours may be best explained by Negatives, take my word & experience upon it, doing nothing is a most amusing business, & yet neither Something, nor nothing give me any pleasure, (for this little while last past, I have been playing with Statius,) we yesterday had a game at Quoits together, you'll easily forgive me for having broke his head, as you have a little Pique to him

E LIB 6^{to} THEBAIDOS³

Then thus the King,⁴ 'whoe'er the Quoit can wield,
And furthest send its weight athwart the field,
Let him stand forth his brawny arm to boast'
Swift at the word, from out the gazing host
Young Pterelas with strength unequal drew
Labouring the Disc, & to small distance threw
The Band around admire the mighty Mafs,
A slipp'ry weight, & form'd of polish'd Brafts,
The love of honour bad two Youths advance,
Achaians born, to try the glorious chance,

¹ An allusion to Walpole's approaching visit to Oxford, which took place shortly after this date (see Walpole's letter to Geo Montagu of 20 May 1736 Walpole's companions may have been his tutor Whaley and his school-fellow, Dodd In his letter to Walpole after this visit West desires his 'Service to Dod, and M^r Whaley' (*Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, No 32)

² *Gratulatio Academiæ Oxoniensis, in Nuptias auspiciatissimas illustrissimorum Principum Frederici Principis Wallæ & Augustæ Principissæ de Saxo-Gotha* For West's contribution see Letter 23, n 6

³ According to Mason (*Memoirs*, p 8 n), Gray's translation consisted of 110 lines Of these the translation of ll 646-88 (making 59 lines in English) was in this letter the translation of the rest (ll 704-24) making 27 lines must have been sent in another letter (see Letter 22**) The translation of ll 689-703, making presumably 24 lines, is not extant

⁴ Adrastus (in margin in MS)

A third arose, of Acarnania he,
 Of Pisa one, & three from Ephyre;
 Nor more for now Nesimachus's Son,⁵
 By Acclamations roused, came towing on,
 Another Orb upheaved his strong right hand,
 Then thus, Ye Argive flower, ye warlike band,
 Who trust your arms shall rase the Tyrian towers,
 And batter Cadmus' Walls with stony Showers,
 Receive a worthier load, yon puny Ball
 Let Youngsters tofs
 He said, & scornful flung th' unheeded weight
 Aloof, the champions trembling at the sight
 Prevent disgrace, the palm despair'd resign,
 All, but two youths, th' enormous Orb decline,
 These conscious Shame withheld, & pride of noble line }
 As bright & huge the spacious circle lay
 With doubled light it beam'd against the Day,
 So glittering shews the Thracian Godheads shield,
 With such a gleam affrights Pangæa's field,
 When blazing 'gainst the Sun it shines from far,
 And clash'd rebellows with the Din of war.

Phlegyas the long-expected play began,
 Summon'd his strength, & call'd forth all the Man,
 All eyes were bent on his experienced hand,
 For oft in Pisa's sports his native land
 Admired that arm, oft on Alpheus' Shore
 The pond'rous braß in exercise he bore,
 Where flow'd the widest Stream he took his stand, }
 Sure flew the Disc from his unerring hand,
 Nor stop'd till it had cut the further strand
 And now in Dust the polish'd Ball he roll'd,
 Then grasp'd its weight, elusive of his hold,
 Now fitting to his gripe, & nervous Arm
 Suspends the crowd with expectation warm,
 Nor tempts he yet the plain, but hurl'd upright
 Emits the mass, a prelude of his might,
 Firmly he plants each knee, & o'er his head,
 Collecting all his force, the circle sped,
 It towers to cut the clouds, now thro' the Skies
 Sings in its rapid way, & strengthens, as it flies,

⁵ Hippomedon (in margin in MS)

May 1736

Gray to West

Letter 22

Anon with slack'ned rage comes quivering down,
Heavy & huge, & cleaves the solid ground.

So from th'astonish'd Stars, her nightly train,
The Sun's pale sister, drawn by magic strain,
Deserts precipitant [her]⁶ darken'd Sphere,
In vain the Nations [wi]⁶th officious fear
Their cymbals tofs, & sounding brafs explore, }
Th' Æonian Hag enjoys her dreadful hour, }
And smiles malignant on the labouring Power.

I wont plague you too much, & so break the affair in the
middle, & give you leave to resume your Aristotle, instead of
Your friend & Serv^t

T^r Gray

Addressed To M^r West of Christ Church Oxford Postmark CAMBRIDGE [date
undecipherable]

22* West to Gray

[9 May 1736]

[Among the Walpole MSS formerly in the Waller Collection was the cover of a letter addressed by West 'To M^r Thomas Gray at Peter-house College in Cambridge', bearing the postmark, 10 May, on the inside of which there was jotted down the following epigram of Martial (in 61), with the translation by West, which the latter sent to Ashton in July 1736 (see *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, No 38)

'Esse nihil dicis quicquid petis, Improbe Cinna,
Si nil, Cinna petis, nil tibi, Cinna, nego'

'Whenever Cinna asks a Favour,
Oh! 'Tis but Nothing, S^r, he'll say,
Cinna, you are too Modest rather,
Is't really Nothing? take it, Pray'

It is possible that this cover belonged to a letter (no longer extant) in which West (who was then at Oxford) sent the epigram to Gray, and that the cover on which some one had copied the epigram was sent to Walpole]

22** GRAY TO WEST

[May,¹ 1736]

I SEND you my translation, which I did not engage in because
I liked that part of the Poem, nor do I now send it to you

⁶ MS torn

LETTER 22** —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 8–10, in a composite letter, dated by Mason 8 May 1736, containing also passages from Letters 19 and 22

¹ Before 24 May, the date of West's reply.

because I think it deserves it, but merely to show you how I
wast spend my days ²)

Third in the labours of the Disc came on,
With sturdy step and slow, Hippomedon,
Artful and strong he pois'd the well-known weight, }
By Phlegyas warn'd, and fir'd by Mnestheus' fate, }
That to avoid, and this to emulate
His vigorous arm he try'd before he flung,
Brac'd all his nerves, and every sinew strung,
Then with a tempest's whirl and wary eye,
Pursu'd his cast, and hurl'd the orb on high,
The orb on high tenacious of its course,
True to the mighty arm that gave it force,
Far overleaps all bound, and joys to see
Its antient lord secure of victory
The theatre's green height and woody wall
Tremble ere it precipitates its fall,
The ponderous mass sinks in the cleaving ground,
While vales and woods and echoing hills rebound
As when from Ætna's smoaking summit broke,
The cyclops Cyclops heav'd the craggy rock,
Where Ocean frets beneath the dashing oar,
And parting surges round the vessel roar,
'Twas there he aim'd the meditated harm,
And scarce Ulysses scap'd his giant arm
A tyger's pride the victor bore away,
With native spots and artful labour gay,
A Shining border round the margin roll'd,
And calm'd the terrors of his claws in gold

23 WEST TO GRAY

I AGREE with you that you have broke Statius's head,¹ but it
is in like manner as Apollo broke Hyacinth's,² you have foiled
him infinitely at his own weapon, I must insist on seeing the
rest of your translation, and then I will examine it entire, and
compare it with the latin, and be very wise and severe, and
put on an inflexible face, such as becomes the character of a true

¹ This preliminary paragraph was probably a concoction of Mason's
LETTER 23 — First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 10–11

² See Letter 22

³ Ovid, *Metam* x 174 ff

May 1736

West to Gray

Letter 23

son of Aristarchus, of hyper-critical memory In the mean while,

And calm'd the terrors of his claws in gold,

is exactly Statius—*Summos³ auro mansueverat unguēs*. I never knew before that the golden fangs on hammer-cloths were so old a fashion Your Hymenæal⁴ I was told was the best in the Cambridge Collection⁵ before I saw it, and indeed, it is no great compliment to tell you I thought it so when I had seen it, but sincerely it pleased me best Methinks the college bards have run into a strange taste on this occasion. Such soft unmeaning stuff about Venus and Cupid, and Peleus and Thetis, and Zephyrs and Dryads, was never read As for my poor little Eclogue, it has been condemned and beheaded by our Westminster judges, an exordium of about sixteen lines absolutely cut off, and its other limbs quartered in a most barbarous manner I will send it you in my next as my true and lawful heir, in exclusion of the pretender,⁶ who has the impudence to appear under my name

As yet I have not looked into Sir Isaac Public disputations I hate, mathematics I reverence, history, morality, and natural philosophy have the greatest charms in my eye, but who can forget poetry? they call it idleness, but it is surely the most enchanting thing in the world, *'ac dulce otium & pœne omni negotio pulchrius'*

I am, dear Sir, yours while I am

R W

Christ Church, May 24, 1736

³ In Statius, *Theb* vi 724 *'extremos auro mansueverat unguēs'*

⁴ On the approaching marriage of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, with the Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, which was solemnized at St James's on the evening of Tuesday, 27 April (*Lond Mag*, 1736, p 218) The poem, in Latin hexameters, is reprinted by Mitford in *Works of Gray* (1835-43), i 173 ff

⁵ *Gratulatio Academiæ Cantabrigiensi Auspicatissimas Frederici Walliæ Principis & Augustæ Principissæ Saxo-Gothiæ Nuptias Celebrantis* Cantabrigiæ, Typis Academicis, 1736 fol Walpole, Ashton, Dodd, and Lync, among Gray's Eton contemporaries, also contributed Latin poems to this collection Thomas Wharton, Gray's future correspondent (see Letter 79, n 8), contributed a poem in Greek hexameters, and Piazza, Gray's Italian teacher (see Letter 29, n 4), contributed an Italian poem

⁶ West's poem, in Latin hexameters, was entitled *'Merlinus, Ecloga'*, as printed in the Oxford *Gratulatio* (see Letter 22, n 2) it consisted of 46 lines, signed *'Ricardus West, ex Aede Christi Commensalis'*

24 GRAY TO WALPOLE

June, 11 [1736]¹—LondonD^r S^r

IT was hardly worth while to trouble you with a letter, till I had seen somewhat in Town, not that I have seen anything now, but what you have heard of before, that is, *Atalanta*,² there are only four Men, & two women in it,³ the first is a common Scene of a wood, & does not change at all, till the end of the last Act, when there appears the temple of Hymen, with illuminations, there is a row of blue fires burning in order along the ascent to the temple, a fountain of fire spouts up out of the ground to the ceiling, & two more cross each other obliquely from the sides of the stage, on the top is a wheel, that whirls always about, & throws out a shower of gold-colour, silver, & blue fiery rain. Conti⁴ I like excessively in every thing, but his mouth, which is thus, ⁵ but this is hardly minded, when Strada⁶ stands by him. Opera's & Plays, and all things else at present are beat off the Stage, & are forced to yield to Spring-garden,⁷ where last night were above fifteen-hundred

LETTER 24 —First printed by Foynbee (1915), No 35

¹ The date of the year is determined by the references to the opera of *Atalanta* (see n 2)

² Italian opera by Handel, which was given for the first time on the occasion of a state visit of the Court to the Opera on 12 May 1736, in honour of the marriage of Frederick, Prince of Wales, with the Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha (See Burney, *History of Music*, iv 395-6) *Atalanta* was performed for the last time on 9 June, the close of the season, when the Queen was present. It was perhaps this performance that Gray attended.

³ 'The singers in this opera were Signor Conti, Signora Strada, Signora Maria Negri, with Messrs Beard, Waltz, and Reinhold' (Burney, *loc cit*.)

⁴ Gioacchino Conti (1714-61), called Gizziello, famous soprano, one of the leading singers of his day. He made his first appearance in London in Handel's *Ariodante* on 5 May of this year (1736), and took the principal man's part in *Atalanta*.

⁵ Here in the original letter is a sketch of a square cavernous mouth, in outline like a knuckle-bone. The ugliness of Conti's mouth seems to have made a strong impression upon Gray. See his letter to John Chute (then in Florence) six years later, July, 1742 (Letter 112).

⁶ Anna Strada del Pô, soprano singer, brought from Italy by Handel in 1729 for the opera in the Haymarket. She remained a member of Handel's company till she left England in 1738.

⁷ Better known by its later name of Vauxhall Gardens. It was established c 1661. Early in the eighteenth century the Gardens went out of fashion, till their popularity was revived under the management of Jonathan Tyers, who reopened them with a grand entertainment on 7 June 1732, at which the Prince of Wales was present.

June 1736

Gray to Walpole

Letter 24

people; I won't say more of it, till I have seen it myself; but as the beauty of the place, when lighted up, and a little musick are the only diversions of it, I don't suppose, it will be an[y]⁸ long time in vogue I beg your excuse, that I have not yet [execu]⁹ted my commision at Chenevix,⁹ but sometime the next week, I will take care to do my duty, I have also a commision for your Man, (with your leave) that is, to call at Crow's¹⁰ for me, & bid him send me *Atalanta*¹¹ with all the speed he possibly can, which I must owe him for, till I come down again, w^{ch} won't (I believe) be a vast while pray, bid Ashton write, & I hope you'll write yourself, Adieu¹

Yours ever,

OROZMADES

Addressed To The Hon^{able} M^r Horace Walpole at Kings-College Cambridge
Postmark 12 IV

25 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[July 15, 1736]¹

Dear S^r

I SYMPATHIZE with you in the Sufferings, which you foresee are coming upon you, we are both at present, I imagine, in no very agreeable situation, for my own part I am under the misfortune of having nothing to do, but it is a misfortune, which, thank my Stars, I can pretty well bear, You are in a Confusion

⁸ MS torn

⁹ Presumably the shop of Mrs Chenevix, the toy-woman (see Letter 116, n 16)

¹⁰ Among the subscribers to the score of *Atalanta* (see n 11) appears 'M^r Crow Sen^r of Cambridge (7 books)' He was a Cambridge bookseller, payments to whom for binding books are entered in the Pembroke College Library accounts between 1735 and 1741

¹¹ In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1736, among the books published in June, figures 'The Opera of *Atalanta* in score Composed in Honour of the Happy Nuptials of their Royal Highnesses the Prince & Princess of Wales. By Mr Handel' Burney says (*loc cit*) 'Proposals for printing the opera of *Atalanta* in score, by subscription, were published immediately after its first performance, and early in June it was ready to deliver to the subscribers'

LETTER 25 —First printed in part (in a garbled text) by Mason in *Memoirs*, pp 25-6, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 37

¹ The date is fixed by the reference to the explosion in Westminster Hall (see n 3), which also points to the letter having been written from London Gray does not appear to have gone to Burnham till August (see Letter 26)

of Wine & Bawdy & Hunting & Tobacco,² & heaven be praised, you too can pretty well bear it, while our evils are no more, I believe we sha'n't much repine, I imagine however you'll rather chuse to converse with the living Dead, that adorn the Walls of your Apartments, than with the Dead living, that deck the middles of them, & prefer a picture of Still-life to the realities of a noisy one, &, as I guess, will learn to imitate them, and for an hour or two at noon, will stick yourself up as formal, as if you had been fixed in your Frame for these hundred years with an upright Pink in one hand, & a great Seal-ring in the other I know nothing, but that the Judges were all blown up yesterday in Westminster-hall by some unlucky boy, that had affixed a parcel of Squibs & Crackers to several Acts of parliament, whose ruins were scatter'd about the hall with a great noise & disposure,³ it set the L^d Chancellour⁴ a laughing, & frighted every body else out of their senses, and L^d Hardwick⁵ order'd the grand Jury to represent it as a libel, yes! I know besides, that I shall be always yours,⁶

26 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Burnham, Aug 1736]¹[]²

I WAS hinder'd in my last, & so could not give you all the trouble I would have done, the Description of a road, which

² Walpole was at this time with Sir Robert at Houghton

³ 'Wednesday, July 14. A large Paper Parcel was discovered under the Seat of the Counsellors in the Court of Chancery, *Westminster-hall*, then sitting, which being kicked down the Steps, it blew up, and put all present in the utmost Confusion' The author of the outrage proved to be one Robert Nixon, 'a Nonjuring Clergyman', he was tried before Lord Hardwicke on 7 Dec following, and was found guilty (*Gent Mag* 1736, p 746, 1737, p 121)

⁴ Charles Talbot (1685-1737), Solicitor-General, 1726-33, Lord Chancellor (as Baron Talbot of Hensol), 1733-7

⁵ Philip Yorke (1690-1764), Solicitor-General, 1720-4, Attorney-General, 1724-33, created (1733) Baron Hardwicke, and (1754) Earl of Hardwicke; Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1733-7, Lord Chancellor, 1737-56, High Steward of the University of Cambridge, 1749-64

⁶ Signature torn off (see Letter 1, n 2)

LETTER 26 — First printed in part (in a garbled text) by Mason in *Memours*, pp 23-5, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 39

¹ Mason dates this letter September, 1737, but so far as the month is concerned this is proved to be incorrect by the postmark. The year was almost certainly 1736, since Walpole writes to West on 17 Aug of that year, no

your Coach-wheels have so often honour'd, it would be needless to give you; suffice it, that I arrived at Birnam-wood without the loss of any of my fine Jewels, & that no little Cacaturient Gentlewoman made me any reverences by the way, I live with my Uncle,³ a great hunter in imagination, his Dogs take up every chair in the house, so I'm forced to stand at this present writing, & tho' the Gout forbids him galloping after 'em in the field, yet he continues still to regale his Ears & Nose with their comfortable Noise and Stunk, he holds me mighty cheap I perceive for walking, when I should ride, & reading, when I should hunt my comfort amidst all this is, that I have at the distance of half a mile thro' a green Lane, a Forest (the vulgar call it a Common⁴) all my own, at least as good as so, for I spy no human thing in it but myself, it is a little Chaos of Mountains & Precipices; Mountains it is true, that don't ascend much above the Clouds, nor are the Declivities quite so amazing, as Dover-Cliff,⁵ but just such hills as people, who love their Necks as well as I do, may venture to climb, & Crags, that give the eye as much pleasure, as if they were more dangerous both Vale & Hill is cover'd over with most venerable Beeches,⁶ & other very reverend Vegetables, that like most ancient People, are always dreaming out their old Stories to the Winds

And, as they bow their hoary Tops, relate
In murm'ring Sounds the dark Decrees of Fate,
While Visions, as Poetic eyes avow,
Cling to each Leaf, & swarm on ev'ry Bough ⁷

doubt shortly after the receipt of this letter, 'Gray is at Burnham' (see Letter 41 in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*)

² A piece containing the initial address has been cut out (see Letter 1, n 2).

³ Jonathan Rogers, who had married Gray's aunt, Ann Antrobus Cole, writing in 1775, at which time he was Vicar of Burnham, says 'Mr Rogers, his uncle, was an attorney, lived at Britwell, in Burnham Parish, and lies buried in my church. He lived at an house called Cant's Hall, a small house, and not far from the common. I think Cant's Hall is in Britwell division' (MS notes, quoted by Mitford in *Works of Gray*, 1836, vol 1, p cv) The lease of this house was left to Ann Rogers by her brother, Robert Antrobus (d. 1730), in whose will the property is described as 'Goldwins House and grounds at Cantshill near Burnham' (see *Peterhouse Admission Book*, p 200)

⁴ East Burnham Common adjoins the 'Forest', now known as Burnham Beeches

⁵ *King Lear*, iv 6 (cf Letter 31, n 4).

⁶ 'There are some of the largest beeches I ever saw. The lane to the common is very romantic, and the scene remarkably diversified for that county' (Cole MS notes, *loc cit*)

⁷ These lines have not been traced, presumably they are Gray's own

At the foot of one of these squats me I;⁸ il Penseroso, and there grow to the Trunk for a whole morning,

—the tim'rous Hare, & sportive Squirrel
Gambol around me—⁹

like Adam in Paradise, but commonly without an Eve, & besides I think he did not use to read Virgil, as I usually do there in this situation I often converse with my Horace aloud too, that is, talk to you, for I don't remember, that I ever heard you answer me, I beg pardon for taking all the conversation to myself, but it is your own fault indeed We have old Mr Southern¹⁰ at a Gentlemans house a little way off, who often comes to see us, he is now 77 year¹¹ old, & has almost wholly lost his Memory, but is as agreeable, as an old Man can be; at least I persuade myself so, when I look upon him, & think of Isabella¹² & Oroonoko¹³ I shall be in Town in about 3 weeks, I believe, if you direct your letters to London, they will take care to send 'em safe, but I must desire, you would fold 'em with a little more art, for your last had been open'd without breaking the Seal, Adieu,

D^r ,¹⁴ yours ever
T GRAY

They were perhaps suggested by a passage (partly inspired by *Aen.* vi. 283-4) in a Latin poem of West's, written not long before, under the title 'Folusque Notas et Nomina mandat' (*Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, vol. II, p. 301)

'Nusquam adeo sine Vate suo Nemus undique sese
Inducere in Versus, et doctum attollere Truncum
Arbor amat, passimque inolescunt Frondibus ipsis
Carmina Pastorum, Folusque sub omnibus haerent'

Cf. the last stanza of Gray's alcaic ode prefixed to his letter to West from Rome of May, 1740 (Letter 87)

⁸ Cradock, quoted by Mitford (*Gray-Mason Correspondence*, p. 486), refers to this as one of the 'affected vulgarisms' in the Letters of Gray

⁹ Perhaps a reminiscence of *Par. Lost*, iv. 340-5

¹⁰ Thomas Southerne (1660-1746), the dramatist

¹¹ Southerne lived to be 86—Mr Gray always thought highly of his pathetic powers, at the same time that he blamed his ill taste for mixing them so injudiciously with farce, in order to produce that monstrous species of composition called Tragi-comedy *Mason*

¹² The heroine of Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage, or the Innocent Adultery* (1694)

¹³ Southerne's *Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave* (1696)

¹⁴ A word here has been scored through, and is undecipherable.

Aug 1736

Gray to Walpole

Letter 26

P S Regreet Almanzor¹⁵ from me,
Wish Pol· Cutcher¹⁶ joy from me,
Give Cole¹⁷ an humble service from me¹⁸

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} M^r Horace Walpole At Kings-College Cambridge
Postmark WINDSOR AV¹⁹

27 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Burnham, Sept 26, 1736]¹

[]²

IT rains, 'tis Sunday, this is the country, three circumstances so dull in conjunction with the dulness of my nature are like to give birth to an admirable production, I hope you will receive it, as you would a Michaelmas Goose from a Tenant, since I send it, not that I believe you have a taste for an awkward fat creature, but because I have no better way of showing my good-will your name, I assure you, has been propagated in these countries by a Convert of yours, one Cambridge,³ he

¹⁵ See Letter 2, n 8

¹⁶ This individual has not been identified

¹⁷ William Cole (1714–82), the Cambridge antiquary, he was at Eton (1726–32) with Gray and Walpole, with the latter of whom he contracted a friendship which lasted till his death. In Jan 1733 he was admitted as a Sizar at Clare Hall, Scholar, 1735, migrated to King's, 1735, B A, 1737, M A, 1740, ordained Deacon, 1744 Priest, 1745, Rector of Hornsey, 1749–51, of Bletchley, 1753–67, Vicar (non-resident) of Burnham, Bucks, 1774–82. After leaving Bletchley he resided at Waterbeach, near Cambridge, till 1770, when he removed to Milton. He was for twenty years (1762–82) a regular correspondent of Walpole's, nearly 200 of whose letters to him have been preserved. He made extensive MS collections amounting to about 100 folio volumes, which he bequeathed to the British Museum. Included with these were his *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, which contain biographical details, not always to be relied upon, of many of his contemporaries, Gray among them. Cole may perhaps be identified with the individual who was nicknamed 'Plato' by his Etonian friends (see Letter 6, n 7).

¹⁸ The postscript has been crossed through

¹⁹ The impression of the date mark is imperfect, the numeral is undecipherable

LETTER 27—First printed in part (in a garbled text) by Mason in *Memoirs*, pp 25–6, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 43.

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, for the date of the year see Letter 26, n 1

² See Letter 1, n 2

³ This name has been scored through, but is plainly legible. Mason represents the name by two asterisks. The person in question is Richard Owen Cambridge (1717–1802), whom Walpole refers to in a letter to Mason of 10 July 1775, as 'the proprietor of the asterisk', in allusion to Mason's

has brought over his whole family to you, they were before pretty good Whigs, but now they are absolute Walpolians: we have hardly any body in the Parish, but knows exactly the Dimensions of the hall & Saloon at Houghton, & begins to believe, that the Lanthorn⁴ is not quite so great a Consumer of the fat of the land, as disaffected persons have said for your reputation we keep to ourselves that, of your not Hunting, nor drinking Hogan,⁵ e'er a one of which would be sufficient here to lay your honour in the Dust I received a little Billet from my dear Horace, as if he had not heard from me whereas I wrote last Sunday, we have not so good an opportunity here, as I could wish, not lying conveniently for the Post, but to[morow sennight]⁶ I hope to be in town, & not long after at Cambridge

yours most faithfully

T G

P S my love to Ashton

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horatio Walpole, Esq of Kings College Cambridge
Postmark 27 SE

suppression of his name here and elsewhere Cambridge, who was a contemporary of Gray and Walpole at Eton, whence he went in 1734 (as a Gentleman-commoner) to St John's College, Oxford, is best known as the author of the *Scribleriad* (1751), and other poetical pieces, and as a contributor to the *World* Walpole, in whose correspondence his name occurs frequently, in his letter to Bentley of 5 July 1755 calls him 'Cambridge, the everything'

* A favourite object of Tory satire at the time *Mason* — In *Aedes Walpolianæ*, in his account of the Hall at Houghton, Walpole says 'From the ceiling hangs a lantern for eighteen candles, of copper gilt' (*Works of Lord Orford*, vol II, p 263) Writing to Mann on 25 July 1750, he says 'My Lord Chesterfield has bought the Houghton lantern, the famous lantern, that produced so much Patriot wit, and very likely some of his Lordship's', and in a note he adds 'In one pamphlet, the noise on this lantern was so exaggerated, that the author said, on a journey to Houghton, he was carried first into a glass-room, which he supposed was a porter's lodge, but proved to be the lantern'

⁵ Otherwise 'hogan-mogan', a strong drink, cf Dryden, *Wild Gallant*, 1 2 'I was damnably drunk with ale, great hogan-mogan ale' The praises of 'the Hogen of Houghton' are sung in a contemporary ballad entitled *Prosperity to Houghton* The ballad was by Philip Floyd, as Walpole noted on his copy of the broadsheet (see facsimile in *A Selection of the Letters of Horace Walpole*, edited by W S Lewis, vol 1, p 127)

⁶ Piece cut out (see n 2), the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

28. GRAY TO WALPOLE

[London, c Oct 3, 1736]¹[²

THE best News from Cornhill-shire³ is, that I have a little fever, which denies me the pleasure of seeing either You, or Alexander,⁴ or Downing-Street to day, but when that leaves me at my own Disposal, I shall be at yours, Covent-Garden has given me a Sort of Surfeit of M^r Rich⁵ & his Cleverness, for I was at the Way of the World, when the Machine broke t'other Night,⁶ the House was in Amaze for above a Minute, & I dare say a great many in the Galleries thought it very dextrously perform'd, & that they scream'd as naturally, as heart could wish, till they found it was no jest by their calling for Surgeons, of whom several luckily happen'd to be in the Pit I stayed to see the poor creatures brought out of the House, & pity poor M^{rs}

LETTER 28 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 45

¹ The date is fixed approximately by the reference to the accident at Covent Garden (see n 6)

² See Letter 1, n 2

³ Gray's father owned a house in Cornhill, where Gray was born, and where his mother and aunt (Mary Antrobus) 'carried on a trade separate from that of Mrs Gray's husband They kept a kind of India warehouse on Cornhill under the joint names of Gray and Antrobus' (Mason, *Memoirs*, p 120) Walpole, on the other hand (who calls Gray's mother Mary Antrobus), and Cole, state that they carried on business in Cornhill as milliners For the situation of the house see Letter 145, nn 3, 6

⁴ Delane was playing Alexander, in Lee's *Rival Queens*, at Covent Garden in October of this year (Genest, iii 503)

⁵ See Letter 42, n 13

⁶ After the performance of Congreve's *Way of the World* at Covent Garden on 1 Oct, there was given 'an Entertainment of Dancing in Grotesque Characters, call'd *The Necromancer, or Harlequin Doctor Faustus*' in which Rich played Harlequin (advt in *London Daily Post*, 30 Sept 1736) It was during the latter that the accident witnessed by Gray took place 'Friday, Oct 1 This Night, in the Entertainment of Dr Faustus, at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden, when the Machine, wherein were Harlequin, the Miller's Wife, the Miller, and his Man, was got to the full Extent of its Flying, one of the Wires which held the hind Part of the Car broke first, and then the other broke, and the Machine, and all the People in it, fell down upon the Stage, by which unhappy Accident the young Woman who personated the Miller's Wife had her Thigh broke & her Knee-Pan shatter'd, the Harlequin had his Head bruised and his Wrist strained, the Miller broke his Arm, and the Miller's Man had his Skull so fractured that he is since dead The Audience was thrown into the greatest Surprize, and nothing was heard but Shrieks and Cries of the utmost Agony, and Horror' (*Lond Mag*, 1736, p 579)

Letter 28

Gray to Walpole

Oct. 1736

Buchanan⁷ not a little, whom I saw put into a Chair in such a fright, that as she is big with child, I question whether it may not kill her,

I am

Yours ever

T. G.

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} M^r Horace Walpole at Chelsea Postmark Penny⁸
Post Paid (date illegible)

29 GRAY TO BIRKETT¹

[London, Oct 8, 1736]²

S^r

As I shall stay only a fortnight longer in Town, I'll beg you to give yourself the trouble of writing out my Bills, & sending 'em, that I may put myself out of your Debt,³ as soon as I come down if Piazza⁴ should come to You, you'll be so

⁷ The actress, Mrs Elizabeth Buchanan, whose first appearance was as Calphurnia in *Julius Caesar* at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields on 20 Nov 1728. In the *Way of the World* her part was Mrs Fainall. Gray's fears for her life proved founded, for she died in childbed not long after this date (Genest, iii 238, 481.)

⁸ So apparently, but the impression is blurred.

LETTER 29—First printed by Gosse in *Works of Gray*, vol ii, pp 3-4, now reprinted from original.

¹ George Birkett (1690-1745), of Peterhouse, Scholar, 1711, B A, 1711, M A., 1714, Fellow, 1714-41, Moderator, 1718, Tutor, 1719, Proctor, 1726-7, D D, 1730, Minister of Little St Mary's, Cambridge, 1729-40, Rector of Stathern, Leicestershire, 1740-5. He was Gray's Tutor in College.

² The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, the year was probably 1736. Gray says he is staying in London 'only a fortnight longer', and the Peterhouse records show that he returned to Cambridge about 22 Oct. in that year. In the next letter Birkett writes 'your Bills have been ready more than 3 Months ago', and this also fits 1736, as in that year Gray left Cambridge early in June, and had been absent for more than three months.

³ Birkett, as his Tutor, would collect from him the sums due for College charges.

⁴ Hieronimo Bartolommeo Piazza, an apostate Italian priest, who abandoned the Dominican Order, came to England about the year 1720, joined the Anglican communion, and married. In 1722 he published in London a book on the Inquisition, in English and French on opposite pages, with the following title, which throws light on his previous career: '*A Short and True Account of the Inquisition and its Proceeding, As it is practised in Italy, Set forth in some Particular Cases Whereunto is added, An Extract out of an Authentick Book of Legends of the Roman Church By Hierom Bartholomew*'

30

As I shall stay only a fortnight
longer in town, I'll beg you to give yourself the
trouble of writing out my Bills, & sending 'em, that
I may put myself out of your debt, as soon as I
come down if Praxya should come to you, you'll be
so good as to satisfy him, I protest, I forget what I
told him, but he is honest enough to tell you right:
My Father & Mother desire me to send their compliments,
I beg you'd believe me I am
your most obed^t humble Serv^t

J. Gray

Oct 1736

Gray to Birkett

Letter 29

good as to satisfie him, I protest, I forget what I owe him, but he is honest enough to tell you right my Father & Mother desire me to send their compliments, & I beg you'd believe me

S^r

your most obed^t humble Serv^t

T Gray

*Addressed To The Rev^d Mr George Birkett, Fellow of St Peter's College
Cambridge Postmark 8 oc*

30 BIRKETT TO GRAY

[Oct 1736]¹

S^r

As you stay only a fortnight in Town, I may let you know
A your Bills have been ready more than 3 Months agoe

Piazza, an Italian born, formerly a Lector of Philosophy and Divinity, and one of the Delegate Judges of that Court, and now by the Grace of God, a Convert to the Church of England (London Printed by William Bowyer, 1722)

He appears to have settled in Cambridge, where he found employment as a teacher of Italian, and is said to have died there about the year 1745 Walpole, as he records in his *Short Notes of my Life*, learnt Italian of him at Cambridge, as did William Cole Ashton, writing to West from King's on 4 March 1736, refers to him as 'Walpole's Italian' (see *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, No. 26). Piazza contributed an Italian poem to the Cambridge *Gratulation* on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1736. He there describes himself as 'Assistente Italiano del Regio Professore delle Lingue Moderne'. This was an appointment which was in the personal gift of the Regius Professor, by whom the assistant was paid, and did not imply any official connexion with the University.

It was doubtless under Piazza that Gray was learning Italian 'like any dragon', as he wrote to West in March 1737 (see Letter 37). He subsequently continued his study of Italian at Florence under the Abate Bonducci (see Walpole to Mann, 8 July 1784 n. 2).

LETTER 30.—Draft of letter, with many corrections, now first printed from the original in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge. An earlier draft, on the same sheet, runs 'S^r As you shall stay only a fortnigh [*sic*] in Town your Bills shall be with you as inclosed. W^t you ow Piazza I hope may be easily discharged. What I wish you is without Tyrants in y^e . . . or Rebulicans [*sic*] you

But pretty M^r Gray [*altered from Day*]

I miss spled [*sic*] . . .

I wd doe any service for yr your Uncle Antiohus tho'

The words represented by . . . are illegible. The last line as far as 'Uncle' has been scored through. The state of the MS suggests that the writer was fuddled at the time.

¹ The date is determined by that of Gray's letter to which this is the reply.

which Bills I hope you will receive by this What your indebted² to y^e Italian Master I do not certainly know I have paid a Guinea to Senior Platzzo, & wtever els upon account is due shall at proper time be discharged by

your very friend

G B

31 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[London, Oct 12, 1736]¹

[]²

I BROUGHT my neck safe to town, & I promise you, when I break it, it shall not be after the Dogs, nor from so mean an elevation as the Saddle,³ no, let me fall from Dover-Cliff,⁴ or Leucate's promontory,⁵ & if I cannot die like a Hero, let it be at least like a despairing lover, Mem I wo'nt swing in a Cambrick handkerchief,⁶ nor swallow Verdigrease but however I that have preserved my neck in the country, have not been able to do as much by my throat in London, which I made so sore, coming from Othello, on Wednesday last,⁷ that I should not be easily persuaded even at this present to swallow a bumper, tho' it were crown'd with my dear Horace's health; it has not as yet turn'd to an absolute squinancie,⁸ or a fever, but if you have a mind, I can very easily improve it into either of 'em you have imitated your Namesake very happily, I believe; for I have not the Latin to look at, I wish poor M^r Iccius in Ireland

² Corrected from 'indebted'

LETTER 31 — First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 44

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year is determined by Gray's reference to his recent visit to Burnham (see n 3)

² See Letter 1, n 2

³ An allusion to the tastes of his uncle at Burnham, where he had just been staying (see Letter 26)

⁴ 'The dread summit of this chalky bourn,' from which Gloucester flung himself (as he supposed) (*King Lear*, iv 6)

⁵ 'Leucatae nimbosa cacumina montis' (*Aen* iii 274), the modern Cape Dukato, promontory at the south extremity of the island of Santa Maura (Leucas), from which unhappy lovers were said to leap into the sea

⁶ Perhaps an allusion to the recent suicide of the Count de Hoym, 'formerly Prime Minister of State to the late King of Poland, who having been disgrac'd & confin'd two years in the fortress of Konigstein, hang'd himself on the 21st of April, at night, with a handkerchief, fasten'd to a hook in the wall' (*Genl Mag*, May 1736, p. 292)

⁷ That is, on 6 Oct, *Othello* had been revived at Drury Lane on the previous night (Genest, iii 490)

⁸ Quinsy

Oct 1736

Gray to Walpole

⁹ Letter 31

had taken the poets good advice ⁹ pray add my admiration of the first Stanza's to good M^r Ashton's, & give him my service for his, & believe me, yours ever,

T: GRAY

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} M^r Horace Walpole, of King's College Cambridge
Postmark 13 oc

32 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[]¹

HERE am I, a little happy to think, I sha'n't take Degree's, and really, now I know there is no occasion, I don't know but I may read a little Philosophy; it is sufficient to make a thing agreeable, not to have much need of it such is my humour, but let that pass West sup'd with me the night before I came out of town, we both fancied at first, we had a great many things to say to one another, but when it came to the push, I found, I had forgot all I intended to say, & he stood upon Punctilio's and would not speak first, & so we parted. Cole² has been examined by the Proctors, & took Bachelour's degree's, in order (he says) when he is Master of Arts, to assist a friend with his Vote & Interest, he told me he would not be puzzled in Philosophy, because he would not expose himself, but desired to be examined in Clafsicks, which he understood he still talks of having his Leg cut off, & then being married I have not seen Ashton, he is at S^t Ive's, & I don't know when he comes back, Berkly³ makes a Speech the 5th of November, I am,

D^r, Dear Horace

Yours most truly,

T G

[Cambridge] Oct 27 [1736]⁴
when d'y'e come

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horatio Walpole, Esq, at the Treasury London
Postmark CAMBRIDGE 29 oc

⁹ Presumably Walpole's imitation of Horace was of 1 *Epist* xii, which is addressed to Iccius (as is 1 *Odes* xxix) Iccius was managing a friend's estate in Sicily, and Horace encourages him (as a philosopher) to be content with his lot

LETTER 32 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 46

¹ See Letter 1, n. 2

² Cole (see Letter 26, n 17) took his B A degree in October 1736

³ Samuel Berkley was an Eton contemporary, now at King's, of which he was subsequently Fellow, B A, 1737, M A, 1741

⁴ The date of the year is determined by the reference to Cole (see n 2)

33. GRAY TO WEST

YOU must know that I do not take degrees, and, after this term, shall have nothing more of college impertinencies to undergo, which I trust will be some pleasure to you, as it is a great one to me. I have endured lectures daily and hourly since I came last, supported by the hopes of being shortly at full liberty to give myself up to my friends and classical companions, who, poor souls! though I see them fallen into great contempt with most people here, yet I cannot help sticking to them, and out of a spirit of obstinacy (I think) love them the better for it; and indeed, what can I do else? Must I plunge into metaphysics? Alas, I cannot see in the dark, nature has not furnished me with the optics of a cat. Must I pore upon mathematics? Alas, I cannot see in too much light, I am no eagle. It is very possible that two and two make four, but I would not give four farthings to demonstrate this ever so clearly, and if these be the profits of life, give me the amusements of it. The people I behold all around me, it seems, know all this and more, and yet I do not know one of them who inspires me with any ambition of being like him. Surely it was of this place, now Cambridge, but formerly known by the name of Babylon, that the prophet spoke when he said, 'the wild beasts of the desert shall dwell there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall build there, and satyrs shall dance there,'¹ their forts and towers shall be a den for ever, a joy of wild asses,² there shall the great owl make her nest, and lay and hatch and gather under her shadow,³ it shall be a court of dragons,⁴ the screech owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest'.⁵ You see here is a pretty collection of desolate animals, which is verified in this town to a tittle, and perhaps it may also allude to your habitation, for you know all types may be taken by abundance of handles, however, I defy your owls to match mine.

If the default of your spirits and nerves be nothing but the effect of the hyp, I have no more to say. We all must submit to that wayward Queen, I too in no small degree own her sway,

I feel her influence while I speak her power.

LETTER 33 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 12-14.

¹ Isaiah xlii 21

² Isaiah xxxi 14

³ Isaiah xxiv 15

⁴ Isaiah xxxiv 13

⁵ Isaiah xxxiv 14

Dec 1736

Gray to West

* Letter 33

But if it be a real distemper, pray take more care of your health, if not for your own at least for our sakes, and do not be so soon weary of this little world I do not know what refined friendships you may have contracted in the other,⁶ but pray do not be in a hurry to see your acquaintance above, among your terrestrial familiars, however, though I say it that should not say it, there positively is not one that has a greater esteem for you than

Yours most sincerely, &c

Peterhouse, December, 1736

34 WEST TO GRAY

I CONGRATULATE you on your being about to leave college,¹ and rejoice much you carry no degrees with you For I would not have had You dignified, and I not, for the world, you would have insulted me so My eyes, such as they are, like yours, are neither metaphysical nor mathematical, I have, nevertheless, a great respect for your connoisseurs that way, but am always contented to be their humble admirer Your collection of desolate animals² pleased me much, but Oxford, I can assure you, has her owls that match yours. and the prophecy has certainly a squint that way Well, you are leaving this dismal land of bondage, and which way are you turning your face? Your friends, indeed, may be happy in you, but what will you do with your classic companions? An inn of court is as horrid a place as a college, and a moot case is as dear to gentle dulness³ as a syllogism But wherever you go, let me beg you not to throw poetry 'like a nauseous weed away' Cherish its sweets in your bosom, they will serve you now and then to correct the disgusting sober follies of the common law,

⁶ Perhaps he meant to ridicule the affected manner of Mrs Rowe's letters of the dead to the living, a book which was, I believe, published about this time *Mason*—Mrs Elizabeth Rowe's (1674–1737) *Friendship in Death, in twenty Letters from the Dead to the Living*, was first published in 1728, third edition, 1733

LETTER 34—First printed in *Mason's Memoirs*, pp 14–16

¹ I suspect that Mr West mistook his correspondent, who, in saying he did not take degrees, meant only to let his friend know that he should soon be released from lectures and disputations It is certain that Mr Gray continued at college near two years after the time he wrote the preceding letter *Mason*

² See previous letter

³ *Dunciad*, II 34 'gentle Dulness ever loves a joke'

musce stultitiam consiliis brevem, dulce est desipere in loco,⁴ so said Horace to Virgil, those sons of Anac in poetry, and so say I to you, in this degenerate land of pigmies,

Mix with your grave designs a little pleasure,
Each day of business has its hour of leisure

In one of these hours I hope, dear sir, you will sometimes think of me, write to me, and know me yours,

Ἐξαύδα, μὴ κεῖθε νόψ, ἵνα εἶδομεν ἄμφω⁵

that is, write freely to me and openly, as I do to you, and to give you a proof of it I have sent you an elegy of Tibullus⁶ translated (Tibullus, you must know, is my favourite elegiac poet; for his language is more elegant and his thoughts more natural than Ovid's Ovid excels him only in wit, of which no poet had more in my opinion) The reason I choose so melancholy a kind of poeie, is because my low spirits and constant ill health (things in me not imaginary, as you surmise, but too real, alas! and, I fear, constitutional) 'have tuned my heart to elegies of woe', and this likewise is the reason why I am the most irregular thing alive at college, for you may depend upon it I value my health above what they call discipline As for this poor unlicked thing of an elegy, pray criticise it unmercifully, for I send it with that intent Indeed your late translation of Statius⁷ might have deterred me, but I know you are not more able to excell others, than you are apt to forgive the want of excellence, especially when it is found in the productions of

Your most sincere friend

Christ Church, Dec 22, 1736

35 GRAY TO WALPOLE

My Dear Horace

I THINK this is the first time, I have had any Occasion to find fault with S^r R^s Male-Administration, and if he should keep you in town another Week, I don't know whether I shan't

⁴ 4 Odes, xii 27-8

⁵ *Iliad*, i 363 'speak it forth, hide it not in thy mind, that we both may know it'

⁶ Mason omits this elegy, which apparently has not been preserved.

⁷ See Letters 22, 22**

LETTER 35 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 50

Dec. 1736

Gray to Walpole

Letter 35

change my Side, & write a Craftsman,¹ I am extreme Sorry, I could not dine with you last Sunday, but I really was engaged at Peter-house, & did not know of the honour you intended me, till night, if it had not been for a great cold I had got, I certainly should have come post to Supper I engage myself to drink Tea with you at King's the day after to morrow, for then we expect you, I mean me, for Ashton is to try not to expect you then I believe I shall stay here till February, so pray, come hither, if that can be any part of a reason for it the Moderatour² has asked me to make the Tripos-Verses³ this year, they say the⁴ University has sent a Letter by the Post to thank my Lord Townsend for the Statue⁵ I have had a Letter from West with an Elegy of Tibullus translated in it,⁶ t h u s l o n g,⁷ I have wrote you a letter with 50 I's in it, besides me's and we's, and I am,

Ever Yours

T GRAY

Wednesday—[Dec 29, 1736]⁸ Cambridge

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horac Walpole Esq, at the Treasury, Westminster *Postmark* CAMBRIDGE 29 DE

¹ The well-known organ of the Tory opposition, founded in December 1726 by Pulteney and Bolingbroke, in the pages of which Sir Robert Walpole was for many years systematically denounced

² The Moderators (see Letter 12, n 6) at this date were James Brown, Fellow, and afterwards (1770) Master, of Pembroke later an intimate friend of Gray's (see Letter 115, n 1), and Roger Barker, Fellow of Clare

³ Latin verses written by undergraduates and distributed with the lists of successful Tripos candidates every year (See Appendix A)

⁴ Gray first wrote 'my', which he smudged out, and altered to 'the'

⁵ The statue of George I by Rysbrack, which was erected in the Senate House at Cambridge at the expense of Charles, second Viscount Townshend (1674-1738) The latter had written on 2 Dec 1736, offering to bear the cost of the statue, and a grace accepting the offer, and thanking Lord Townshend, passed the Senate on 8 Dec

⁶ See previous letter

⁷ Gray has written these two words with the letters far apart

⁸ The date of the year is determined by the references to Lord Townshend (see n 5), and to West's letter.

36. GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, Jan 16, 1737]¹[]²

I HAVE a tast for the works of Cramputus,³ & his Scraps; if you can fill twelve baskets with such fragments, I have a stomach for 'em all: one should have had a passion for Simplicia⁴ oneself, if one had lived in those days, she is so open & unreserved in her behaviour the pleasure of having a mistress, that when one made her a compliment, & call'd her Spider, should only cry, eh! I don't doubt but Portia behaved just s[o]⁵ when Brutus made love to her, this was reckon'd a Scene of great Gallantry I suppose at that time, & Q. Craesus Tubero⁶ as pretty a fellow with the Women, as the Genie Jonquil:⁷ I don't know, whither you have forgot Cambridge, or not; it's plain, you chuse, only to keep it in mind, it seems to be at this time of year, that the humour usually takes you to tell us stories about your coming, but however I would rather be deceived, than hear nothing at all of it, so say something of it pray, every body in Cambridge knows better than I, who remain

yours to command

PATIENT GRISSEL

For god'sake write often, if it be but two Syllables

Addressed To The Honble Horace Walpole Esq, at the Treasury,⁸ Westminster Postmark CAMBRIDGE 17 1A

LETTER 36 — First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 24

¹ This letter, written from Cambridge on 16 Jan, as the postmark shows, was conjecturally assigned in the *Gray-Walpole Correspondence* to the year 1736. But it appears from the Peterhouse records that in that year Gray did not commence residence till 23 Jan. The date must have been later than 1735 because of the address (see n 8). Gray was in residence for the whole of January in 1737 and 1738, but as he wrote to Walpole on 15 Jan 1738, the more likely year is 1737, to which the letter is now assigned.

² See Letter 1, n 2³, ⁴ These characters have not been identified⁵ MS torn⁶ This character has not been identified

⁷ 'Le Génie Jonquille' is a character in *L'Écumoire ou Tanzi et Néadarné* by Crébillon fils (published in 1734, and translated into English under the title of 'The Skimmer' in 1735), in which he figures as the lover of Néadarné (see Livre III, chap 4).

⁸ See Letter 1, n 8

37 GRAY TO WEST

Cambridge, March, 1737¹

* * *

I learn Italian like any dragon, and in two months am got through the 16th book of Tasso, whom I hold in great admiration. I want you to learn too, that I may know your opinion of him, nothing can be easier than that language to any one who knows Latin and French already, and there are few so copious and expressive.

* * *

38 WEST TO GRAY

I HAVE been very ill, and am still hardly recovered. Do you remember Elegy 5th, Book the 3d, of Tibullus, Vos tenet, &c and do you remember a letter of M^r Pope's, in sickness, to M^r Steele? This melancholy elegy and this melancholy letter I turned into a more melancholy epistle of my own, during my sickness, in the way of imitation, and this I send to you and my friends at Cambridge, not to divert them, for it cannot, but merely to show them how sincere I was when sick. I hope my sending it to them now may convince them I am no less sincere, though perhaps more simple, when well.

AD AMICOS

Yes, happy youths, on Camus' sedgy side,
 You feel each joy that friendship can divide,
 Each realm of science and of art explore,
 And with the antique blend the modern lore
 Studious alone to learn whate'er may tend
 To raise the genius or the heart to mend,

LETTER 37—Fragment of letter, first printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 36–7, n

¹ Mason adds, that in this same letter Gray tells West 'that his College has set him a versifying on a public occasion (viz those verses which are called Tripos) on the theme of *Luna est habitabilis*' (see West's letter to Walpole of 18 April 1737, in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence* (No 57)). In his letter to Walpole of 29 Dec 1736 (Letter 35) Gray says that he had been asked to make the Tripos verses, and as the verses had to be produced at a Congregation on the Thursday after Mid-Lent Sunday, which in 1737 would be 17 March, it is probable that this letter was written earlier in the year than March, the date assigned to it by Mason. On Tripos verses see Appendix A.

LETTER 38—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 18–22

Now pleas'd along the cloyster'd walk you rove,
And trace the verdant mazes of the grove,
Where social oft, and oft alone, ye chuse
To catch the zephyr and to court the muse
Mean time at me (while all devoid of art
These lines give back the image of my heart)
At me the pow'r that comes or soon or late,
Or aims, or seems to aim, the dart of fate,
From you remote, methinks, alone I stand
Like some sad exile in a desert land,
Around no friends their lenient care to join
In mutual warmth, and mix their heart with mine
Or real pains, or those which fancy raise,
For ever blot the sunshine of my days,
To sickness still, and still to grief a prey,
Health turns from me her rosy face away

Just heav'n! what sin, ere life begins to bloom,
Devotes my head untimely to the tomb,
Did e'er this hand against a brother's life
Drug the due bowl or point the murd'rous knife?
Did e'er this tongue the slanderer's tale proclaim,
Or madly violate my Maker's name?
Did e'er this heart betray a friend or foe,
Or know a thought but all the world might know?
As yet just started from the lists of time,
My growing years have scarcely told their prime,
Useless, as yet, through life I've idly run,
No pleasures tasted, and few duties done
Ah, who, ere autumn's mellowing suns appear,
Would pluck the promise of the vernal year,
Or, ere the grapes their purple hue betray,
Tear the crude cluster from the mourning spray
Stern Power of Fate,¹ whose ebon sceptre rules
The Stygian deserts and Cimmerian pools,
Forbear, nor rashly smite my youthful heart,
A victim yet unworthy of thy dart,
Ah, stay till age shall blast my withering face,
Shake in my head, and falter in my pace,
Then aim the shaft, then meditate the blow,
And to the dead my willing shade shall go ¹

¹ Here he quits Tibullus, the ten following verses have but a remote reference to Mr Pope's letter *Mason*

How weak is Man to Reason's judging eye!
 Born in this moment, in the next we die,
 Part mortal clay, and part ethereal fire,
 Too proud to creep, too humble to aspire
 In vain our plans of happiness we raise,
 Pain is our lot, and patience is our praise;
 Wealth, lineage, honours, conquest, or a throne,
 Are what the wise would fear to call their own
 Health is at best a vain precarious thing,
 And fair-fac'd youth is ever on the wing,
 'Tis like the stream, beside whose wat'ry bed
 Some blooming plant exalts his flowry head,
 Nurs'd by the wave the spreading branches rise,
 Shade all the ground and flourish to the skies,
 The waves the while beneath in secret flow,
 And undermine the hollow bank below,
 Wide and more wide the waters urge their way,
 Bare all the roots and on their fibres prey
 Too late the plant bewails his foolish pride,
 And sinks, untimely, in the whelming tide ²
 But why repine, does life deserve my sigh?
 Few will lament my loss whene'er I die
 For those the wretches I despise or hate,
 I neither envy nor regard their fate ³
 For me, whene'er all-conquering Death shall spread
 His wings around my unrepining head,
 I care not, though this face be seen no more,
 The world will pass as chearful as before,
 Bright as before the day-star will appear,
 The fields as verdant, and the skies as clear, ⁴
 Nor storms nor comets will my doom declare,
 Nor signs on earth, nor portents in the air,
 Unknown and silent will depart my breath,
 Nor Nature e'er take notice of my death

² 'Youth, at the very best, is but the betrayer of human life in a gentler and smoother manner than age, 'tis like the stream that nourishes a plant upon a bank, and causes it to flourish and blossom to the sight, but at the same time is undermining it at the root in secret.' (Pope's letter, quoted by Mason)

³ 'I am not at all uneasy at the thought that many men, whom I never had any esteem for, are likely to enjoy this world after me' (*Ibid*)

⁴ 'The morning after my exit the sun will rise as bright as ever, the flowers smell as sweet, the plants spring as green' (*Ibid*)

Yet some there are (ere spent my vital days)⁵
 Within whose breasts my tomb I wish to raise
 Lov'd in my life, lamented in my end,
 Their praise would crown me as their precepts mend.
 To them may these fond lines my name endear,
 Not from the Poet but the Friend sincere ⁶

Christ Church, July 4, 1737

39 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, July, 1737]¹

My dear Horace

I WAS just going to write to you in opposition to a couple of very weighty reasons, one, that you did not bid me, & t'other, that I had nothing to say, but, alas! what are reasons against one's inclinations, for you know in such a case a feather at any time will weigh down Lead, but you by instinct knowing my situation, were so good as to supply me with the cause, tho' not with materials if you never were to tell me any fresher piece of News, than that with which you end your little Modicum, I should be well enough content, for tho' I heard it every day I should wonder as much as ever, & it would never be the less agreeable for repetition, I rely wholly upon you, my correspondent, for the truth of it, as the only person, who can tell, what passes in that little country, where my concerns lie my Motions at present (which you ask after the particulars of) are much like those of a Pendulum, or (Dr Longically² speaking)

⁵ In the original version (see n. 6) this line ran 'Yet some there are (ere sunk in endless night)', which Gray consciously or unconsciously perhaps had in mind when he wrote the last line of *The Bard* 'Deep in the roaring tide he sunk [altered later to "plung'd"] to endless night'.

⁶ The text printed by Mason does not give the original version sent by West, but a version corrected and improved, probably by Gray. See Appendix C and cf. Letter 106.

LETTER 39—First printed in part (in a garbled text) and in combination with a portion of Letter 44 by Mason in *Memoirs*, pp. 34–5, first printed in full by Foynebee (1915), No. 61.

¹ The date is conjectural and uncertain. Mason dates it August 1738, but this date seems unlikely. At the end of the letter Gray says he thinks 'to go to town the week after next', the Peterhouse records show that in 1737 he left Cambridge on or about 28 July (he writes to West from London on 22 Aug—see Letter 40), whereas in 1738 he was in residence the whole of July and August, and the first fortnight of September.

² Dr Long, the Master of Pembroke Hall, at this time read lectures in

July 1737

Gray to Walpole

Letter 39

oscillatory, I swing from Chapell or Hall home, & from home to chapell or hall, all the strange incidents that happen in my journeys & returns I shall be sure to acquaint you with, the most wonderful that I have been able to pick up, as yet, is, that it rains exceedingly, this has refresh'd the prospect¹ very agreeably, as the way for the most part lies between green fields on either hand, terminated with buildings at some distance, Seats, I presume, & they seem of great antiquity. the roads are very good, being, as I suspect, the work of Julius Cæsar's army, for they still preserve in many places the appearances of a pavement in pretty good repair, & if they were not so near home, might perhaps be as much admired as the Via Appia, that we hear so much cried up there are at present several rivulets to be crost, & which serve to enliven the view all round, the country is exceeding fruitful in Ravens, & such black Cattle but not to tire you with my travels, You must know M^r Turner⁴ is come down, his list is vastly near being full, notwithstanding⁵ which, & the great cares & duties

experimental philosophy *Mason* —Dr Roger Long (1680–1770), D.D., 1728, Master of Pembroke 1733–70, Vice-Chancellor, 1733, he was elected F.R.S. in 1729, and was appointed first Lowndean Professor of Astronomy and Geometry in 1750. He was the author of an important work on astronomy (unfinished), of which the first two parts were published in 1742 and 1764, and which was completed after his death by his scientific assistant, Richard Dunthorne (who was also butler of the College), and the mathematician, William Wales. Long was interested also in music and mechanical inventions. Carter, in his *History of the University of Cambridge* (1753), speaks of his apartments at the Master's Lodge as being 'stocked with Musical, and Mathematical Instruments', while in a 'Ground Room' he had a printing press at which he was printing his astronomical works. In his garden he contrived waterworks (for 'he is a very great Mechanic') which supplied 'a beautiful and large Bason', wherein 'he often diverts himself in a Machine of his own contrivance, to go with the Foot as he rides therein' (pp. 77–8). In one of the courts of the Hall he erected 'a hollow revolving sphere, eighteen feet in diameter, representing on its inner surface the apparent movements of the heavenly bodies' (*DNB*). These inventions explain Gray's reference to him in Letter 148 as 'Lord of the great Zodiack, the Glass Uranium, and the Chariot that goes without Horses'.

¹ All that follows is a humorously hyperbolic description of the quadrangle of Peter-House. *Mason*

⁴ Shallet Turner, Fellow of Peterhouse, M.A., 1717, LL.D., 1728, Regius Professor of Modern History, 1735–62, died, 13 Nov. 1762. The references to his 'list' and 'the great cares and duties' of his office are ironical, as he never lectured (as neither did Gray himself, when he subsequently held the same office).

⁵ *Sic*

Letter 39

Gray to Walpole

July 1737

attending his office, he says, he thinks to go to Paris every Year. I think too to go to town the week after next,⁶ & am

yours eternally

T GRAY

P.S I have forgot my English, & can't spell⁷

Addressed. To The Honble Horace Walpole, Esq, at Houghton Hall Norfolk
Postmark CAMBRIDGE (date undecipherable)

40 GRAY TO WEST

AFTER a month's expectation of you, and a fortnight's despair, at Cambridge, I am come to town, and to better hopes of seeing you. If what you sent me last¹ be the product of your melancholy, what may I not expect from your more cheerful hours? For by this time the ill health that you complain of is (I hope) quite departed, though, if I were self-interested, I ought to wish for the continuance of any thing that could be the occasion of so much pleasure to me. (Low spirits are my true and faithful companions, they get up with me, go to bed with me, make journeys and returns as I do, - nay, and pay visits, and will even affect to be jocose, and force a feeble laugh with me, but most commonly we sit alone together, and are the prettiest insipid company in the world.) However, when you come, I believe they must undergo the fate of all humble companions, and be discarded. Would I could turn them to the same use that you have done, and make an Apollo of them. If they could write such verses with me, not harshorn, nor spirit of amber,² nor all that furnishes the closet of an apothecary's widow, should persuade me to part with them.) But, while I write to you, I hear the bad news of Lady Walpole's death on Saturday night last.⁴ Forgive me if the thought of what my poor Horace must feel on that account, obliges me to have done in reminding you that I am

Yours, &c

London, Aug 22, 1737

⁶ See n. 1

⁷ Presumably he refers to his having written 'notwithstanding' just above LETTER 40 — First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 22-3

¹ His letter of 4 July, enclosing the poem *Ad Amicos* (Letter 38)

² Possibly a reminiscence of Cicero, *Pro Archia*, vii. 16 '(haec studia) pernoxiant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur'

³ Succinic acid (*O.E.D.*)

⁴ Lady Walpole died on Saturday, 20 Aug. Gray probably heard the news from Ashton

41. GRAY TO WALPOLE

[London, c 22 August, 1737]¹

FORGIVE me, my poor dear Horace, if I intrude upon your Grief,² sooner possibly than I ought, yet hardly soon enough for the Anxiety I am in upon your account, far from having any such confidence in myself, as to imagine any thing I can say should lighten your affliction; I fear your own good Sense, and Resignation to Him, who has spared so long the best of Mothers to you, is hardly able to support you under it, I can the easier imagine the Situation you are in from the fears, which are continually before my eyes, of a like misfortune in my own case,³ if that were really to happen, I know not the least Shadow of comfort, that could come to me, but what I perhaps might find in my dearest Horace's compafsion, & that pity, he never denies the unhappy would to God, I might alleviate in some measure his Sorrows, in the part I willingly would bear in them, & in that commiseration, which I should feel for any one in such circumstances, how much more then for him whose friendship has been my greatest joy, & I hope shall continue so many years for God's sake, as soon as melancholy reflection shall give you any intermiffion, let me hear of your welfare, let me have the pleasure of a line, or the sight of you, as soon as it can be proper believe, I shall not enjoy a moments ease, till I have some information of your condition, I am, my dearest Walpole, with the greatest truth, your faithful friend, & servant,

T G

41* West to Gray

[Oct or Nov 1737]

[In Letter 43 West refers to a letter he wrote to Gray 'above a month ago', to which he had received no answer. The date of Letter 43 is doubtful. If it was written on 3 Dec 1737, West's unanswered letter would have been written in October, or in November, if Letter 43 were written in January 1738 (See Letter 43, n 9)]

LETTER 41 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No. 64

¹ The date is determined by the occasion of the letter (see n 2). Gray had heard the news on 22 Aug (see Letter 40)

² For the loss of his mother, who died in Sir Robert Walpole's house at Chelsea on 20 Aug 1737. For an account of her death, see Walpole's letter to Charles Lyttelton of 18 Sept of this year

³ Gray lost his own mother on 11 March 1753. See Letter 176

42. GRAY TO WALPOLE

[London, c. 12 November, 1737]¹[]²

WE were all here in mighty consternation this morning in imagination that the Queen was dead, not out of a joke, as she died you know a while ago,³ but seriously gone to the Stygian ferry, however now they say she is only very bad,⁴ & in a fair way, as we have been twice bauk'd,⁵ she will have much ado to persuade us, that she's dead in earnest & perhaps she will survive her funeral no small time in the breasts of her good subjects. I shall take care to be as sorry, as one of my diminutiveness ought to be, not for myself, but in charity to my superiours; I saw her a little while ago at the Opera in a green Velvet Sac embroider'd *à la* the facings & sleeves with Silver, a little French Cap, a long black hood, & her hair in Curls round her face, but you see, Crown'd heads, & heads Moutonnées, scald heads, & lousy heads, Quack heads & Cane heads must all come together to the Grave,⁶ as the famous Abou-said⁷ has elegantly hinted, in his Persian Madrigals for my part I shall wear her image long imprinted in my mind, tho' I hope for all this to refresh it frequently, & retouch it from the living Original. I don't know whether I should not debase the dignity of my Subject [after this by]⁸ telling you anything of Sig^r

LETTER 42 — First printed by Iohnbee (1915), No. 66

¹ The date is determined by the references to Queen Caroline's illness (see n. 4), and by the date of Gray's return to Cambridge (see n. 14)

² See Letter 1, n. 2

³ A rumour of the Queen's death had been put about in 1731 by certain speculators on the Stock Exchange

⁴ She was taken very ill on 9 Nov., on 12 Nov. she was dangerously ill, and was discovered to be suffering from a rupture; she received the sacrament on 17 Nov., and died on Sunday night 20 Nov. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1737, pp. 699-700)

⁵ A second false report of the Queen's death had been spread on 25 Aug. of this year, when 'a man on Horseback, in order to pass the Turnpike on the King's private Road from Fulham without paying, pretended he came express from Hampton-Court with an Account of the Queen's Death. The Story spread for a Truth, till the Return of a Messenger sent to Court'—having meanwhile caused heavy losses to speculative dealers in mourning (*Gent. Mag.*)

⁶ Cf. Walpole to George Montagu, 28 Oct. 1736 'as Sir Jonathan Swift said, crowned heads and cane heads, good heads and no heads at all, may all come to disgrace'

⁷ A fictitious authority, the actual author cited being Swift (see n. 6)

⁸ Piece cut out, the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

Nov. 1737

Gray to Walpole

Letter 42

Cafarelli,⁹ so leaving him, as all the World has done, to screech by himself; we shall descend more gradually, & talk of West, who is just gone to Oxford again as soon as Ashton told me he was in town, I went to M^r Periam's in Hatton-Garden, but M^r Periam had left his house (& consequently M^{rs} West, as a Lodger) & was removed to Thavies Inn, at Thavies Inn instead of M^r Periam, I could find nothing but a Note in the key-hole, directing me to M^r Greenaways, but M^r Greenaways key-hole sent me to M^r Herriot, & there I found one of the blood of the Periams, who was so good as to inform me, he knew nothing of the matter, *ibi omnis effusus labor* ¹⁰ but in a few days more he came to me himself, then I went to supper with him, where he entertain'd me with all the product of his brain, Verses upon Stow, Translations of Catullus, & Homer, Epick Epigrams, & Odes upon the New-Year, Wild Ducks, & Petits Pâtes we are to write to each other every post, if not oftener he corresponds with Tozhy Cole, & Quid Prinsep ¹¹ the transactions of M^r Fleetwood¹² & Rich¹³ I defer to my next, or to word of mouth, for I shall be at Cambridge on Tuesday night,¹⁴ tho' I fear my not meeting with you there, I am, S^r,

yours most sincerely,

T GRAY

⁹ Gaetano Majorano, called Caffarelli (1703-83), famous soprano singer, a pupil of Porpora. He came to London in the autumn of this year, but during the whole time of his stay was never in good health nor in good voice, so that the high expectations formed of him were disappointed.

¹⁰ *Georg* iv 492.

¹¹ John Prinsep, a junior Eton contemporary (1731-5) of Gray and Walpole—see Ashton's letters to West of June 1736 in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence* (Nos 33, 34).

¹² Charles Fleetwood, manager of Drury Lane Theatre. The rivalry between him, as the upholder of the 'legitimate drama', and Rich (see n 13), the inventor of the pantomime, was the constant theme of the critics and poetasters of the day.

¹³ John Rich (c 1682-1761), manager first of the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, and afterwards of Covent Garden. In 1716 he introduced the pantomime, an entertainment which he produced annually till 1760, the year before his death, and in which he invariably, under his stage-name of Lun, played Harlequin. His greatest success was the production in 1728 of Gay's *Beggar's Opera*, which had been refused at Drury Lane, whereby, as was said, 'Gay was made rich, and Rich gay'.

¹⁴ This would be Tuesday, 15 Nov., the day of his return, as shown by the Peterhouse records.

43. WEST TO GRAY

RECEIVING no Answer to my last letter,¹ which I writ above a month ago, I must own I am a little uneasy The slight shadow of you which I had in town,² has only served to endear you to me the more The moments I past with you made a strong impression upon me I singled you out for a friend, and I would have you know me to be yours, if you deem me worthy --Alas, Gray, you cannot imagine how miserably my time passes away My health and nerves and spirits are, thank my stars, the very worst, I think, in Oxford Four-and-twenty hours of pure unalloy'd health together, are as unknown to me as the 400,000 characters in the Chinese vocabulary One of my complaints has of late been so over-civil as to visit me regularly once a month—*jam certus conviva*³ This is a painful nervous head-ach, which perhaps you have sometimes heard me speak of before Give me leave to say, I find no physic comparable to your letters If, as it is said in Ecclesiasticus 'Friendship be the physic of the mind',⁴ prescribe to me, dear Gray, as often and as much as you think proper, I shall be a most obedient patient

Non ego

*Fidis irascar medicis, offender amicus*⁵

I venture here to write you down a Greek epigram,⁶ which I lately turned into Latin, and hope you will excuse it

*Perspicui puerum ludentem in margine rivi
Immersit vitrea limpidus error aque*

LETTER 43 First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 26-8

¹ See Letter 41*

² See Letter 42

³ Horace, *1 Irist* vii 75

⁴ West appears to have been thinking of Ecclesiasticus vi 16 'A faithful friend is the medicine of life'

⁵ Horace, *1 Irist* viii 9 *Fidis offender medicis, irascar amicus*

⁶ Of Poudippus or Callimachus (*Anth Pal* vii 170) The Greek original, which is not given by Mason, is as follows

Τὸν τριετὴ παίζοντα περὶ φρέαρ Ἀστυαιακτᾶ
Εἰδῶλοι μορφᾶς κωφὸν ἐπέσπύσατο
Ἐκ δ' ὕδατος τὸν παῖδα διαβροχὸν ἤρπασε μάτηρ,
Σκεπτομένη ζωῆς εἰ τίνα μοῖραν ἔχει
Νύμφας δ' οὐκ ἐμίγηκε οἱ ἰήπιος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γούνατων
Ματρὸς κοιμηθεὶς τοὶ βαθὺν ὕπνῳ ἔχει

Dec 1737

West to Gray

Letter 43

At gelido ut mater moribundum e flumine traxit
Credula, & amplexu funus inane fovet.
Paullatim puer in dilecto pectore, somno
Languidus, aeternum lumina composuit ⁷

Adieu! I am going to my tutor's lectures on one Puffendorff,
a very jurisprudent author as you shall read on a summer's day ⁸
Believe me yours, &c.

Christ Church, Dec 2^d [1737]⁹

44 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, Dec 29, 1737]¹

My Dear

I SHOULD say M^r Inspector general of the Exports & Imports,²
but that appellation would make but an odd figure in conjunction with the two familiar monosyllables above written, for, Non bene conveniunt, nec in unâ sede morantur Majestas & amor,³ which is being interpreted, Love does not live at the Custom-house however by what style, title, or denomination

⁷ Gray transcribed West's rendering in his copy of the *Anthologia Graeca* (Stephanus, 1566, p 220), and added this note, 'Descriptio pulcherrima & quæ tenuem illum graecorum spiritum mirifice sapit' (Mason)

⁸ *Mids Night's Dream*, 1 2 (*ad fin*) 'Quince A proper man as one shall see in a summer's day'

⁹ Mason dated this letter 2 Dec 1738, an obvious error, as by that date West had left Oxford It has been assumed that, as Gray replies on 22 Jan 1738, the year should be 1737, but it is doubtful if the letter could have been written on 2 Dec in that year West refers to his last letter written 'above a month ago', but Gray had seen West in London in November (see Letter 42) and West alludes to this meeting Furthermore Gray, in his reply of 22 Jan, speaks of having received this letter of West's two days before, which would be scarcely possible of a letter written on 3 Dec It is possible that Mason, as he often did, combined parts of two letters, one of which was written in January, but in the absence of evidence the date must be left in doubt

LETTER 44 —First printed in part (in a garbled text) by Mason in *Memoirs*, pp 34-5, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 71

¹ The date is determined approximately by the references to the recent death and burial of Queen Caroline (see n 4) and by the postmark (see n 12)

² In his *Short Notes of my Life* Walpole writes 'My mother died August 20th, 1737 Soon after, my father gave me the place of Inspector of the Imports and Exports in the Custom House, which I resigned on his appointing me Usher of the Exchequer, in the room of Colonel William Townshend, January 29th, 1738'

³ Ovid, *Metam* 11 846-7

soever you please to be dignified or distinguish'd hereafter, you'll never get rid of these two words, nor of your christian-name it will stick like a Burr, & you can no more get quitted of it, than S^t Anthony could of his Pigg we had no Queen to bury here, so I have no procession to tell you of,⁴ but we are collecting our flowers, as fast as may be, to strew upon her tomb ' M^r Pemberton⁶ of Cath Hall & one Ambrose⁷ of Trin Hall, a blind Man, they say will bear away the bell; both English, M^r Whitehead⁸ does not shine vastly this time the bellman has paid his duty in the following epigram

Oh cruel death! how could'st be so unkind
To snatch the Queen, & leave the King behind?

almost as Lacomick, as M^r Conways⁹ letter,¹⁰ who has wrought to his sister¹¹ in the same style, as one would write to the devil whose ancient title has been, Old Boy, I am

yours ever

T GRAY

Addressed To The Honble Horace Walpole Esq at the Treasury London

Postmark CAMBRIDGE 30 DE^r ¹²

⁴ The Queen, who died on 20 Nov., was buried on 17 Dec.

⁵ The collection was published in Feb. 1738 under the title, *Pietas Academiae Cantabrigiensis in Funere Principis Wilhelminae Carolinae, & Luctu Augustissimi Georgii II Britanniarum &c Regni*

⁶ 'Henry Pemberton, A B, Fellow of Cath Hall' (B A, 1734, M A, 1738), contributed an English poem

⁷ There is no contribution by Ambrose

⁸ William Whitehead, of Clare, B A, 1739. Fellow, 1742, M A, 1743, subsequently (1757) Poet Laureate, also contributed an English poem (see Letter 197, n. 9)

⁹ This name has been scored through, but is still legible. Hon. Henry Seymour Conway (1721-95), second son of first Baron Conway by his third wife, Charlotte Shorter, sister of Lady Walpole, and thus first cousin of Horace Walpole. He entered the army in 1741. He and his elder brother, Lord Conway (afterwards Earl and Marquis of Holdidd), were among Walpole's school-fellows at Eton

¹⁰ Gray first wrote 'epigram', which he smudged out and altered to 'letter'

¹¹ Hon. Anne Seymour Conway (d. 1774), Conway's youngest sister (see Letter 49, n. 2)

¹² So apparently the postmark, but it is too indistinct to be deciphered with certainty

Jan 1738

Gray to Walpole

Letter 45

45 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, Jan. 10, 1738]¹

[]²

I AM in good hopes, that by this time the Eclipse³ is over with you, & that your two Satellit's have recover'd their usual light, the Sublimity of which two metaphors, after you have taken them out of their pantoufles,⁴ & reduced 'em to their just value, will be found to amount to my wishes for your health, & that of your eyes, whose warmth I have been too sensible of, when they used to shine upon me, not to be very apprehensive of any damage that might befall 'em I should have taken care to write upon Green paper, & dip'd my Pen in Copperas-water, if you had not assured me, that they were on the mending hand, & pretty well able to sustain the whitemaking rays now as for the transactions here, you are to be ascertain'd, that the Man at the Mitre has cut his throat, that one M^r White⁵ of Emanuel a week ago drown'd himself, but since that has been seen a few miles off, having the appearance of one that had never been drown'd, wherefore it is by many conjectured, that he walketh D^r Bouquets verses⁶ have been return'd by M^r Vice-chancellour⁶ to undergo several corrections, the old Man's invention is much [admired as]⁷ having found out a way to make bawdy verses upon a Burying⁸ the wind was so high last

LETTER 45 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No. 72

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year is determined by the references to the funeral of Queen Caroline, and to the great gale (see nn. 5, 9)

² See Letter 1, n. 2

³ This appears to be a reference, not to an actual eclipse, but to some temporary weakness of Walpole's eyesight. There was an annular eclipse of the sun on 18 Feb. 1737, which attracted considerable attention, and Gray's metaphor may have been suggested by the recollection of it.

⁴ Gray is probably repeating a phrase of Walpole's, see Walpole's letter to George Montagu of 18 May, 1749: 'Take sentiments out of their pantoufles'.

⁵ This individual cannot be identified.

⁶ Philip Bouquet (1669–1748), D.D., Fellow of Trinity, Regius Professor of Hebrew, 1712–48. He contributed four Hebrew stanzas, and a Latin poem of forty-two lines, to the Cambridge *Pietas* on the occasion of the funeral of Queen Caroline (17 Dec. 1737) (see Letter 44, n. 5).

⁷ William Richardson, Master of Emmanuel.

⁸ Piece cut out, the missing words were written in by Walpole.

⁹ Dr. Bouquet's poem begins

'Heu mihi! quod Priami expior mala fata superstes,
Ut videam teneræ Principis exsequias

Letter 45

Gray to Walpole

Jan. 1738

night,⁹ that I every minute expected to pay you a visit at London perforce, which was the place I certainly should have directed the storm to, if I had been obliged to ride in the Whirlwind¹⁰ if I don't hear from you this week, I shall be in a thousand Tyrrit's & frights¹¹ about you, I am, my dear Horace,

y^{rs} most affect^{tely}

T GRAY

Addressed To The Honble Horace Walpole Esq at the Treasury, St James's
Postmark (CAMBRIDGE 111A)

46 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[]¹

THE moving piece of ancient poetry you favour'd me with the sight of, would be sufficient, I must confess to deter me, if I had any ambition of appearing among the Consolatoes,² from all pretence to writing at this time, so long as the sad Catastrophe of the beautiful & never-to-be-enough-lamented Gillian³ dwells upon my memory those Genius's, my friend, those mighty spirits of antiquity! alas, what are we to 'em? mere tinsel! mere flash! and indeed (not to dwell upon the moral, so feelingly inculcated in this little elegiacal narration, which

Orbatamque Flumini Sobolem, Viduque Mariti
Descitos longa nocte jacere toros
Ah! quoties voluit collo dare brachia circum!
Sed tones cupidas lusit imago manus'

⁹ There was a very violent gale on the evening of 9 Jan. of this year, which did great damage, especially at Bristol (*Gent. Mag.* 1738, p. 49)

¹⁰ Addison's *Campaign*, 292 Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm—a line borrowed by Pope in the *Dunciad*, iii. 264

¹¹ 2 *Hen. IV.*, ii. 4 'Mrs. Quickly I'll forswear keeping house, afore I'll be in these turrits and frights'

LETTER 46—First printed by Townbe (1915), No. 73

¹ See Letter 1, n. 2

² That is, the contributors to the Cambridge *Pietas* on the occasion of the funeral of Queen Caroline (see Letter 44, n. 5) Gray was not a contributor

³ The ballad of Gillian, if such there was, has not been traced. One of the pieces (consisting of six stanzas, with refrain) in Thomas Duffey's *Wit and Mirth* (1719) is entitled 'The Queen's Health Or, the New Gillian of Croydon'. A chap-book containing 'The Pleasant and delightful history of Gillian of Croydon' was published in London in 1727. Possibly Walpole may have borrowed the heroine of this for a ballad of his own composition

'tis impossible should escape the acuteness of your penetration) what can be beyond the elegant simplicity of the language? in the exordium the poet lays down the groundwork, & foundation, as it were, of that beautiful fabrick he intends to erect, he does not injudiciously draw his inferences, after he has recounted the story, at least he does not expatiate much in the end, no! he leaves the mind then to ruminate at its own leisure, & make its own applications, when it shall have recover'd itself from that sorrow, (which every virtuous mind must feel after so woful a tale he recommends to the ladies of his time a strict observance of honour & chastity, who, I doubt not, received his advice with reverence (our modern Females would perhaps [have laugh'd at his gravity) he also solemnly affirms the truth of it, as well knowing the prevalence of truth over the mind, from whence his deep insight into Nature is sufficiently evidenced at the beginning of his narration, he fixes the place of his Heroine's habitation in Surry,⁵ he had undoubtedly observed in Homer, & the imitators of that poet, how much we are engaged in the interest of any person, who has the misfortune of falling in battle, by being told the place of his birth & abode, as

Υἱὸν⁶ δὲ Στροφίῳιο, Σκαμάνδριον, αἴμονα^b θήρης, &c⁷

—Ὀρσίλοχόν τε,

Τὸ δ' αὖ πατὴρ μὲν ἔναιεν ἑκτιμένη⁸ ἐνὶ Φηρή⁹,

'tis true, he has not carried it quite so far as Homer in telling us, whether Gillian loved hunting or not, nor whether her father's house was well, or ill built, he has showed, as he proceeds, his generous aversion, & contempt for your cockneys & fluttering beaux of the town, so agreeable to the simplicity of the age he lived in, & its uncorrupted innocence, by making this ill-grounded passion of Gillian's the cause of all her misfortunes,

—Hinc prima mali labes¹⁰—

I don't wonder at her innocence not being proof against so

⁴ Piece cut out (see n 1), the missing text has been supplied in pencil by Walpole

⁵ See n 3, Croydon is in Surrey

⁶ Sic

⁷ *Iliad*, v 49 'Skamandrios, son of Strophios, cunning in the chase'

⁸ Sic

⁹ *Iliad*, v 542-3 'And Orsilochos, whose father dwelt in well-built Phere

¹⁰ *Aen* 11 97 'Hinc mihi prima mali labes'

strong allurements as are contain'd in those two unaffected lines,

He said as how he would her carry
To London, & her there would marry

then how feelingly, yet concisely is the main part of the story express'd—

He did perswade her to his bed,
And there he got her maidenhead
— fulsere ignes, & conscius æther
Connubus, summoq; ulularunt Teastre Nymphæ ¹¹

what woman would not consent, when a man swears upon his life? then for the master-stroke,

She sat down at his door, & cri'd,
And broke her heart, & so she died

I suspect here some small imitation of the celebrated dragon of Wantley (provided that were really older than this)

So groan'd, kicked, shit, & died ¹²

[On]¹³ly indeed the indecent circumstances are suppress'd, tho' the elegance is still preserved pray, excuse these little remarks, which a[re],¹⁴ however ill executed, design'd to make more

¹¹ *Aen.* iv. 167-8 ('ulularunt vertice Nymphæ')

¹² The last line of the ballad of *The Dragon of Wantley*

'Then his head he shak'd, trembled and quaked,
And down he laid and cry'd,
First on one knee, then on back tumbled he
So groan'd, kickt, shit, and dy'd'

Gray perhaps read the ballad in the *Collection of Old Ballads, corrected from the best and most antient Copies extant, with Introductions historical and critical* (Lond 1726 38 3 vols 12mo) ascribed to Ambrose Philips in which it occurs in vol 1, pp 37-42. More probably, however the allusion was prompted by the recent performance at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden of Henry Carey's *The Dragon of Wantley: A Burlesque Opera, moderniz'd from the Old Ballad after the Italian Manner*, by Sig. Carini, an edition of which, with the original ballad prefixed, was published at the same time. The opera was first produced on 26 Oct. 1737, and, after being suspended for a time on account of the death of Queen Caroline (20 Nov.), had a run of sixty-seven nights.

¹³ MS. torn

¹⁴ Partly obliterated by seal

Jan 1738

Gray to Walpole

Letter 46

conspicuous the [ex]¹⁴cellencies of this amiable author, & believe me

your faithful friend, & humble Serv^t

PHILOGILLIANUS

Jan 15—[1738]¹⁵ Cambridge

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq, at the Treasury S^t James's.¹⁶

47 GRAY TO WEST

Glaucias Favonio¹ suo S

LITERAS, mi Favoni, abs te demum nudiustertius, credo, accepi,² L planè mellitas, nisi fortè quà de ægritudine quadam tuâ dictum atque hoc sane mihi habitum est non paulò acerbius, quod te capitis morbo implicitum esse intellexi, oh morbum mihi quam odiosum¹ qui de industria id agit, ut ego in singulos menses, Du boni, quantis jucunditatibus orbarer¹ quàm ex animo mihi dolendum est, quod

Medio de fonte leporum

Surgit amari aliquid³—

salutem mehercule, nolo, tam parvipendas, atq; amicis tam improbè consulas quanquam tute fortassis—æstuas angusto limite mundi,⁴ viamq; (ut dicitur) affectas Olympo,⁵ nos tamen non esse tam sublimes, utpote qui hisce in sordibus & fæce diutius paululum versari volumus, reminiscendum est illæ tuæ Musæ, si te ament modo, derelinqui paulisper non nimis ægrè patientur indulge, amabo te, plus quam soles, corporis exercitationibus magis te campus habeat, aprico magis te dedas otio, ut ne id ingenium quod tam cultum curas, diligenter nimis

¹⁵ Mason has inserted the date 1737 in the original, this would be correct according to old style (15 Jan 1737/8), according to new style the date must be 15 Jan 1738, on account of the reference to the funeral of Queen Caroline, which took place on 17 Dec 1737

¹⁶ The letter is endorsed in an uneducated hand

'send by w^m Haselwod
att y^e Green Dragon
With in beeshops Gate
on wensday be fore
noon'

(See Letter 123, n 2)

LETTER 47 —T 9, first printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 28–9, the letter was transcribed in Gray's *Commonplace-book*

¹ Gray addresses him as Favonius in allusion to the name of West (see Letter 2, n 8) ² On the date of West's letter see Letter 43, n 9

³ Lucretius, iv 1133–4

⁴ Juvenal, *Sat* x 169

⁵ Virgil, *Georg* iv 562 'viamque affectat Olympo'

dum foves, officiosarum matrum ritu, intermas vide, quæso, quàm *ιατρικῶς* tecum agimus,

—ἦδ' ἐπιθήσω

φάρμαχ' ἃ κεν παύσῃσι μελαινάων ὀδυνάων⁶

si de his pharmacis non satis liquet, sunt festivitates meræ, sunt facetiæ, & risus, quos ego equidem si adhibere nequeo, tamen ad præcipiendum (ut medicorum fere mos est) certè satis sum id, quod poetice sub finem epistolæ lusisti, mihi gratissimum quidem accidit admodum latinè coctum & conditum tetrasticon? Græcam tamen illam ἀφέλειαν mirificè sapit tu, quod restat, vide sodes, hujus hominis ignorantiam, cum, unde hoc tibi sit depromptum, (ut fatear) prorsus nescio sane ego equidem nihil in capsis reperio, quo tibi minimæ partis solutio fiat vale, & me ut soles, ama

AD 11 Kalend. Februar. [Jan 22, 1738]^a

48 WEST TO GRAY

I **TOUGHT** to answer you in Latin,¹ but I feel I dare not enter the lists with you—cupidum, pater optime, vires deficiunt² Seriously you write in that language with a grace and an Augustan urbanity that amazes me. Your Greek too is perfect in its kind. And here let me wonder that a man, longè græcorum doctissimus, should be at a loss for the verse and chapter whence my epigram is taken. I am sorry I have not my Aldus with me that I might satisfy your curiosity, but he with all my other literary folks are left at Oxford, and therefore you must still rest in suspense. I thank you again and again for your medical prescription. I know very well that those 'risus, festivitates, & facetiæ' would contribute greatly to my cure, but then you must be my apothecary as well as physician, and make

⁶ *Iliad*, iv. 190-1 (adapted) 'and apply drugs that shall assuage thy dire pangs'

⁷ The epigram of which he had sent Gray a Latin translation (see Letter 43)

^a The date of the year is determined by that of West's letter of 21 Feb. 1738, which is a reply

LETTER 48.—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs* pp. 29-30

¹ This was written in French, but as I doubted whether it would stand the test of polite criticism so well as the preceding would of learned, I chose to translate so much of it as I thought necessary in order to preserve the chain of correspondence. *Mason*

² Horace, 2 *Sat.* i. 12-13

Feb 1738

West to Gray

Letter 48

up the dose as well as direct it, send me, therefore, an electuary of these drugs, made up *secundum artem*, 'et eris mihi magnus Apollo',³ in both his capacities as a god of poets and god of physicians. Wish me joy of leaving my college, and leave yours as fast as you can. I shall be settled at the Temple very soon.

Dartmouth-Street,⁴ Feb 21, 1737/8

49. GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, Feb 23, 1738]¹

My best Horace

I CONFESS, I am amazed of all likely things this is the last I should have believed would come to pass:² however I congratulate you upon being able at this time to talk of Clytemnæstra, & Mr^s Porter.³ I wish, you have not admired this last-mention'd Gentlewoman long enough to catch a little of her art from her, for if I'm not mistaken, you are a very different person behind the Scenes, & whatever face you set upon the matter, I guess—but perhaps I guess wrong, I wish I may for your sake, perhaps you are as cool as you would seem either way I may wish you joy, of your Disimulation, or Philosophy.

³ Virgil, *Ecl* iii 104

⁴ Dartmouth Street, Westminster, north side of Tothill Street to Great Queen Street (Wheatley's *London*)

LETTER 49 —First printed by Toynber (1915), No. 76

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year is determined by the reference to Mrs. Porter (see n. 3), and by the fact that Gray (as is indicated by the postmark *Saffron Walden*—one of the regulation postmarks on letters between Cambridge and London) was still at Cambridge, which he left in September 1738 (see Letter 56).

² This letter evidently refers to some love-affair, which Walpole had partially confided to Gray—a half-confidence, which evokes from the latter an interesting confession as to his own feelings on the subject of 'the new study—the most excellent of all sciences' (viz. the 'art of love'), of which Walpole had become a devotee. It seems to have become an open secret later that he was attached to his first cousin, Hon. Anne Seymour Conway, who in 1755 married John Harris. He was rallied about her by West (see his letter to Walpole of 10 Nov. 1740 in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 347), and also by his Cambridge tutor, John Whaley, who in a poem addressed to him not long after he left Cambridge writes:

'Flows from thy pen the sweet spontaneous line
While *Seymour's* look supplies the absent mine."

³ The famous actress (see Letter 20, n. 8), on 6 April of this year she appeared at Drury Lane as Clytemnæstra in the first performance of Thomson's *Agamemnon*. Walpole must have been discussing the performance by anticipation, presumably in the essay to which Gray refers in his postscript (see n. 7).

I long extremely to see you, but till I have that pleasure, methinks you might be a little more open in writing, have pity a little upon my curiosity if you distrust my faith (I won't say Honour, that's for Gentlefolks⁴) and imagine I would shew your letters to any one; yet rely upon my vanity, which won't suffer me to do an ill thing, if you fear the common fate of loose papers, I give you my word to sacrifice to the fire immediately (no small sacrifice, I assure you) all I shall receive, if you desire it I don't wonder at the new study you have taken a liking to, first because it diverts your thoughts from disagreeable objects, next, because it particularly suits your Genius, & lastly, because I believe it the most excellent of all sciences, to which in proportion as the rest are subservient, so great a degree of estimation they ought to gain would you believe it, 'tis the very thing I would wish to apply to, myself? ay! as simple as I stand here⁵ but then the Apparatus necessary to it costs so much, nay, part of it is wholly out of one's power to procure; and then who should pare one, & burnish one? for they would have more trouble & fuss with me, than Cinderaxa's⁶ sisters had with their feet, to make 'em fit for the little glass Slipper oh yes! to be sure one must be lick'd, now to lick oneself I take to be altogether impracticable, & to ask another to lick one, would not be quite so civil, Bear I was born, & bear, I believe, I'm like to remain consequently a little ungainly in my fondnesses, but I'll be bold to say, you shan't in a hurry meet with a more loving poor animal, than

your faithful Creature,

BRUIN

P S I beg you to continue your Essay⁷ & tell Zeph⁸ when you see him to expect a letter in Rabbinical Hebrew from me, unless he writes directly

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq at the Treasury St^t James
Postmark SAFFRON WALDEN 24 FE

⁴ See Letter 52, n. 3

⁵ *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1. 1

⁶ *Slend* My cousin Shallow is a justice of peace in his country, simple though I stand here⁷

⁸ A variant of Cinderella (it is the name of the cook in William Somerville's *Hobbinol*)

⁷ See n. 3 This was probably the 'ingenious paper' referred to in a note from Mrs Porter to 'her kind and generous friend & Benefactor Mr Walpole' preserved in the Waller Collection (see *Supplement to the Letters of Horace Walpole*, vol. III, p. 105)

⁸ Zephyrus, that is West

50. GRAY TO WALPOLE

[]¹

I DID not allow myself time to rejoyce with Ashton upon his good fortune,² till after I had ransacked all his informations, as to you; & with him admired your judgement & conduct,³ for these virtues (I find, you are resolved to shew us) you are as well acquainted with, as we knew you were with their Sisters: what¹ will no less than the whole family serve your turn, sure one of 'em might have contented any moderate stomach¹ there's Miss Temperance, Miss Constance & the rest of 'em, e'er a one, i'gad, a match for an emperour these, it is well known, or the world much belies you, you have Had, deny it, if you can, and must poor Miss Prue go to pot too² well, I say no more, but it's too much in all conscience, methinks, for one man to be fit equally for this world, & the next they tell me you are to be here once more in a little while, dear now, don't let it be much longer in the mean time have you seen Comus,⁴ & what figure does it make after cutting for the simples⁵ have you read yourself to sleep with Dr Swift's conversation,⁶ as I did² that confounded Lady Answerall, tho' she says less than any body, is the devil to me¹ pray did you ever see an elephant² I have.

LETTER 50 — First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 77

¹ See Letter 1, n 2

² Ashton had recently been appointed, through the good offices of Walpole, tutor to the youthful Earl of Plymouth

³ Early in March of this year Sir Robert Walpole married, as his second wife, Maria Skerrett, who had been his mistress. Horace Walpole had no liking for the match but had accepted it with good temper. This explains Gray's allusions to his 'judgement and conduct' and prudence ('Miss Prue')

⁴ This was an adaptation of Milton's *Comus* for the stage by John Dalton (1709-63), which was produced at Drury Lane on 4 March 1738, the music being composed by Dr Arne

⁵ Gray borrowed this phrase from Swift's *Polite Conversation*, Dialogue 1

'Miss I won't quarrel with my bread and butter for all that, I know when I'm well

Lady Answerall Well, but, miss —

Neverout Ah! dear madam, let the matter fall, take pity on poor miss, don't throw water on a drowned rat

Miss Indeed, Mr Neverout, you should be cut for the simples this morning, say a word more and you had as good eat your nails'

⁶ *A Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation, according to the most polite Mode and Method, now used at Court, and in the best Companies of England in three Dialogues* London, 1738

Letter 50

Gray to Walpole

Mar 1738

if you han't, you never saw an ugly thing I would not be
Aurengzebe for the world; they say, he rid upon one that's

All

yours ever,

T G

March, 7, [1738]⁷ Cantab

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq at the Treasury St James's

Postmark CAMBRIDGE 10 MR

51 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[

]

THANK God, I had a very good night's rest, and am sufficiently
T awake to answer your letter, tho' likely to be more dull, than
you that write in your sleep and indeed I do not believe, that
you ever are so much asleep, but you can write to a relation,
play a sober game at Picquet, keep up a tete á tete conversa-
tion, sell a bargain, or perform any of the little offices of life
with tolerable spirit, certain I am, there are many people in
the world, who in their top spirits are no better éveillés, than
you are at four in the morning, reclined upon your pillow ²I
believe, I partly guess [what is] your hopeful branch, I fancy
you may find the first letters of both somewhere between H &
T inclusive, if I interpret your hieroglyphs aright ² as to my
journey to London, which you are so good as to press, alas!
what can I do? if I come, it is for good & all,³ & I don't know
how it is, I have a sort of reluctance to leave this place, un-
amiable as it may seem, 'tis true Cambridge is very ugly, she
is very dirty, & very dull, but I'm like a cabbage, where I'm
stuck, I love to grow, you should pull me up sooner, than any
one, but I shall be ne'er the better for transplanting poor
Mr Cornwallis⁴ is here, sadly alter'd, so that one can very hardly

⁷ The date of the year is determined by the reference to the performance of *Comus* (see n 4)

LETTER 51 — First printed by Fovnbee (1915), No 78

¹ See Letter 1, n 2

²⁻³ The whole of this sentence has been heavily scored through, but is still decipherable, except for the words in square brackets, which are supplied conjecturally. Walpole's letter not having been preserved, the allusion remains unexplained. It is possible that it has reference to a cipher containing the names Horace and Thomas

² Gray remained at Cambridge until the following September (see Letter 56)

⁴ Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury *Walpole* — Hon Frederick

Mar 1738

Gray to Walpole

Letter 51

know him; Towers⁵ still stands out, & refuses to admit him, so that they have called in their visitours,⁶ that is the Vice-chancellor,⁷ Dr Bently,⁸ & Dr Ashton,⁹ but nothing is yet determined the Assizes are just over, I was there, but I a'nt to be transported Adieu,

yours sincerely

T: GRAY

Cam March 20 [1738]¹⁰

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horatio Walpole, Esq at the Treasury St James's
Postmark CAMBRIDGE 20 MR

52 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, March 28, 1738]¹

[]²

YOU can never weary me with repetition of any thing, that makes me sensible of your kindness since that has been the only Idea of any social happiness that I have ever received almost, & which (begging your pardon for thinking so

Cornwallis (see Letter 16, n 5) Cole, whose schoolfellow and contemporary at the University he was, says that towards the latter end of his residence he had a stroke of palsy, which took away the use of his right hand, and obliged him to write with his left

⁵ William Towers, Master of Christ's College, 1723-45 Cornwallis had been elected Fellow on 28 Jan 1738, but Dr Towers refused to admit him on the ground that being a peer's son he was not eligible under the statute on the quality of Fellows Cornwallis appealed to the Vice-Chancellor, who on 24 April 1738, with Dr Hacket and Dr Conyers Middleton as assessors, required the Master to admit him, which he did on the following day

⁶ The visitors of Christ's were 'the Vice-Chancellor with two Senior Doctors in Divinity'

⁷ William Richardson, D D, Master of Emmanuel College, 1736-75

⁸ Dr Richard Bently, Master of Trinity, 1700-42, D D, 1696

⁹ Dr Charles Ashton, Master of Jesus, 1701-52, D D, 1702

¹⁰ The date of the year is determined by the references to Gray's approaching departure from Cambridge (see n. 3)

LETTER 52 — First printed in part (in a garbled text) by Mason in *Memoirs*, pp 16-17, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 28

¹ Mason dates this letter *Peterhouse*, 23 Dec 1736, which is certainly wrong so far as the date of the month is concerned, as is proved by the postmark The allusion to Ashton's departure from Cambridge (cf Letter 50, n 2), and to West's possibly being in town, as he probably was at this time in 1738 (see Letter 49, n 8), point almost certainly to 1738 as the correct date

² See Letter 1, n 2

differently from you in such cases) I would by no means have parted with for an exemption from all the uneasinesses mixed with it but it would be unjust to imagine my taste was any rule for yours, for which reason my letters are shorter & less frequent than they would be, had I any materials but myself to entertain you with love, & brown Sugar must be a poor regale for one of your Goût, & alas! you know I am by trade a Grocer.¹ Scandal (if I had any) is a merchandize, you don't profess dealing in, now & then indeed, & to oblige a friend you may perhaps slip a little out of your Pocket, as a decayed Gentlewoman would a piece of right Mechin, or a little quantity of run Tea, but this only now & then, not to make a practise of it. Monsters, appertaining to this Climate, you have seen already both wet & dry so you see within how narrow bounds my Pen is circumscribed, & the whole contents of my share in our Correspondence may be reduced under the two heads of 1 You, 2 I the first is indeed a subject to expatiate upon, but [you might]⁴ laugh at me for talking of what I do not understand, the second is as tiny, as tiresome, wherefore you shall hear no more of it, till you come to Finis. Ashton was here last night, he goes to morrow, he bid me farewell, & drank a health in Ale & small, to our meeting hereafter in a happy Eternity. M^{rs} Ward has bought her a silver Chamberpot. Mademoiselle Quimbeau (that was) is weary of her new husband, & has sent a petit billet to a gentleman to pray he would come, & ravish her. there is a curious woman here that spins Glas, & makes short Aprons, & furbelow'd petticoats of it, a very genteel wear for summer, & discover's⁵ all the motions of the limbs to great advantage. she is a successour of Jack, the Aple dumpling Spinner's. my Duck has eat a Snail, &c & I am

yours eternally

T G

¹ Mason notes 'That is, a man who deals only in coarse and ordinary wares to these he compares the plain sincerity of his own friendship, undisguised by flattery. But Gray may be speaking literally, in allusion to the 'kind of India warehouse' which Mason says was kept by his mother and aunt in Cornhill (see Letter 28, n. 3). A sense of social inferiority seems implied in this letter, as in letter 49, where he says 'if you distrust my faith (I won't say Honour, that's for Gentlefolks)'

⁴ Piece cut out, the missing words have been supplied in pencil by Walpole

⁵ *Sic*

Mar 1738

Gray to Walpole

Letter 52

P S: I give you a thousand thanks for your characters if I knew whither West was in town, I'd write to him.

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq at the Treasury S^t James's
Postmark CAMBRIDGE 29 MR

53 GRAY TO WEST

BARBARAS ædes aditure mecum,¹
Quas Eris semper fovet inquieta,
Lis ubi latè sonat, et togatum
Æstuat agmen¹

Dulcius quanto, patulis sub ulmi
Hospitæ ramis temerè jacentem
Sic libris horas, tenuiq; inertes
Fallere Musâ²

Sæpe enim curis vagor expeditâ
Mente, dum, blandam meditans Camænam,
Vix malo rori, meminive scræ
Cedere nocti,

Et, pedes quò me rapiunt, in omni
Colle Parnasum videor videre
Fertilem sylvæ, gelidamq; in omni
Fonte Aganippen.

Risit & Ver me, facilesq; Nymphæ
Nare captantem, nec inelegantî,
Manè quicquid de violis eundo
Surripit aura

Me reclinatum teneram per herbam,
Quà leves cursus aqua cunque ducit,
Et moras dulci strepitu lapillo
Nectit in omni

LETTER 53 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 30–3, the verses were transcribed in Gray's Commonplace-book with the heading 'Ad C. Favonium Aristum' (Aristius Fuscus was the friend to whom Horace addressed the ode 'Integer vitæ', 1 *Odes*, xxii)

¹ Cf Horace, 2 *Odes*, vi In the opening stanza Gray refers to the project he and West had formed of studying law together in the Inner Temple See Letter 58**, n 2

Hæ novo nostrum ferè pectus anno
 Simples curæ tenuere, cælum
 Quamdiù sudum explicuit Favoni
 Purior hora

Oua et campos nec adhuc relinquo,
 Nec magis Phæbo Clytie fidelis,
 (Ingruant venti licet, et senescat
 Mollior ætas)

Namque, seu, lætos hominum labores
 Prataq; & montes recreante curru,
 Purpurâ tractus oriens Eoos
 Vestit, et auro,

Sedulus servo, veneratus orbem
 Prodigum splendoris amœnion
 Sive dilectam meditatur igne
 Pingere Calpen,

Usque dum, fulgore magis magis jam
 Languido circum, variata nubes
 Labitur furtim, viridisq; in umbras
 Scena recessit

O ego felix, vice si (nec unquam
 Suigerem rursus) simili cadentem
 Parca me lenis sineret quieto
 Fallere letho¹

Multà flagrantî radiisq; cincto
 Integrîs ah! quam nihil inviderem,
 Cum Dei ardentes medius quadrigas
 Sentit Olympus?

Ohe! amicule noster, et unde, sodes, tu μουσοπάτακτος² adeo repente evasisti? jam te rogitaturum eredo Nescio hercle, sic planè habet Quicquid enim nugarum ἐπὶ σχολῆς inter ambulandum in palimpsesto scriptitavi, hisce te maxumè imperturi visum est, quippe quem probare, quod meum est, aut certè ignoscere solitum probè novi bonâ tuâ veniâ sit si fortè videar in fine subtristior, nam risui jamdudum salutem dixi, etiam paulè mœstitiæ studiosiorem factum scias, promptumque, *Καινοῖς παλαιὰ δακρύοις στένειν κακά*³

¹ Term for a poet, used by Cicero, *Epist. ad Quintum Fr.* 11. 10

² 'To bewail old ills with new tears'—Adapted from a fragment of the *Ἀλέξανδρος* of Euripides *παλαιὰ καινοῖς δακρύοις οὐ χρὴ στένειν* *Τούτῳ*

June 1738

Gray to West

Letter 53

O lachrymarum fons, tenero sacros
Ducentium ortus ex animo, quater
Felix¹ in imo qui scatentem
Pectore te, pia Nympha, sensit

Sed de me satis Cura ut valeas

Jun 1738.

54 GRAY TO ASHTON

My dear Ashton

IT seems you have forgot the poor little tenement in which you so long lodg'd, and have set your heart on some fine Castle in the air I wish I were Master of the Seat you describe, that I might make your Residence more agreeable, but as it is, I fear you'll hardly meet with common Conveniences

I deserve you should be angry with me for haveing been so little punctual, in paying my Dues, & returning thanks for your advice some time since All is at present, mighty well, that is, just as you remember it, & imagin'd it would be cool enough not to burn, and warm enough not to freeze one, but methinks the Counsel you gave me, was what you did not think proper to make use of in like Circumstances yourself, perhaps you know why the same way of acting should be improper for you, & proper for me I don't doubt but you have your reasons, & I trust you would not have me do anything wrong

The account W gives me of your way of Life¹ is better than I expected to be sure you must meet daily with little particulars enough to fill a letter, and I should be pleas'd with the most minute Has M^{rs} L² a pimple upon her Nose³ does her Woman love Citron Water³ &c any of these would be a high regale for me but perhaps you think it telling tales you know best.

LETTER 54 —First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp 37–8, reprinted by Toynbee (1915), No 80, from Mitford's transcript

¹ In his capacity as tutor to Lord Plymouth, Ashton was now installed in the house in Hanover Square of Mrs Lewis, daughter (Anne) and coheirress of Sir Nathan Wright, Bart, of Cranham Hall, Essex, and wife of Thomas Lewis of Harpton Court, Radnor

² Mrs Lewis

³ Cf Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, iv 67–9

'But oh! if e'er thy Gnome could spoil a grace,
Or raise a pimple on a beauteous face,
Like Citron-waters matrons' cheeks inflame . . .'

Have you seen Madame Valmote²⁴ naughty Woman¹ was you at the Christening²⁵ is the Princess⁶ with Child again? was you at the review? have you wrote e'er a Critique on the Accidence? is Despauterius⁷ or Linacer⁸ most in your favor? but perhaps you think this, tittle-tattle Well¹ you know best Pot-fair⁹ is at its height, there's old raffeing Walpole is gone to Stamford, & to Lynn, but returns in a day or two I am gone to the Carrier's with this letter, and am

ever yours

T G

June 30 [1738]¹⁰—Cambridge

Addressed To Mr Ashton, at the Honble Mrs Lewis's, in Hanover Square, London

55 WEST TO GRAY

I RETURN you a thousand thanks for your elegant ode,¹ and I wish you every joy you wish yourself in it But, take my word for it, you will never spend so agreeable a day here as you describe, alas! the sun with us rises only to shew us the

⁴ Amelia Sophia von Walmoden (1704–65), Hanoverian lady, mistress of George II, who, after the death of Queen Caroline (Nov. 1737), brought her over to England, and installed her in St James's Palace In 1739 she was divorced from her husband, and in the following year was created Countess of Yarmouth 'Monday, June 12 Arriv'd in Town Baron Valmoute, Great Chamberlain of Hanover with his Lady, and waited on his Majesty, and met with a most gracious Reception The Baron's stay here will not be long, but the Lady remains with Baron Stanberg, her Brother, Chief Secretary of Hanover' (*Gent Mag.*, 1738, p. 322)

⁵ That of George William Frederick (eldest son of Frederick, Prince of Wales), afterwards George III He was born on 4 June of this year, and was christened in Norfolk House, St James's Square, on the evening of 21 June, by the Bishop of Oxford

⁶ The Princess of Wales

⁷ Jean Despautère (1460–1520), Flemish grammarian, his *Commentarii Grammatici* were published in 1537

⁸ Thomas Linacre (c. 1460–1524), English physician and classical scholar, his *Rudimenta Grammatices*, an elementary Latin grammar in English, composed for the use of the Princess Mary, was first printed c. 1524

⁹ An annual fair at Cambridge for the sale of 'horses, cattle, lumber, and pottery, beginning on 22 June, and commonly called Midsummer or Pot-fair, it is proclaimed by the Heads of the University, and the Mayor and Corporation successively' (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*)

¹⁰ The date of the year is determined by the references to the arrival of Madame Walmoden (see n. 4), and to the royal christening (see n. 5)

LETTER 55—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 33–4

¹ See LETTER 53

Aug 1738

West to Gray

Letter 55

way to Westminster-Hall Nor must I forget thanking you for your little Alcaic fragment ^{1a} The optic Naiads are infinitely obliged to you

I was last week at Richmond Lodge,² with Mr Walpole, for two days, and dined with Cardinal Fleury,³ as far as my short sight can go, the character of his great art and penetration is very just, he is indeed

Nulli penetrabilis astio ⁴

I go to-morrow to Epsom,⁵ where I shall be for about a month Excuse me, I am in haste, but believe me always, &c

August 29, 1738

55* Gray to Ashton

[c Sept 7, 1738]

[In his letter to West of 9 Sept 1738, from Hanover Square (*Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, No 83), Ashton says 'A small Piece of Paper light at this House to day with Gray's name attachd to it, & declares he is very well, that Stourbridge fair¹ is full blown, & that he will go to bed at Cambridge but 14 Nights more'²

¹ See Letter 56, n 1

² Gray was in London on 19 Sept (see Letter 58)]

56 GRAY TO WEST

I AM coming away all so fast, and leaving behind me, without the least remorse, all the beauties of Sturbridge Fair ¹ Its

^{1a} The stanza beginning 'O lachrymarum fons' at the end of Letter 53

² Sir Robert Walpole's eldest son had been appointed Ranger of Richmond Park ('nominally, but my father in reality', says Walpole in his *Reminiscences*, chap 1) in 1725, for the convenience of hunting Sir Robert built a lodge in the New Park, on which he spent £14,000, and to which 'he usually retired on Saturdays and Sundays'

³ Sir Robert Walpole *Mason*—Cardinal Andre Hercule de Fleury (1653-1743), First Minister of France from 1726 till his death, during which period he exercised absolute power The first object of his foreign policy was the maintenance of peace, which was also that of Sir Robert Walpole Pope, 2 *Sat* 1 75 'Peace is my dear delight—not Fleury's more'

⁴ *Status*, *Theb* x 85

⁵ Where his mother was then residing

LETTER 56—First printed in *Mason's Memoirs*, p 36.

¹ Stourbridge, 1½ miles from Cambridge, was celebrated for its fair, formerly one of the largest in the kingdom, held in September 'It is proclaimed by the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, and Proctors of the University of Cambridge, and the Mayor and Aldermen of that borough, and continues more than three weeks' (Lewis, *Topog Dict*)

white bears may roar, its apes may wring their hands, and crocodiles cry their eyes out, all's one for that, I shall not once visit them, nor so much as take my leave. The university has published a severe edict against schismatical congregations, and created half a dozen new little procterlings to see its orders executed, being under mighty apprehensions lest Henley² and his gilt tub should come to the Fair and seduce their young ones, but their pains are to small purpose, for lo, after all, he is not coming

I am at this instant in the very agonies of leaving college, and would not wish the worst of my enemies a worse situation. If you knew the dust, the old boxes, the bedsteads, and tutors that are about my ears, you would look upon this letter as a great effort of my resolution and unconcernedness in the midst of evils. I fill up my paper with a loose sort of version of that scene in Pastor Fido³ that begins, *Care selve beati* ⁴

[Cambridge] Sept⁵ 1738

² John Henley (1692-1756) an eccentric preacher, commonly known as 'Orator Henley'. He was a Cambridge graduate and after holding a living in Suffolk, in 1726 he severed his connexion with the Church, and began his 'orations' in a wooden booth in Newport Market. In 1729 he removed to Lincoln's Inn Fields, where, in spite of a prosecution for profaning the clerical character, he continued his 'exhibitions' for many years. He and his 'gilt tub' are celebrated in the *Dunciad* (ii 2, iii 199 ff.), where Pope apostrophizes him as, 'Preacher at once, and Zany of thy age'. 'The pulpit of a Dissenter', writes Pope, 'is usually called a Tub, but that of Mr. Orator Henley was covered with velvet, and adorned with gold'. He preached on the Sundays upon Theological matters and on the Wednesdays upon all other sciences. Each auditor paid one shilling. After having stood some Prosecutions, he turned his rhetoric to buffoonery upon all public and private occurrences. Sir Robert Walpole turned his talents to account by employing him, at a salary of £100 a year, to ridicule the *Craftsman*, the opposition journal, in a periodical called the *Hyp-Doctor*.

³ Pastoral tragic-comedy by Battista Guarini (1538-1612), first published in 1590, editions had been published in London in 1728, 1734, and 1736.

⁴ Mason's mistake for *beate* — This Latin version is extremely elegant, but as it is only a version I do not insert it — and I find amongst his papers an English translation of part of the 4th Canto of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, done previously to this, which has great merit *Mason* (See Letter 37) — A translation, dated 1738, of eight stanzas of the 14th (not 4th) Canto of the *Gerusalemme* is in Gray's Commonplace-book (printed in Mitford 1835-43, vol. 1, p. 170), and it is probable that this is the version to which Mason refers. Gray also translated the Ugolino episode from the thirty-third Canto of Dante's *Inferno* (See Tynbæl, *Dante in English Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 231-4.)

⁵ The College books show that Gray left Cambridge in the middle of September

57 WEST TO GRAY

I THANK you again and again for your two last most agreeable letters¹ They could not have come more a-propos, I was without any books to divert me, and they supplied the want of every thing, I made them my classics in the Country, they were my Horace and Tibullus—Non ita loquor assentandī causā ut probè nosti si me noris, verum quia sic mea est sententia I am but just come to Town, and, to shew you my esteem of your favours, I venture to send you by the penny-post, to your Father's,² what you will find on the next page, I hope it will reach you soon after your arrival, your boxes out of the waggon, yourself out of the coach, and tutors out of your memory

Adieu, we shall see one another, I hope, to-morrow

ELEGIA

Quod mihi tam gratæ misisti dona Camænæ,³
 Qualia Mænalius Pan Deus ipse velit,
 Amplector te, Graie, & toto corde reposco,
 Oh desiderium jam nimis usque meum
 Et mihi rura placent, et me quoq; sæpe volentem
 Duxerunt Dryades per sua prata Deæ,
 Sicubi lympha fugit liquido pede, sive virentem,
 Magna decus nemoris, quercus opacat humum
 Illuc mane novo vagor, illuc vespere scro,
 Et, noto ut jacui gramine, nota cano
 Nec nostræ ignorant divinam Amaryllida silvæ
 Ah, si desit amor, nil mihi rura placent
 Ille jugis habitat Deus, ille in vallibus imis,
 Regnat & in Cælis, regnat & Oceano,
 Ille gregem taurosq; domat, saeviq; leonem
 Seminis, ille feros, ultus Adonin, apros
 Quin & fervet amore nemus, ramoq; sub omni
 Centu tremulo plurima gaudet avis
 Duræ etiam in sylvis agitant connubia plantæ,
 Dura etiam & fertur saxa animasse Venus
 Durior & saxis, & robore durior ille est,
 Sincero siquis pectore amare vetat

LETTER 57 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 37–9

¹ Letters 53 and 56

² In Cornhill (see Letter 28, n. 3)

³ The version from the *Pastor Fido* mentioned in his last letter (see Letter 56, n. 4)

Non illi in manibus sanctum deponere pignus,
 Non illi arcanum cor aperire velim;
 Nescit amicitias, teneros qui nescit amores
 Ah! si nulla Venus, nil mihi rura placent.
 Me licet a patriâ longè in tellure juberent
 Externâ positum ducere fata dies,
 Si vultus modo amatus adesset, non ego contra
 Plorarem magnos voce querente Deos
 At dulci in gremio curarum oblivia ducens
 Nil cuperem præter posse placere meæ,
 Nec bona fortunæ aspiciens, neq; munera regum,
 Illa intrâ optarem brachia cara mori

Sept 17 1738 ⁴

58 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[]¹

I HAVE been in town a day or two, & in doubt where to direct to you, till Ashton, whom I saw today, told me you were at Richmond ² I have seen him & his Lordling, ³ and am mightily pleased with 'em both, the boy kîses his eyes out, & had no sooner heard, that I was M^r John Ashton, ⁴ but he climbed up to the top of my head, & came down again on the other side in half a second I shall be glad to know when & where I may see you most alone, &

am Yours ever,
 T G

Tuesday—Night—[September 19, 1738]⁵

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole, Jun^r Esq at New Park Richmond Postmark 19 SE

⁴ Mr West spent the greatest part of this winter with his mother and sister at Epsom *Mason* (in *Memoirs*, p 39)

LETTER 58—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 86

¹ See Letter 1, n 2

² At Sir Robert Walpole's house in New Park (see Letter 55, n 2)

³ The Earl of Plymouth (see Letter 54, n 1)

⁴ Ashton's younger brother—he was at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he subsequently became Fellow, B A , 1742, M A , 1746.

⁵ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year is determined by the reference to Ashton and Lord Plymouth (see n 3)—Mr Gray, on his return to Town, continued at his father's house in Cornhill till the March following *Mason* (in *Memoirs*, p 39)

58*. GRAY TO WEST

[Dec 1738]¹

As I know you are a lover of Curiosities, I send you the following, which is a true & faithful Narrative of what passed in my Study on Saturday the 16th, instant² I was sitting there very tranquil in my chair, when I was suddenly alarmed with a great hubbub of Tongues In the street, you suppose? No! in my Study, Sir In your Study say you? Yes & between my books, which is more For why should not books talk as well as Crabs & Mice & files & Serpents do in Esop But as I listend with great attention so as to remember what I heard pretty exactly, I shall set down the whole conversation as methodically as I can, with the names prefixd

Mad Sevigné Mon cher Aristote! do get a little farther or you'll quite suffocate me

Aristotle Οὐδέποτε γυνή : I have as much right to be here as you, and I shan't remove a jot

M Sevigné Oh! the brute! here's my poor Sixth tome³ is squeezed to death for God's sake, Bussy,⁴ come & rescue me

Bussy Rabutin Ma belle Cousine! I would fly to your

LETTER 58* —First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends* (pp 154-5), reprinted by Toynbee (1915), No 139, from Mitford's transcript

¹ Date conjectural Mitford dates this letter 1740, in which year Gray was abroad, but from the nature of its contents it is unlikely that it was written while Gray was on his travels Further, in the letter itself Gray refers to what passed in his study on 'Saturday the 16th, instant' In 1740 N S (the style in use on the Continent) the 16th was a Saturday in Jan, in April, and in July, and it so happens that Gray wrote to West on 15 Jan (see Letter 78), on 16 April (see Letter 83), and on 16 July (see Letter 91) of that year The choice lies between a date before Gray left England (in March 1739), and one after he returned The only month between Sept 1741 (the date of his return) and 1 June 1742 (the date of West's death) in which the 16th fell on a Saturday was Jan 1742, to this date, therefore, the letter might belong But a more likely date is 1738 (in which year the 16th was a Saturday in Sept and in Dec), for in Gray's Commonplace-book, among entries probably written in 1738, are references to 'Lettres de Mad la Marquise de Sevigné a sa fille' (see n 3), to 'Histoire amoureuse des Gaules, par Bussy Rabutin' (see n 4), and to Gronovius, all of which are mentioned in this letter As between Sept and Dec in 1738, the sequence of correspondence makes the latter month the more probable

² See n 1

³ A *Recueil des Lettres de Madame la Marquise de Sévigné, à Madame la Comtesse de Grignan, sa fille*, had been published in Paris in six volumes in 1734-7, and another, also in six volumes, in 1738

⁴ Roger de Rabutin (1618-93), Comte de Bussy, Madame de Sévigné's

assistance Mais voici un Diable de Strabon qui me tue: I have nobody in my neighbourhood worth conversing with here but Catullus

Bruyere⁵. Patience! You must consider we are but books & so can't help ourselves for my part, I wonder who we all belong to We are a strange mixture here I have a Malebranche⁶ on one Side of me, and a Gronovius⁷ on t'other

Locke⁸ Certainly our owner must have very confusd ideas, to jumble us so strangely together he has asociated me with Ovid & Ray the Naturalist⁹

Virgil 'Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musæ
Accipiant'¹⁰

Hen More¹¹ Of all the Speculations that the Soul of Man can entertain herself withall; there is none of greater Moment than this of her immortality

Cheyne¹² Every Man after fourty is a fool or a Physician

Euclid Punctum est, cujus nulla est—

Boileau Peste soit de cet homme avec son Punctum! I wonder any Man of Sense will have a Mathematician in his Study

Swift In short let us get the Mathematicians banishd first, the Metaphysicians and Natural Philosophers may follow them &c

Vade Mecum Pshaw! I and the Bible are enough for any one's library

This last ridiculous Egotism made me laugh so heartily that I disturbd my poor books & they talk'd no more

first cousin His *Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules* was published c 1665, his *Mémoires* in 1696, and his *Lettres* in 1697

⁵ Jean de la Bruyère (1645–96), see Letter 58**, n 12

⁶ Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), French philosopher of the school of Descartes

⁷ Johann Friedrich Gronov (1611–71), German classical scholar

⁸ John Locke (1632–1704)

⁹ John Ray (1627–1705), author of *Catalogus Plantarum Angliæ* (1670)

¹⁰ Georg 11 475, 477

¹¹ Henry More (1614–87), Cambridge Platonist His *Immortality of the Soul, so farre forth as it is demonstrable from the Knowledge of Nature and the Light of Reason*, was published in 1659

¹² George Cheyne (1671–1743), Scottish physician His *Essay on Health and Long Life* (1724) begins 'It is a common saying, That every Man past Forty is either a Fool or a Physician'

58**. WEST TO GRAY

[Epsom, c Jan 1739]¹

IMITATION OF HORACE Lib I Ep 2

Trojanū belli scriptorem, &c.

WHILE haply You (or haply not at all)
 Hear the grave Pleadings in the Lawyer's Hall²
 Or, while You haply Littleton³ explore,
 Turning the learned leaden Pages o'er,
 Think me again transported to peruse
 The golden Rhapsodies of Milton's Muse
 Who shews us in his high Seraphic Song,
 What just, what unjust, what is Right, what Wrong,
 With Sense at least, & Evidence as true,
 As all our Judges of the Bench could do
 Why thus I think (to Hardwick⁴ no Offence)
 Give Ear, & with your Coke⁵ awhile dispense

LETTER 58** —First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp 119–23, now reprinted from Gray's transcript in his *Commonplace-book*

¹ Date conjectural Gray notes at the end of his transcript 'Fav from Epsome, before I went to France, in 1739' West was at Epsom during the winter of 1738–9 as appears from the following note of Mason in his *Memoirs* (p 39) 'Mr Gray, on his return to Town [Sept 1738], continued at his father's house in Cornhill till the March following Mr West spent the greatest part of the winter with his mother and sister at Epsom, during which time a letter or two more passed between the two friends But these I think it unnecessary to insert, as I have already given sufficient specimens of the blossoms of their Genius' From this last remark it may be gathered that other letters of Gray and West in the form of poems belonging to this period were suppressed by Mason

² Westminster Hall (see Letters 55, 89)—Gray left Cambridge in Sept 1738, without taking a degree, with the intention of studying law in London, where he proposed to join West in the Inner Temple (see Letter 53), a project which was abandoned in consequence of an invitation from Walpole to accompany him on a prolonged tour on the Continent At the date of this letter this change in Gray's plans had not yet been determined upon, or West had not yet heard of it

³ Sir Thomas Littleton (1402–81), judge and author of the famous treatise on 'Tenures', which with the commentary of Sir Edward Coke (see n 5) long remained the principal authority on English real property law

⁴ Lord Hardwicke, at this date Lord Chancellor (see Letter 25, n 5)

⁵ Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634), judge and author of the famous 'Institutes of the Laws of England'

The Tale disastrous⁶ You remember well,
 How Satan tempted, & how Adam fell,
 And how He tasted the forbidden Tree,
 Seduced by female Curiosity,
 How thus our Paradise we lost, & all
 The Children perish'd in the Father's Fall
 Nor be that other Tale⁷ forgotten here
 More moral, tho' less pleasing to the Ear
 How in the Desert Wild with Hunger spent
 Full forty Days our patient Saviour went
 Then spurning back to Hell the wily Fiend
 Taught us on Heaven (Heaven only) to depend,
 Hence us redeem'd at our Messiah's cost
 The Cross regaining, what the Apple lost
 Thus, while I read our Epic Bard divine,
 My Mind intent with Pleasure Use to joyn,
 From either Poem this Instruction draws,
 To trust in God, & to obey God's Laws

Enough of Sermon I perceive, you nodd
 You think me mighty wise, & mighty odd
 Your Lips, I see, half verge upon a Smile—
 Dear Sir, observe the Horace in my Style
 Just such to Lollius,⁸ his misguided Friend,
 He knew with decent Liberty to send
 Beneath the Critique dext'rous to convey
 Advice conceal'd, in the best-natured Way
 But You're no Lollius, and no Horace I
 Here is no Room sage Maxims to apply
 Would you not burst outright to hear me say
 Satan, my friend, may lead the best astray,
 By Nature ill, by Habit worse inclined,
 Add Pride, add Envy, add the willful Mind
 Still prone to disobey & to deceive,
 All men are Adam, & all women Eve
 Thus bad, thus all corrupted, much I fear,
 Morality sounds painful to the Ear

The Dogs of Night, that murder & that steal,
 Outwatch⁹ the Watchmen of the publick Weal

⁶ *Paradise Lost*

⁷ *Paradise Regained*

⁸ Maximus Lollius, the friend to whom Horace addressed the Epistle imitated by West

⁹ Gray inadvertently wrote 'Outwatch'

Fools, that We are! less Labour to employ
 To save ourselves, than Villains to destroy.
 Suppose your Body sick, at any Price
 You run to Mead¹⁰ or Hollings¹¹ for Advice.
 This for thy Body but suppose thy Mind,
 For that what Mead or Hollings will you find?
 Rise, Sluggard, rise, & quit thy Morning-Bed
 E're yet Aurora lifts her rosy Head.
 Take Plato down, take Tully, take Bruyère,¹²
 Make honest Things, & Studies all thy Care
 At sight of Industry Vice flies away,
 As Spectres vanish at the Face of Day
 If ought offensive to the Eye appear
 Not long You let the Object be too near
 What hurts the Mind more patient to endure,
 For Years together we delay the Cure
 Meanwhile the Time irrevocable flies
 Begin, & have the Spirit to be wise.
 Begin, nor do, as did the Rustick Ass
 Who stood, & waited till the Stream should pass
 The Stream, Poor fool! You little seem to know,
 Flows, as it flow'd, and will for ever flow
 The gay Town-house, the pleasant Country-Seat,
 The fertile Meadow, & the Garden neat,
 The fruitful Nursery, the tender Wife,
 Are Joys Men almost value with their Life
 Yet all these Joys, and more (could more be sent)
 Make not the Total of one Word, Content

¹⁰ Dr Richard Mead, Physician to George II (see Letter 114, n. 5)

¹¹ Dr John Hollings (c 1683–1739), Physician-General to the Army, and Physician in Ordinary to George II, of Magdalene College, Cambridge, M D, 1710, F R S, 1726, Fellow of Royal College of Physicians, 1726, Harveian Orator, 1734, died May 1739

¹² Jean de la Bruyere (1645–96), of the Académie Française (1693), author of *Les Caractères*, which was first published in 1688, with the title, *Les Caractères de Théophraste, traduits du grec, avec les caracteres et les mœurs de ce siècle*, and went through eight editions, successively remodelled and enlarged, during his lifetime. It is evident, as Tovey points out, that Norton Nicholls was thinking of this line, and attributed it to Gray, when in his *Reminiscences of Gray* he wrote 'La Bruyere stood high in his estimation. I remember part of a line among some juvenile MS verses in his Common-place-book of advice to West, in which he recommends to him to rise early and

—read Plato, read Bruyère'

Not all the Gold of the Peruvian Mine,
Not all the Gems that blaze beneath the Line,
Can cure a Fever, or one Care expell
Possessions make not the Possessour well.
The Man, who lives in Hope, or lives in Fear,
In nought He has can tast the Joy sincere
Sooner shall Handel give the Deaf delight,
And Rafael's Pencil charm the Blind to Sight
First cleanse the Vessel, e're the Wine you pour;
T'will else be Vinegar, & Wine no more
Obvious to Sense the Allegory lies.

Would you be happy, be but only wise
Reject all Pleasures of the Sense they're vain
Each Hour of Pleasure has it's Hour of Pain
Bound thy mad Wishes, fix on something sure
The Harpy Avarice is ever poor
May none but Vilain's, be with Envy curst!
Of all the Vices 'tis the Vice the worst
Scarce all the Torturcs of the Damn'd in Hell
The Pangs of wretched Envy can excell
Sore shall He smart & most severely pay,
Who lets his Passion o'er his Reason sway.
Oft, to his Scorn, shall his unguarded Rage
Act o'er the Part of Cassius on the Stage
Reprove his Friend, upbraid, insult, resent,
Rave like one wild, grow sorry, & repent ¹³
Oh, if you'd live in gentle Peace with all
Restrain the boiling Fury of thy Gall
Oh! early wise it's growing force restrain,
Like the Steed, curb it like the Lyon, chain

Youth, Youth 's the Season for Instruction fit
The Colt's young Neck is pliant to the Bit
The young Hawk listens to the Master's Sound,
The Whelp unleash'd was never yet a Hound
Now, Boy, 's the time. my gentle Boy, draw nigh
Come with thy blushing Front, & open Eye
Now, while thy Breast is, as the Current, clear,
Unruffled, unpolluted, & sincere
Now fair & honest all thy Hours employ,
For know, the Man is grafted on the Boy.

¹³ A reference to Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, iv. 3

Jan. 1739

West to Gray

Letter 58**

The Cask once season'd keeps the Flavour long
Adieu! thus ends my moralizing Song.

Abrupt I finish my hard Task is o'er.
Forgive me, Pope! I'll imitate no more

59 GRAY TO MRS GRAY¹

Amiens, April 1, N S 1739

As we made but a very short journey to-day, and came to our inn early, I sit down to give you some account of our expedition. On the 29th (according to the style here)² we left Dover at twelve at noon, and with a pretty brisk gale, which pleased everybody mighty well, except myself who was extremely sick the whole time, we reached Calais by five. The weather changed, and it began to snow hard the minute we came into the harbour, where we took the boat, and soon landed. Calais is an exceeding old, but very pretty town, and we hardly saw any thing there that was not so new and so different from England, that it surprized us agreeably. We went the next morning to the great Church, and were at high Mass (it being Easter Monday). We saw also the Convent of the Capuchins, and the Nuns of St Dominic, with these last we held much conversation, especially with an English Nun, a Mrs Davis, of whose work I sent you, by the return of the Pacquet, a letter-case to remember her by. In the afternoon we took a Post-chaise (it still snowing very hard) for Boulogne, which was only eighteen miles further. This chaise is a strange sort of conveyance, of much greater use than beauty, resembling an ill-shaped chariot, only with the door opening before instead of the side, three horses draw it, one between the shafts, and the other two on each side, on one of which the postillion rides, and drives too.³ This vehicle will, upon occasion, go fourscore miles a-day, but Mr Walpole, being in no hurry, chooses to

LETTER 59 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 41-3

¹ Gray left Dover for his tour with Walpole to France and Italy on Sunday, 29 March (New Style = 18 March Old Style) and was abroad until the beginning of September 1741

² 'New Style' (according to the reformed calendar instituted by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582) was not adopted in England till 1752. Gray's letters from France and Italy were dated by the New Style; letters to him from England must have been dated by the Old Style

³ This was before the introduction of Post-chaises here, else it would not have appeared a circumstance worthy notice. *Mason*

make easy journeys of it, and they are easy ones indeed; for the motion is much like that of a sedan, we go about six miles an hour, and commonly change horses at the end of it. It is true they are no very graceful steeds, but they go well, and through roads which they say are bad for France, but to me they seem gravel walks and bowling-greens, in short it would be the finest travelling in the world, were it not for the inns, which are mostly terrible places indeed. But to describe our progress somewhat more regularly, we came into Boulogne when it was almost dark, and went out pretty early on Tuesday morning; so that all I can say about it is, that it is a large, old, fortified town, with more English in it than French. On Tuesday we were to go to Abbéville, seventeen leagues, or fifty-one short English miles, but by the way we dined at Montreuil, much to our hearts' content, on stinking mutton cutlets, addle eggs, and ditch water. Madame the hostess made her appearance in long lappets of bone lace and a sack of linsey-woolsey. We supped and lodged pretty well at Abbéville, and had time to see a little of it before we came out this morning. There are seventeen convents in it, out of which we saw the chapels of the Minims and the Carmelite Nuns. We are now come further thirty miles to Amiens, the chief city of the province of Picardy. (We have seen the cathedral, which is just what that of Canterbury must have been before the reformation. It is about the same size, a huge Gothic building, beset on the outside with thousands of small statues, and within adorned with beautiful painted windows, and a vast number of chapels dressed out in all their finery of altar-pieces, embroidery, gilding, and marble. Over the high altar is preserved, in a very large wrought shrine of massy gold, the reliques of St. Firmin, their patron saint. We went also to the chapels of the Jesuits and Ursuline Nuns, the latter of which is very richly adorned.) To-morrow we shall lie at Clermont, and next day reach Paris. The country we have passed through hitherto has been flat, open, but agreeably diversified with villages, fields well-cultivated, and little rivers. On every hillock is a wind-mill, a crucifix, or a Virgin Mary dressed in Flowers, and a saracenet robe, one sees (not) many people or carriages on the road, now and then indeed you meet a strolling friar, a country-man with his great muff, or a woman riding astride on a little ass, with short petticoats, and a great head-dress of blue wool * * *

* Mason omits 'not'

60 GRAY TO WEST

Paris, April 12, 1739

ENFIN donc me voici à Paris¹ Mr Walpole is gone out to supper at Lord Conway's,² and here I remain alone, though invited too. Do not think I make a merit of writing to you preferably to a good supper, for these [eight]^{2a} days we have been here, have actually given me an aversion to eating in general. If hunger be the best sauce to meat, the French are certainly the worst cooks in the world, for what tables we have seen have been so delicately served, and so profusely, that, after rising from one of them, one imagines it impossible ever to eat again. And now, if I tell you all I have in my head, you will believe me mad, mais n'importe, courage, allons! for if I wait till my head grow clear and settle a little, you may stay long enough for a letter. Six days have we been coming hither, which other people do in two, they have not been disagreeable ones, through a fine, open country, admirable roads, and in an easy conveyance, the inns not absolutely intolerable, and images quite unusual presenting themselves on all hands. At Amiens we saw the fine cathedral, and eat *paté de perdrix*, passed through the park of Chantilly by the Duke of Bourbon's palace, which we only beheld as we passed, broke down at Lusarche, stopt at St. Denis, saw all the beautiful monuments of the Kings of

LETTER 60 — First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 44-7

¹ In *Short Notes of my Life* Walpole writes 'In 1739, March 10th [the date is obviously wrong — see Letter 59, n. 1], I set out on my travels with my friend M^r Thomas Gray, and went to Paris. From thence, after a stay of about two months, we went with my cousin Henry Conway to Rheims, in Champagne, stayed there three months, and passing by Geneva, where we left M^r Conway, M^r Gray and I went by Lyons to Turin, over the Alps, and from thence to Genoa, Parma, Placentia, Modena, Bologna, and Florence. There we stayed three months, chiefly for the sake of M^r Horace Mann, the English Minister.'

² Francis Seymour Conway (1718-94), second Baron Conway, afterwards (1750) Earl, and (1793) Marquis of Hertford, Ambassador at Paris, 1763-5, Viceroy of Ireland, 1765-6. He was Horace Walpole's first cousin, and brother of Henry Seymour Conway (afterwards Field-Marshal Conway) (see n. 4).

^{2a} A correction of 'three' in Mason's text which must have been a mistake or a misprint (perhaps by a misreading of 8 as 3. Cf. Letters 71, 81). Gray says below that they reached Paris on Saturday. As the letter is dated 12 April (Sunday), and Gray says that they dined with Lord Holderness on one day, and with Lord Waldegrave on another, and went to the *Comédie Française* on two others, besides visiting churches and palaces, it is evident that they must have arrived on Saturday, 4 April, and had consequently been in Paris eight days.

France, and the vast treasures of the abbey, rubies, and emeralds as big as small eggs, crucifixes, and vows, crowns and reliquaries, of inestimable value, but of all their curiosities the thing the most to our tastes, and which they indeed do the justice to esteem the glory of their collection, was a vase of an entire onyx, measuring at least five inches over, three deep, and of great thickness. It is at least two thousand years old, the beauty of the stone and sculpture upon it (representing the mysteries of Bacchus) beyond expression admirable, we have dreamed of it ever since. The jolly old Benedictine, that showed us the treasures, had in his youth been ten years a soldier, he laughed at all the reliques, was very full of stories, and mighty obliging. On Saturday evening we got to Paris, and were driving through the streets a long while before we knew where we were. The minute we came, voila Milors Holderneſe,¹ Conway, and his brother,⁴ all stayed supper, and till two o'clock in the morning, for here nobody ever sleeps, it is not the way. Next day go to dine at my Lord Holderneſe's, there was the Abbé Prevôt,⁵ author of the *Cleveland*,⁶ and several other pieces much esteemed. The rest were English. At night we went to the *Pandore*; a spectacle literally, for it is nothing but a beautiful piece of machinery of three scenes. The first represents the chaos, and by degrees the separation of the elements. The second, the temple of Jupiter, and the giving of the box to Pandora. The third, the opening of the box, and all the mischiefs that ensued. An absurd design, but executed in the highest perfection, and that in one of the finest theatres in the world, it is the grande sale des machines in the Palais des Tuileries, Next day dined at Lord Waldegrave's,⁷ then to the opera. (Imagine to yourself for the drama four acts⁸ entirely

¹ Robert D'Arcy (1718-78), fourth Earl of Holderness (1722), Ambassador at Venice, 1744-6, Minister at The Hague, 1749-51, Secretary of State, 1751-61, in the Pelham and Pitt Ministries (save for a few days in 1757), Governor to the Prince of Wales, 1771-6. In 1754 he presented Mason to the living of Aston, in Yorkshire, and appointed him his Chaplain (see Letter 144, n 33).

⁴ Hon. Henry Seymour Conway (see Letter 44, n 9).

⁵ Antoine-François Prevost d'Exiles (1697-1763), best known as the author of *Manon Lescaut* (1731).

⁶ *Le Philosophe anglois, ou Histoire de Monsieur Cleveland, fils naturel de Cromwell, écrite par lui-même, et traduite de l'anglois* (8 vols, 1731-9). An English translation was published in 1734.

⁷ James Waldegrave (1684-1741), first Earl Waldegrave, Ambassador in Paris, 1730-40.

⁸ The French opera has only three acts, but often a prologue on a different

unconnected with each other, each founded on some little history, skilfully taken out of an ancient author, e.g. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, &c., and with great address converted into a French piece of gallantry (For instance, that which I saw, called the Ballet de la Paix, had its first act built upon the story of Nereus.⁹ Homer having said he was the handsomest man of his time,¹⁰ the poet, imagining such a one could not want a mistress, has given him one. These two come in and sing sentiment in lamentable strains, neither air nor recitative, only, to one's great joy, they are every now and then interrupted by a dance, or (to one's great sorrow) by a chorus that borders the stage from one end to the other, and screams, past all power of simile to represent. The second act was Baucis and Philemon.¹¹ Baucis is a beautiful young shepherdess, and Philemon her swain. Jupiter falls in love with her, but nothing will prevail upon her, so it is all mighty well, and the chorus sing and dance the praises of Constancy. The two other acts were about Iphis and Ianthe,¹² and the judgment of Paris. Imagine, I say, all this transacted by cracked voices, trilling divisions upon two notes and a half, accompanied by an orchestra of humstrums, and a whole house more attentive than if Farinelli¹³ sung, and you will almost have formed a just notion of the thing.¹⁴ Our astonishment at their absurdity you can never conceive; we had enough to do to express it by screaming an hour louder than the whole dramatis personæ. We have also seen twice the Comedie Française, first, the Mahomet Second,¹⁵ a tragedy that has had a great run of late, and the thing itself does not want subject, which (as Mr Walpole informs me, who saw it at the same time) was the case in this very representation. *Mason*

⁹ 'Nereus' in Mason's text should obviously be 'Nireus'

¹⁰ *Iliad*, II 673-4. 'Nireus the most beautiful of all the Greeks that came up to Troy, after the noble son of Peleus'

¹¹ Ovid, *Metam* VIII 620 ff

¹² Ovid, *Metam* IX 666 ff

¹³ Carlo Broschi, called Farinelli (1705-82), famous soprano singer. He sang in London during the three years 1734-6, his first appearance being in *Artaserse*, the music of which was composed by his brother Riccardo Broschi (see Letter 20, n 5)

¹⁴ Our author's sentiments here seem to correspond entirely with those which J. J. Rousseau afterwards published in his famous *Lettre sur la Musique Française*. In a French letter also, which Mr Gray writ to his friend soon after this, he calls their music 'des miaulemens & des heurlemens effroyables, mêlés avec un tintamarre du diable, voilà la musique Française en abrégé'. *Mason* (see Letter 61*)

¹⁵ By Jean-Baptiste Sauvé de la Noue (1701-61), this tragedy had been produced for the first time on 23 Feb of this year

its beauties, but the actors are beyond measure delightful. Mademoiselle Gauffin¹⁶ (Mr Voltaire's Zara¹⁷) has with a charming (though little) person the most pathetic tone of voice, the finest expression in her face, and most proper action imaginable. There is also a Dufrêne,¹⁸ who did the chief character, a handsome man and a prodigious fine actor. The second we saw was the Philosophe marié,¹⁹ and here they performed as well in comedy, there is a Mademoiselle Quinault,²⁰ somewhat in Mrs Clive's²¹ way, and a Monsieur Grandval,²² in the nature of Wilks,²³ who is the genteelst thing in the world. There are several more would be much admired in England, and many (whom we have not seen) much celebrated here. Great part of our time is spent in seeing churches and palaces full of fine pictures, &c, the quarter of which is not yet exhausted. For my part, I could entertain myself this month merely with the common streets and the people in them * * *

61 GRAY TO ASHTON

Dear Ashton,

YOU and West have made us happy to night in a heap of letters, & we are resolv'd to repay you tenfold. Our English perhaps may not be the best in the World, but we have the Comfort to know that it is at least as good as our French. So to begin Paris is a huge round City, divided by the Seine, a very near relation (if we may judge from the resemblance) of your old acquaintance, that ancient river, the river Cam. Along it on either side runs a key of perhaps as handsome buildings, as any in the World. the view down which on either

¹⁶ Jeanne-Catherine Gaussin (1711-67), she made her first appearance in 1731, and did not quit the stage till 1763

¹⁷ *Zaire*, Voltaire's masterpiece (see Letter 20, n. 13)

¹⁸ Abraham-Alexis Quinault Dufresne (1693-1741), he is described as being endowed with 'une taille noble et haute, des yeux eloquens, un organe enchanteur'

¹⁹ By Philippe Néricault Destouches (1680-1754), it was first produced in 1727

²⁰ Jeanne-Françoise Quinault (c. 1700-83), sister of Dufresne (see n. 18)

²¹ Catherine Raftor (1711-85), wife (1732) of George Clive, a barrister, commonly known as Kitty Clive

²² François-Charles Grandval (1710-84)

²³ Robert Wilks (c. 1665-1732), chiefly distinguished as a comedian, though he played many tragic parts with success

LETTER 61 —First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp. 39-41, reprinted by Toynbee (1915), No. 89, from Mitford's transcript

Apr 1739

Gray to Ashton

Letter 61

hand from the Pont Neuf is the charming'st Sight imaginable. There are infinite Swarms of inhabitants & more Coaches than Men. The Women in general dressed in Sacs, flat Hoops of 5 yards wide nosegays of artificial flowers, on one shoulder, and faces dyed in Scarlet up to the Eyes The Men in bags,¹ roll-ups,² Muffs and Solitaires³ our Mornings have been mostly taken up in Seeing Sight few Hotels or Churches have escap'd us, where there is anything remarkable as to building, Pictures or Statues.

M^r Conway is as usual, the Companion of our travels, who, till we came, had not seen anything at all, for it is not the fashion here to have Curiosity We had at first arrival an inundation of Visits pouring in upon us, for all the English are acquainted, and herd much together & it is no easy Matter to disengage oneself from them, so that one sees but little of the French themselves

To be introduced to the People of high quality, it is absolutely necessary to be master of the Language, for it is not to be imagin'd that they will take pains to understand anybody, or to correct a stranger's blunders. Another thing is, there is not a House where they don't play, nor is any one at all acceptable, unless they do so too a professed Gamester being the most advantageous Character a Man can have at Paris The Abbés indeed & Men of learning are a People of easy access enough, but few English that travel have knowledge enough to take any great Pleasure in their Company, at least our present Set of travellers have not We are, I think to remain here no longer than L^d Conway stays, and then set out for Rheims, there to reside a Month or two, & then to return hither again this is our present design & very often little hankerings break out, so that I am not sure, we shall not come back tomorrow

We are exceedingly unsettled & irresolute, don't know our own Minds for two Moments together, profess an utter aversion for all Manner of fatigue, grumble, are ill natured & try to bring ourselves to a State of perfect Apathy in which (we) are

¹ Bag-wigs

² Otherwise called rolling-hose—'stockings of which the tops could be rolled up or down on the leg' (*O E D*)

³ 'A loose neck-tie of black silk, sometimes secured to the bag of the wig behind, and in front either falling loosely or secured by a brooch' (*Cent Dict*)

Letter 61

Gray to Ashton

Apr. 1739

so far advanced, as to declare we have no Notion of caring for any mortal breathing but ourselves In short I think the greatest *evil* (that) could have happen'd to us, is our liberty, for we are not at all capable to determine our own actions

My dear Ashton I am ever

Yours sincerely

T. G.

Paris—Hotel de Luxembourg Rue des petits Augustins

April 21 NS [1739]

61* Gray to West

[Paris, April or May, 1739]

[In a note to Gray's letter to West of 12 April 1739 from Paris (Letter 60, n 14) Mason mentions (*Memoirs*, p 46) 'a French letter, which Mr Gray writ to his friend soon after this' (see Letter 60, n 14) This letter, which was no doubt the first of the two letters in French to West mentioned by Mason in his letter to Walpole of 28 June 1773 (see *Walpole-Mason Correspondence*, vol 1, pp 82, 85-6, 87, is not extant) For the second letter, see below, Letter 63**]

62 GRAY TO WEST

Paris, [c. May 15, and] May 22, 1739

AFTER the little particulars aforesaid I should have proceeded to a journal of our transactions for this week past, should have carried you post from hence to Versailles, hurried you

LETTER 62—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 47-50 The text of this letter is manifestly garbled, it is evidently a clumsy combination by Mason of portions of two different letters, the date of the latter of which he has attached to the whole It is clear from Walpole's letter to West from Paris, [May] 1739 (see Letter 90 in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*) that he and Gray paid two visits to Versailles Walpole speaks of their having been there on 'Wednesday', and of their going there again 'next Sunday', which, from the reference to the installation of the 'Knights of the Holy Ghost', we know from Gray's letter to have been Whitsunday, i.e. 17 May 'Wednesday', therefore, must have been 13 May, and Walpole's letter must have been written on Friday, 15 May, otherwise, if he had been writing on Thursday, instead of 'Wednesday' he would have said 'yesterday', and if on Saturday, instead of 'next Sunday' he would have said 'to-morrow' Walpole's letter to West, therefore, describes what he and Gray saw at Versailles on Wednesday, 13 May, which, with a difference of detail, is exactly what Mason's garbled text of this letter makes Gray tell West they saw on Saturday, 16 May, *after their arrival at Versailles at 8 o'clock in the evening*—a manifest impossibility, seeing that the sights included the apartments, the gardens, and the Trianon

The first part of this letter (with the exception of the passage as to their

May 1739

Gray to West

Letter 62

through the gardens to Trianon, back again to Paris, so away to Chantilly. But the fatigue is perhaps more than you can bear, and moreover I think I have reason to stomach your last piece of gravity. Supposing you were in your soberest mood, I am sorry you should think me capable of ever being so dissipated, so evaporé, as not to be in a condition of relishing any thing you could say to me. And now, if you have a mind to make your peace with me, arouse ye from your megrims and your melancholies, and (for exercise is good for you) throw away your night-cap, call for your jack-boots, and set out with me, last Saturday evening, for Versailles—and so at eight o'clock, passing through a road speckled with vines, and villas, and hares, and partridges, we arrive at the great avenue, flanked on either hand with a double row of trees about half a mile long, and with the palace itself to terminate the view, facing which, on each side of you is placed a semi-circle of very handsome buildings, which form the stables. These we will not enter into, because you know we are no jockies. Well¹ and is this the great front of Versailles? What a huge heap of littlenefs¹ it is composed, as it were, of three courts, all open to the eye at once, and gradually diminishing till you come to the royal apartments, which on this side present but half a dozen windows and a balcony. This last is all that can be called a front, for the rest is only great wings. The hue of all this mass is black, dirty red, and yellow, the first proceeding from stone changed by age, the second, from a mixture of brick, and the last, from a profusion of tarnished gilding. You cannot see a more disagreeable tout-ensemble, and, to finish the matter, it is all stuck over in many places with small busts of a tawny hue between every window. We pass through this to go into the garden, and here the case is indeed altered, nothing can be vaster and more magnificent than the back front, before it a very spacious terrace spreads itself, adorned with two large basins, these are bordered and lined (as most of the others) with white marble, with handsome statues of bronze reclined on their edges. From

arrival at Versailles on Saturday evening, which Mason conveyed presumably from Gray's letter of 22 May) is no doubt the 'panegyric' referred to by Walpole, and was written probably about the same time as his, after their visit on the Wednesday. The last part, beginning, 'Here then we walk by moonlight', is no doubt a portion of the letter written by Gray on 22 May, after their second visit.

¹ Pope, *Moral Essays*, iv. 109 (of Timon's Villa) 'Lo, what huge heaps of littleness around!'

hence you descend a huge flight of steps into a semi-circle formed by woods, that are cut all round into niches, which are filled with beautiful copies of all the famous antique statues in white marble. Just in the midst is the bason of Latona; she and her children are standing on the top of a rock in the middle, on the sides of which are the peasants, some half, some totally changed into frogs, all which throw out water at her in great plenty. From this place runs on the great alley, which brings you into a complete round, where is the bason of Apollo, the biggest in the gardens. He is rising in his car out of the water, surrounded by nymphs and tritons, all in bronze, and finely executed, and these, as they play, raise a perfect storm about him, beyond this is the great canal, a prodigious long piece of water, that terminates the whole. All this you have at one coup d'œil in entering the garden, which is truly great (I cannot say as much of the general taste of the place, every thing you behold savours too much of art, all is forced, all is constrained about you, statues and vases sowed every where without distinction; sugar-loaves and minced-pies of yew, scrawl-work of box, and little squirting jets-d'eau, besides a great sameness in the walks, cannot help striking one at first sight, not to mention the silliest of labyrinths, and all Æsop's fables in water, since these were designed in usum Delphini only.) Here then we walk by moonlight, and hear the ladies and the nightingales sing. Next morning, being Whitsunday, make ready to go to the Installation of nine Knights du Saint Esprit, Cambis is one ² high mafs celebrated with music, great croud, much incense, King,³ Queen,⁴ Dauphin,⁵ Mesdames,⁶ Cardinals, and Court Knights arrayed by his majesty, reverences before the altar, not bows, but curtsies, stiff hams, much tittering among the ladies, trumpets, kettle-drums and fifes. My dear West, I am vastly delighted with Trianon, all of us with Chantilly, (if you would know why, you must have patience, for I can hold my pen no longer, except to tell you that I saw Britannicus⁷ last Night, all

² Louis-Dominique, Comte de Cambis, French Ambassador in London, where he died, 12 Feb. 1740.

³ Louis XV, now in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

⁴ Marie Leszczyńska (d. 1768).

⁵ Louis (d. 1765), now in his tenth year, father of Louis XVI.

⁶ The daughters of Louis XV, of whom the eldest, Louise-Élisabeth, and the only one who married, was in her fifteenth year.

⁷ By Racine, first produced in 1669. It was on this play that Gray modelled his tragedy of *Agrippina*, which he did not complete, and of which

May 1739

Gray to West

Letter 62

the characters, particularly Agrippina and Nero, done to perfection; to-morrow Phædra and Hippolitus⁸) We are making you a little bundle of petites pieces, there is nothing in them, but they are acting at present, there are too Crebillon's Letters,⁹ and Amusemens sur le langage des Bêtes, said to be of one Bougeant,¹⁰ a Jesuit, they are both esteemed, and lately come out This day se'nnight we go to Rheims.

63 GRAY TO ASHTON

My Dear Ashton

I SHALL not make you any excuses, because I can't I shall not try to entertain you with descriptions, for the same reason, & moreover, because I believe you don't care for them so that you can have no occasion to wonder at my brevity, when you consider me, as confined to the narrow bounds of the history of We, quatenus We which I continue

Our tête à tête conversations, that you enquire after, did consist less in words, than in looks & signs, & to give you a notion of them, I ought to send you our pictures, tho' we should find it difficult to set for 'em in such attitudes, as we very naturally fall into, when alone together at present Mr Conway, who lives with us, joins to make them a little more verbose, & every thing is mighty well on Monday next we set out for Rheims, (where we expect to be very dull,) there to stay a month or two, then we cross Burgundy, & Dauphiny, & so go to Avignon, Aix, Marseilles, &c the weather begins to be violently hot already even here, & this is our ingenious contrivance, as the summer increases, to seek out cool retreats among the scorch'd rocks of Provence, I will not promise, but

only a fragment has been preserved —The *Britannicus* of M Racine, I know was one of Mr Gray's favourite plays, and the admirable manner in which I have heard him say that he saw it represented at Paris by Mademoiselle Dumesnil, seems to have led him to choose the death of Agrippina for this his first and only effort in the drama *Mason* (See Letter 101, n. 8)

⁸ Racine's *Phèdre*, first produced in 1677

⁹ *Lettres de la Marquise de*** au Comte de****, by Claude-Prosper-Jolyot de Crébillon (1707-77)

¹⁰ Guillaume-Hyacinthe Bougeant (1690-1743), his *Amusement philosophique sur le Langage des Bêtes* was published in this year

LETTER 63 —First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp. 41-5, from Mitford's transcript, reprinted by Toynbee (1915), No 92, from the original

that if next winter bid fair for extreme cold, we shall take a trip to Muscovy you in the mean time will be quietly enjoying the temperate air of England under your own vine, & under your own (at least under M^{rs} Lewis's)¹ Fig-tree, & I don't doubt but the fruits of your leisure will turn to more account, than those of our laborious peregrination, and while our thoughts are rambling about, & changeing situation oftener than our bodies, you will be fixing your attention upon some weighty truth, worthy a Sage of your honour's magnitude the end of your researches, I mean whatever your profound contemplation brings to light, I should be proud to be acquainted with, whither it please to be invoked under the appellation of Sermon, Vision, Efsay, or discourse in short, on whatever head you chuse to be loquacious (Wall on Infant-Baptism² excepted) a disertation will be very acceptable, & received with a reverence due to the hand it comes from

We have seen here your Gustavus Vasa,³ that had raised the general expectation so high long ago a worthy piece of prohibited marchandise in truth! the town must have been extreme mercifully disposed, if, for the sake of ten innocent lines, that may peradventure be pick'd out, it had consented to spare the lives of the ten thousand wicked ones, that remain (I don't know what condition your Stage is in, but the French is in a very good one at present, among the rest they have a Mad^{lle} Duminie,⁴ whose every look & gesture is violent Nature, she is Pafsion itself incarnate I saw her the other night do the Phædra of Racine in a manner, which affected me so strongly, that, as

¹ See Letter 54, n 1

² *The History of Infant Baptism* (Lond 1705, 2 vols 8vo), by William Wall (1647-1728)

³ *Gustavus Vasa, the Deliverer of his Country*, a tragedy by Henry Brooke (c 1703-83) After five weeks' rehearsal, the play had been announced for performance at Drury Lane, when it was suddenly prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain under Sir Robert Walpole's Licensing Act of 1737 It was then, as a protest, published by subscription, by which the author is said to have cleared over £1,000 The tragedy was subsequently produced with success at Dublin under the title of *The Patriot*

⁴ So Gray wrote The actress in question, Marie-Françoise Dumesnil (1711-1803), had made her first appearance at the Théâtre Français two years before She remained on the stage for nearly forty years, during which time she was a great favourite with the public Mme du Deffand, however, judged her severely Writing to Horace Walpole, who was a great admirer of the actress, in 1769, she says 'Je revis hier *Hamlet* . . . votre Mlle Dumesnil est abominable, elle fait de grands cris, et puis elle débride dix ou douze vers de suite, comme si elle parlait à l'oreille'

May 1739

Gray to Ashton

Letter 63

you see, I can't help prattling about her even to you, that do not care two-pence.)

You have got My L^d Conway there among ye, what do people think about him, & his improvements? you possibly see him sometimes, for he visits at M^{rs} Conduit's is he charming, & going to be married, like M^r Barrett? pray, write to me, & persuade West to do the same, who unless you rouse him, & preach to him, what a sin it is to have the vapours, & the dismals, will neglect himself, I won't say, his friends, that I believe him incapable of I again recommend him to your care, that you may nourish him, & cherish him, & administer to him some of that cordial spirit of chearfulness, that you used to have the Receipt of my Compliments to my Lord ⁴ Good night,

Yours ever

T G

Paris—May 29 N S Friday-night [1739]

63* West to Gray

[June, 1739]

[Gray, in a letter (Letter 131) to Walpole, which may be dated 8 Feb 1747, mentions in a list of West's poems 'A Translation from Propertius (sent to me at Rheims)' The translation (which is printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp 127–8) was transcribed by Gray in his Commonplace-book with a note 'Fav June 1739' This must have been sent to Gray in a letter no longer extant]

63** Gray to West

[Rheims, June 1739]

[In a letter to Walpole of 28 June 1773, at the time when he was engaged on his *Memoirs of Gray*, Mason enclosed two letters of Gray to West, written in French, and asked Walpole's advice as to their being printed Walpole was against it, on the ground that the French was 'neither correct nor elegant' 'The first', he wrote on 5 July, 'I well remember the second you may be sure I never saw before If you print them, I have no objection to your inserting the passage you have marked for reprobation, and which alludes to me You see how easily [?] misprint for 'early'] I had disgusted him, but my faults were very trifling, and I can bear their being known, and forgive his displeasure I still think I was as much to blame as he was, and as the passage proves what I have told you, let it stand, if you

⁴ Ashton's pupil, Lord Plymouth

publish the whole letter.' Mason eventually decided to print neither 'I have followed your advice', he wrote on 16 July, 'with respect to the two French letters, and instead of printing either of them, have inserted one to his mother [namely, Letter 64], which will preserve the chain of correspondence' The second letter consequently, which like the first (Letter 61*) has not been traced, is conjecturally assigned to this place It was probably the letter referred to by Walpole in his letter to West of 18 June from Rheims (*Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, No. 93) in which he says

'How I am to fill up this letter is not easy to divine I have consented that Gray shall give you an account of our situation and proceedings . I had prepared the ingredients for a description of a ball, and was just ready to serve it up to you, but he has plucked it from me']

64 GRAY TO MRS GRAY

Rheims,¹ June 21, NS 1739

WE have now been settled almost three weeks in this city, which is more considerable upon account of its size and antiquity, than from the number of its inhabitants, or any advantages of commerce (There is little in it worth a stranger's curiosity, besides the cathedral church, which is a vast Gothic building of a surprising beauty and lightness, all covered over with a profusion of little statues, and other ornaments It is here the Kings of France are crowned by the Archbishop of Rheims, who is the first Peer, and the Primate of the kingdom The holy vessel made use of on that occasion, which contains the oil, is kept in the church of St Nicasius² hard by, and is believed to have been brought by an angel from heaven at the coronation of Clovis, the first christian king) The streets in

LETTER 64—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 50-2

¹ Miss Berry notes on Walpole's letter to West of 18 June 'Mr Walpole was now removed to Rheims, where, with his cousin Henry Seymour Conway and Mr Gray, he resided three months, principally to acquire the French language' Walpole and Gray left Paris for Rheims on Monday, 1 June (see Letter 63) In his *Journal* for 1739-41* Gray notes, under Rheims 'staid 3 Months here—lodged at Mons^r Hibert's, Rue St Dennis, June, July, August, 1739'

² In his *Journal* Gray notes that 'the holy vial brought from heaven to anoint Clovis' was preserved in the Church St Remi, 'the Patron of the city'

* A small pocket-book, 'France and Italy 1739-1741', in the possession of Sir John Murray, contains notes made by Gray of his stay at Rheims and of his journey from Rheims to Florence It is quoted as *Journal* in the notes to the letters that follow Part of it was printed by Gosse, *Works of Gray*, vol 1, pp 237-46

general have but a melancholy aspect, the houses all old; the public walks run along the side of a great moat under the ramparts, where one hears a continual croaking of frogs; the country round about is one great plain covered with vines, which at this time of the year afford no very pleasing prospect, as being not above a foot high. What pleasures the place denies to the sight, it makes up to the palate, since you have nothing to drink but the best champagne in the world, and all sort of provisions equally good. As to other pleasures, there is not that freedom of conversation among the people of fashion here, that one sees in other parts of France, for though they are not very numerous in this place, and consequently must live a good deal together, yet they never come to any great familiarity with one another. As my Lord Conway had spent a good part of his time among them, his brother, and we with him, were soon introduced into all their assemblies. As soon as you enter, the lady of the house presents each of you a card, and offers you a party at quadrille, you sit down, and play forty deals without intermission, excepting one quarter of an hour, when every body rises to eat of what they call the *gouter*, which supplies the place of our tea, and is a service of wine, fruits, cream, sweetmeats, crawfish and cheese. People take what they like, and sit down again to play; after that, they make little parties to go to the walks together, and then all the company retire to their separate habitations. Very seldom any suppers or dinners are given, and this is the manner they live among one another, not so much out of any aversion they have to pleasure, as out of a sort of formality they have contracted by not being much frequented by people who have lived at Paris. It is sure they do not hate gaiety any more than the rest of their country-people, and can enter into diversions, that are once proposed, with a good grace enough, for instance, the other evening we happened to be got together in a company of eighteen people, men and women of the best fashion here, at a garden in the town to walk, when one of the ladies bethought herself of asking, Why should not we sup here? Immediately the cloth was laid by the side of a fountain under the trees, and a very elegant supper served up, after which another said, Come, let us sing, and directly began herself. From singing we insensibly fell to dancing, and singing in a round, when somebody mentioned the violins, and immediately a company of them was ordered. Minuets were begun in the open air, and then came country-dances, which held till four

o'Clock next morning, at which hour the gayest lady there proposed, that such as were weary should get into their coaches, and the rest of them should dance before them with the music in the van, and in this manner we paraded through all the principal streets of the city, and waked every body in it. Mr. Walpole had a mind to make a custom of the thing, and would have given a ball in the same manner next week, but the women did not come into it, so I believe it will drop, and they will return to their dull cards, and usual formalities. We are not to stay above a month longer here, and shall then go to Dijon, the chief city of Burgundy, a very splendid and very gay town, at least such is the present design

65 GRAY AND WALPOLE TO ASHTON

My dear Ashton,

THE exceeding Slowness and Sterility of me, & this Place & the vast abundance & volubility of Mr Walpole & his Pen will sufficiently excuse to you the shortness of this little matter. He insists that it is not him, but his Pen that is so volubility, & so I have borrowd it of him; but I find it is both of 'em that is so volubility, for tho I am writing as fast, as I can drive, yet he is still chattering in vast abundance. I have desired me to hold his tongue, pho, I mean him, & his, but his Pen is so used to write in the first Person, that I have screwd my finger & thumb off, with forcing it, into the third. After all this confusion of Persons, & a little stroke of Satyr upon me the Pen returns calmly back again into the old *I*, & *me*, as if nothing had happen'd to tell you how much I am tired, & how cross I am, that this cursed Scheme of Mefrs Selwyn¹ & Montague² should have come across all our Measures,³ & broke in upon the whole year, which, what with the Month we have to wait for them, & the Month they are to stay here, will be entirely slipt

LETTER 65 —First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp 45-7, reprinted by Toynbee (1915), No 96, from Mitford's transcript. Gray obviously wrote the first paragraph of the letter.

¹ George Augustus Selwyn (1719-91), the well-known wit, second son of Colonel John Selwyn, of Matson, Gloucestershire, a lifelong friend of Walpole from their school-days at Eton till his death.

² George Montagu (d 1780), eldest son of Brigadier Edward Montagu, and nephew of the second Earl of Halifax. His friendship with Walpole dated from Eton, and lasted till within ten years of his death, when a breach arose which was never repaired.

July 1739

Gray and Walpole to Ashton

Letter 65

away, at least, the agreeable Part of it, and if we journey at all, it will be thro' dirty roads, & falling leaves

The Man, whose arguments you have so learnedly stated,⁴ & whom you did not think fit to honour with a Confutation, we from thence conceive to be one, who does us honour, in thinking us fools, & so you see, I lay my Claim to a share of the glory, we are not vastly curious about his Name, first because it don't signify, 2dly because we know it already it is either S^r T G himself, or your friend M^r Fenton, if it's them we don't care, & if it is not, we don't care neither, but if you care to convince the Man, whoever he be, that we are in some points not altogether fools, you might let him know that we are most sincerely

Yours

H W T

Rheims—July [1739]

Addressed To M^r Ashton at M^{rs} Lewes's Hanover Square London Franc
à Paris pour l'Angleterre

66 GRAY TO ASHTON

Rheims 25 Aug N S [1739]

My dear Ashton,

I AM not so ignorant of Pain myself as to be able to hear of anothers Sufferings, without any Sensibility to them, especially when they are those of One, I ought more particularly to feel for, tho' indeed the goodness of my own Constitution, is in some Sense a Misfortune to me, for as the health of everybody I love seems much more precarious than my own, it is but a melancholy prospect to consider myself as one, that may possibly in some years be left in the World, destitute of the advice or good Wishes of those few friends, that used to care for me, and without a likelihood or even a desire of gaining any new ones this letter will, I hope, find you perfectly recovered, & your own painful experience will, for the future, teach you not to give so much in to a sedentary Life, that has [I] fear been the Cause of your illness Give my duty to your Mind, & tell

³ In his letter to West of 20 July 1739 (*Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, No 95) Walpole writes 'This is the day that Gray and I intended for the first of a southern circuit, but as M^r Selwyn and George Montagu design us a visit here, we have put off our journey for some weeks'

⁴ Ashton's letter is not extant and the allusions to 'S^r T G' and 'M^r Fenton' lack explanation

LETTER 66—First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp 47–8, reprinted by Toynbee (1915), No 97, from Mitford's transcript

her she has taken more care of herself, than of my tother poor friend, your Body, & bid her hereafter remember how nearly *her* Welfare is connected with *his* tell her too, that she may pride herself in her great family, & despise him for being a poor Mortal, as much as she pleases, but that he is her wedded husband, & if he suffers, she must smart for it my inferences you will say, don't follow very naturally, nor have any great relation to what has been said, but they are as follows

Mess^{rs} Selwin and Montague have been here these 3 weeks, are by this time pretty heartily tired of Rheims, & return in about a week The day they set out for England, we are to do the same for Burgundy, in our way only as it is said to Provence, but People better informd conceive that Dijon will be the end of our expedition for me, I make everything that does not depend on me, so indifferent to me, that if it be to go to the Cape of good Hope I care not if you are well enough, you will let me know a little of the history of West who does not remember there is such a Place as Champaigne in the world

Your's ever

T G

Addressed To Mr Ashton at M^{rs} Lewes's in Hanover Square London
Franc a Paris pour l'Angleterre franc jusqu'a Paris

67 GRAY TO PHILIP GRAY¹

Dijon, Friday, Sept 11, N S 1739

WE have made three short days journey of it from Rheims hither,² where we arrived the night before last (The road we have passed through has been extremely agreeable, it runs through the most fertile part of Champaigne by the side of the river Marne, with a chain of hills on each hand at some distance, entirely covered with woods and vineyards, and every now and

LETTER 67 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 53-4

¹ See Genealogical Table

² In his *Journal*, under the heading 'From Rheims to Dijon', Gray says their route was by Verzenay, Sillery, Châlons sur Marne (where they dined 'à la Poste'), Vitry le François, St Dizier ('an ugly old town, with suburbs bigger than itself', where they lay 'au Lion d'or'), Joinville, Vignoris (where they dined), Langres ('a small city on a high hill', where they lay 'au Cerf volant'), and the village of Thil, where they entered Burgundy, from here 'thro' a fine fertile plain by an Avenue of Lime-trees', they came to Dijon ('the Capital of the Dutchy, a very small, but beautiful City, of an oval form, full of People of Quality, & a very agreeable Society', where they stayed '4 Days—a la Croix d'or')

then the ruins of some old castle on their tops, we lay at St. Dizier the first night, and at Langres the second, and got hither the next evening time enough to have a full view of this city in entering it. It lies in a very extensive plain covered with vines and corn, and consequently is plentifully supplied with both. I need not tell you that it is the chief city of Burgundy, nor that it is of great antiquity, considering which one should imagine it ought to be larger than one finds it. However, what it wants in extent, is made up in beauty and cleanliness, and in rich convents and churches, most of which we have seen. The palace of the States is a magnificent new building, where the Duke of Bourbon is lodged when he comes every three years to hold that Assembly, as governour of the Province. A quarter of a mile out of the town is a famous Abbey of Carthusians, which we are just returned from seeing. In their chapel are the tombs of the ancient Dukes of Burgundy, that were so powerful, till at the death of Charles the Bold, the last of them, this part of his dominions was united by Lewis XI. to the crown of France. To-morrow we are to pay a visit to the Abbot of the Cistercians, who lives a few leagues off, and who uses to receive all strangers with great civility, his Abbey is one of the richest in the kingdom, he keeps open house always, and lives with great magnificence. We have seen enough of this town already to make us regret the time we spent at Rheims, it is full of people of condition, who seem to form a much more agreeable society than we found in Champagne, but as we shall stay here but two or three days longer, it is not worth while to be introduced into their houses. On Monday or Tuesday we are to set out for Lyons,¹ which is two days journey distant, and from thence you shall hear again from me.

68 GRAY TO WEST

Lyons, Sept. 18, N S 1739

SAVEZ vous bien, mon cher ami, que je vous hais, que je vous deteste? voila des termes un peu forts, and that will save me, upon a just computation, a page of paper and six drops of ink;

¹ From Dijon, Gray records in his *Journal*, their road was through Nuits [Nuits] and Beaune, Châlons sur Saône, Mâcon (where they lay), Villefranche, and so to Lyons, on approaching which they had 'a charming View of the Fauxbourgs of that City, the Saône, & the little Mountains about it, cover'd with Convents, Houses, & Gardens of the Bourgeois'.

LETTER 68 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 54-6

which, if I confined myself to reproaches of a more moderate nature, I should be obliged to employ in using you according to your deserts What¹ to let any body reside three months at Rheims, and write but once to them? Please to consult Tully de Amicit page 5, line 25, and you will find it said in exprefs terms, 'Ad amicum inter Remos relegatum mense uno quin-ques scriptum esto,' nothing more plain, or less liable to false interpretations Now because, I suppose, it will give you pain to know we are in being, I take this opportunity to tell you that we are at the ancient and celebrated Lugdunum,² a city situated upon the confluence of the Rhône and Saône (Arar, I should say) two people, who, though of tempers extremely unlike, think fit to join hands here, and make a little party to travel to the Mediterranean in company, the lady comes gliding along through the fruitful plains of Burgundy, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat judicari non possit,³ the gentleman runs all rough and roaring down from the mountains of Swtzerland to meet her, and with all her soft airs she likes him never the worse, she goes through the middle of the city in state, and he pases incog without the walls, but waits for her a little below The houses here are so high, and the streets so narrow, as would be sufficient to render Lyons the dismallest place in the world, but the number of people, and the face of commerce diffused about it, are, at least, as sufficient to make it the liveliest Between these two sufficiencies, you will be in doubt what to think of it, so we shall leave the city, and proceed to its environs, which are beautiful beyond expresion, it is surrounded with mountains, and those mountains all bedropped and bespeckled with houses, gardens, and plantations of the

¹ A fictitious quotation

² In his *Journal*, under 'Lions', Gray notes 'lodged a l'Hotel de Bourgogne, près de la Grande Place a fortnight Principal quarters of that great city lie in a Peninsula formed by the confluence of the Rhône, & Saône a Stone bridge of 18 Arches laid over the first, which runs with extreme rapidity, & is full of Islands, joins this, & the Fauxbourg de la Guillotiere another stone bridge, & 3 wooden ones over the Saône connect it with the rest of the City, & Suburbs, which lie mostly on the declivity of several very steep hills the streets are generally extreme narrow, & the houses high, but the whole enliven'd by its great Populousness & Commerce the best prospects are from the Chartreuse, & Ste Marie de Fourviere'

³ Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 1 12 'Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Æduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, judicari non possit

rich Bourgeois, who have from thence a prospect of the city in the vale below on one hand, on the other the rich plains of the Lyonnais, with the rivers winding among them, and the Alps, with the mountains of Dauphiné, to bound the view. All yesterday morning we were busied in climbing up Mount Fourvière, where the ancient city stood perched at such a height, that nothing but the hopes of gain could certainly ever persuade their neighbours to pay them a visit. Here are the ruins of the Emperors' palaces, that resided here, that is to say, Augustus and Severus, they consist in nothing but great masses of old wall, that have only their quality to make them respected. In a vineyard of the Minims are remains of a theatre, the Fathers, whom they belong to, hold them in no esteem at all, and would have showed us their sacristy and chapel instead of them. The Ursuline Nuns have in their garden some Roman baths, but we having the misfortune to be men, and heretics, they did not think proper to admit us. Hard by are eight arches of a most magnificent aqueduct, said to be erected by Antony, when his legions were quartered here. There are many other parts of it dispersed up and down the country, for it brought the water from a river many leagues off in La Forez. Here are remains too of Agrippa's seven great roads which met at Lyons; in some places they lie twelve feet deep in the ground. In short, a thousand matters that you shall not know, till you give me a description of the Pais de Tombridge, and the effect its waters have upon you.

69 WEST TO GRAY AND WALPOLE

MOI R WEST

COMME nous avons entendu par notre fidel & bon ami Thomas Ashton,¹ que vous, Tho Gray & Hor. Walpole, nos anciens & bienamez alliés, vous êtes fâchés un peu, de ce que nous n'avons pas écrit ce long tems, ni à l'un ni l'autre, & que vous le considerez tous deux comme un contrevention de nôtre amitié, Nous de notre bonne volonté promettons pour le futur

LETTER 69 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No. 100

¹ In a letter to West of 25 Aug. (No. 98 in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*) Ashton wrote, 'Our friends on the other side of the water salute thee, but they complain as much of the want of thy letters as I do, of the want of thyself' (see Letter 66, *ad fin.*).

d'être plus exacts en nôtre correspondance, &, parceque nous avons envie de continuer la paix & la tranquillité, qui ont été de tout tems entre nous trois,² nous sommes resolu en plein conseil de vous demander pardon, &, au lieu que nous pouvions nous plaindre de vous à nôtre tour, & rejeter la faute sur vous, à la mode Espagnole, nous au contraire, pour donner à l'Europe un exemple de nôtre moderation, avouons que nous sommes coupables, & vous prions, de nous continuer vôtre amitié, & correspondance

Signé Moi RW

Soussigné Grimalkin, premier Chat

I hope this silly, unmeaning thing won't be open'd & stop't at the post

Adieu¹ Mes chers —

Temple Sept^r 24 [1739]

Addressed To Horace Walpole Esq^r au soin de Monsieur Alexander, Banquier, à Paris, France *Stamped* RJ

70 WEST TO GRAY

Temple, Sep 28 1739

IF wishes could turn to realities, I would fling down my law books, and sup with you to-night But, alas, here am I doomed to fix, while you are fluttering from city to city, and enjoying all the pleasures which a gay climate can afford It is out of the power of my heart to envy your good fortune, yet I cannot help indulging a few natural desires, as for example, to take a walk with you on the banks of the Rhône, and to be climbing up mount Fourviere,

Jam mens prætrepidans avet vagari
Jam læti studio pedes vigescunt¹

However, so long as I am not deprived of your correspondence, so long shall I always find some pleasure in being at home And, setting all vain curiosity aside, when the fit is over, and my reason begins to come to herself, I have several other powerful motives which might easily cure me of my restless inclinations Amongst these, my Mother's ill state of health is not the least,

² West originally wrote 'deux'

LETTER 70 — First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 56-8

¹ Catullus, xlvii 7-8

Sept. 1739

West to Gray

Letter 70

which was the reason of our going to Tunbridge, so that you cannot expect much description or amusement from thence. Nor indeed is there much room for either; for all diversions there may be reduced to two articles, gaming and going to church. They were pleased to publish certain Tunbrigiana this season, but such ana! I believe there were never so many vile little verses put together before. So much for Tunbridge. London affords me as little to say. What! so huge a town as London? Yes, consider only how I live in that town. I never go into the gay or high world, and consequently receive nothing from thence to brighten my imagination. The busy world I leave to the busy, and am resolved never to talk politics till I can act at the same time. To tell old stories, or prate of old books, seems a little musty, and toujours Chapon bouilli, won't do. However, for want of better fare, take another little mouthful of my poetry.

O meæ jucunda comes quietis!
Quæ ferè ægrotum solita es levare
Pectus, et sensim ah! nimis ingruentes
Fallere curas

Quid canes? quanto Lyra dic furore
Gesties, quando hâc reducem sodalem
Glauciam² gaudere simul videbis
Meque sub umbrâ?

71 GRAY TO MRS GRAY

Lyons, Oct 13, N S 1739

IT is now almost five weeks since I left Dijon, one of the gayest and most agreeable little cities of France, for Lyons, its reverse in all these particulars. It is the second in the kingdom in bigness and rank, the streets excessively narrow and nasty, the houses immensely high and large, (that, for instance, where we are lodged, has twenty-five rooms on a floor, and that for five stories) it swarms with inhabitants like Paris itself, but chiefly a mercantile people, too much given up to commerce, to think of their own, much less of a stranger's diversions. We have no acquaintance in the town, but such English as happen to be

² He gives Mr Gray the name of Glaucias frequently in his Latin verse, as Mr Gray calls him Favonius. *Mason*

LETTER 71 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 58-60

passing through here, in their way to Italy and the South, which at present happen to be near thirty in number. It is a fortnight since we set out from hence upon a little excursion to Geneva. We took the longest road, which lies through Savoy, on purpose to see a famous monastery, called the grand Chartreuse,¹ and had no reason to think our time lost. After having travelled [two]² days very slow (for we did not change horses, it being impossible for a chaise to go post in these roads) we arrived at a little village, among the mountains of Savoy, called Echelles; from thence we proceeded on horses, who are used to the way, to the mountain of the Chartreuse. (It is six miles to the top, the road runs winding up it, commonly not six feet broad, on one hand is the rock, with woods of pine-trees hanging over head, on the other, a monstrous precipice, almost perpendicular, at the bottom of which rolls a torrent, that sometimes tumbling among the fragments of stone that have fallen from on high, and sometimes precipitating itself down vast descents with a noise like thunder, which is still made greater by the echo from the mountains on each side, concurs to form one of the most solemn, the most romantic, and the most astonishing scenes I ever beheld. Add to this the strange views made by the craggs and cliffs on the other hand, the cascades that in many places throw themselves from the very summit down into

¹ In his *Journal* Gray gives the following account of this excursion 'Journey to Geneva, thro' Dauphine, and Savoy 5 Days, (en Voiture) & a half First night at La Verpillier, a poor Village 2^d Day enter'd Savoy at Pont-Beauvoisin, lay at Echelles the road runs over a Mountain, which gives you the first tast of the Alps, in it's magnificent rudeness, & steep precipices set out from Echelles on horseback to see the Grande Chartreuse (the way to it up a vast mountain, in many places the road not 2 yards broad, on one side the rock hanging over you, & on the other a monstrous precipice in the bottom runs a torrent, called Les Guiers morts, that works its way among the rocks with a mighty noise, & frequent Falls you here meet all the beauties so savage & horrid a place can present you with, Rocks of various & uncouth figures, Cascades pouring down from an immense height out of hanging Groves of Pine-Trees, & the solemn Sound of the Stream, that roars below, all concur to form one of the most poetical Scenes imaginable, this continues for 2 leagues, & then (within a little of the Mountain's top) you come to the Convent itself, which is only considerable for it's situation, & bigness' On revisiting the Chartreuse (which is about thirty-seven miles from Grenoble) in August 1741, after his parting from Walpole, Gray wrote in the visitors' book his famous Alcaic ode, 'Oh tu, severi religio loci'

² Mason 'seven', evidently a mistake for 'two' (perhaps by a misreading of 7 for 2), inasmuch as Gray says in his *Journal* that they lay at Echelles the second day (see n. 1)

Oct 1739

Gray to Mrs Gray

Letter 71

the vale, and the river below, and many other particulars impossible to describe; you will conclude we had no occasion to repent our pains This place St Bruno chose to retire to, and upon its very top founded the aforesaid Convent, which is the superior of the whole order When we came there, the two fathers, who are commissioned to entertain strangers, (for the rest must neither speak one to another, nor to any one else) received us very kindly; and set before us a repast of dried fish, eggs, butter, and fruits, all excellent in their kind, and extremely neat They pressed us to spend the night there, and to stay some days with them, but this we could not do, so they led us about their house, which is, you must think, like a little city; for there are 100 fathers, besides 300 servants, that make their clothes, grind their corn, press their wine, and do every thing among themselves The whole is quite orderly and simple, nothing of finery, but the wonderful decency, and the strange situation, more than supply the place of it In the evening we descended by the same way, passing through many clouds that were then forming themselves on the mountain's side Next day we continued our journey by Chamberry, which, though the chief city of the Dutchy, and residence of the king of Sardinia,¹ when he comes into this part of his dominions, makes but a very mean and insignificant appearance, we lay at Aix, once famous for its hot baths, and the next night at Annecy; the day after, by noon, we got to Geneva I have not time to say any thing about it, nor of our solitary journey back again * * *

72 GRAY TO PHILIP GRAY

Lyons, Oct 25, N S 1739

IN my last I gave you the particulars of our little journey to Geneva I have only to add, that we stayed about a week, in order to see Mr Conway settled there I do not wonder so many English choose it for their residence, the city is very small, neat, prettily built, and extremely populous, the Rhône runs through the middle of it, and it is surrounded with new fortifications, that give it a military compact air, which, joined to the happy, lively countenances of the inhabitants, and an exact discipline always as strictly observed as in time of war, makes the little republic appear a match for a much greater

¹ Charles Emmanuel III, King of Sardinia, 1730-73.

LETTER 72 — First printed in *Mason's Memoirs*, pp 60-2

power; though perhaps Geneva, and all that belongs to it, are not of equal extent with Windsor and its two parks. To one that has passed through Savoy, as we did, nothing can be more striking than the contrast, as soon as he approaches the town. Near the gates of Geneva runs the torrent Arve, which separates it from the King of Sardinia's dominions; on the other side of it lies a country naturally, indeed, fine and fertile, but you meet with nothing in it but meager, ragged, bare-footed peasants, with their children, in extreme misery and nastiness; and even of these no great numbers. You no sooner have crossed the stream I have mentioned, but poverty is no more, not a beggar, hardly a discontented face to be seen, numerous, and well-dressed people swarming on the ramparts, drums beating, soldiers, well clothed and armed, exercising, and folks, with business in their looks, hurrying to and fro, all contribute to make any person, who is not blind, sensible what a difference there is between the two governments, that are the causes of one view and the other. The beautiful lake, at one end of which the town is situated, its extent, the several states that border upon it, and all its pleasures, are too well known for me to mention them. We sailed upon it as far as the dominions of Geneva extend, that is, about two leagues and a half on each side, and landed at several of the little houses of pleasure, that the inhabitants have built all about it, who received us with much politeness. The same night we eat part of a trout, taken in the lake, that weighed thirty-seven pounds, as great a monster as it appeared to us, it was esteemed there nothing extraordinary, and they assured us, it was not uncommon to catch them of fifty pounds, they are dressed here, and sent post to Paris upon some great occasions, nay, even to Madrid, as we were told. The road we returned through was not the same we came by. We crossed the Rhône at Scyssel, and passed for three days among the mountains of Bugey, without meeting with any thing new. At last we came out into the plains of La Bresse, and so to Lyons again. Sir Robert has written to Mr Walpole, to desire he would go to Italy, which he has resolved to do; so that all the scheme of spending the winter in the South of France is laid aside, and we are to pass it in a much finer country. You may imagine I am not sorry to have this opportunity of seeing the place in the world that best deserves it. Besides as the Pope¹ (who is eighty-eight, and has been lately

¹ Clement XII

Oct 1739

Gray to Philip Gray

Letter 72

at the point of death) cannot probably last a great while, perhaps we may have the fortune to be present at the election of a new one, when Rome will be in all its glory. Friday next we certainly begin our journey, in two days we shall come to the foot of the Alps, and six more we shall be in passing them. Even here the winter is begun; what then must it be among those vast snowy mountains where it is hardly ever summer? We are, however, as well armed as possible against the cold, with muffs, hoods, and masks of beaver, fur-boots, and bear skins. When we arrive at Turin, we shall rest after the fatigues of the journey * * *

73 GRAY TO MRS GRAY

Turin, Nov 7, N S 1739

I AM this night arrived here, and have just set down to rest me after eight days tiresome journey. For the three first we had the same road we before past through to go to Geneva, the fourth we turned out of it, and for that day and the next travelled rather among than upon the Alps, the way commonly running through a deep valley by the side of the river Arc, which works itself a passage, with great difficulty and a mighty noise, among vast quantities of rocks, that have rolled down from the mountain tops. (The winter was so far advanced, as in great measure to spoil the beauty of the prospect, however, there was still somewhat fine remaining amidst the savageness and horror of the place.) The sixth we began to go up several of these mountains, and as we were passing one, met with an odd accident enough: Mr Walpole had a little fat black spaniel,¹ that he was very fond of, which he sometimes used to set down, and let it run by the chaise side. We were at that time in a very rough road, not two yards broad at most, on one side was a great wood of pines, and on the other a vast precipice, it was noon-day, and the sun shone bright, when all of a sudden, from the wood-side, (which was as steep upwards, as the other part was downwards) out rushed a great wolf, came close to the head of the horses, seized the dog by the throat,

LETTER 73 — First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 63-5

¹ This dog, called 'Tory', had been given to Walpole in Paris by Lord Conway (see Walpole's letter to Cole of 10 Dec 1775). Walpole describes the above incident to West in his letter of 11 Nov 1739 (No. 104 in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*).

and rushed up the hill again with him in his mouth. This was done in less than a quarter of a minute, we all saw it, and yet the servants had not time to draw their pistols, or do any thing to save the dog. If he had not been there, and the creature had thought fit to lay hold of one of the horses, chaise, and we, and all must inevitably have tumbled above fifty fathoms perpendicular down the precipice. The seventh we came to Lanslebourg,² the last town in Savoy, it lies at the foot of the famous mount Cenis, which is so situated as to allow no room for any way but over the very top of it. Here the chaise was forced to be pulled to pieces, and the baggage and that to be carried by mules. We ourselves were wrapped up in our furs, and seated upon a sort of matted chair without legs, which is carried upon poles in the manner of a bier, and so begun to ascend by the help of eight men. It was six miles to the top, where a plain opens itself about as many more in breadth, covered perpetually with very deep snow, and in the midst of that a great lake of unfathomable depth, from whence a river takes its rise, and tumbles over monstrous rocks quite down the other side of the mountain. The descent is six miles more, but infinitely more steep than the going up, and here the men perfectly fly down with you, stepping from stone to stone with incredible swiftness in places where none but they could go three paces without falling. (The immensity of the precipices, the roaring of the river and torrents that run into it, the huge craggs covered with ice and snow, and the clouds below you and about you, are objects it is impossible to conceive without seeing them, and though we had heard many strange descriptions of the scene, none of them at all came up to it.) We were but five hours in performing the whole, from which you may judge of the rapidity of the men's motion.) We are now got into Piedmont, and stopped a little while at La Ferriere, a small village about three quarters of the way down, but still among the clouds, where we began to hear a new language spoken round about us, at last we got quite down, went through the Pás de Suse, a narrow road among the Alps, defended by two fortresses, and lay at Bosolens. Next evening through a fine avenue of nine miles in length, as straight as a line, we arrived at this city,³ which, as

² Lanslebourg, about 10 miles NE of Mont Cenis, on the right bank of the Arc

³ In his *Journal* Gray writes 'Turin—a week—à l'Auberge Royale. The Straitness of the Streets, which in the new quarter are wholly laid

Nov 1739

Gray to Mrs. Gray

Letter 73

you know, is the capital of the Principality, and the residence of the King of Sardinia * * * We shall stay here, I believe, a fortnight, and proceed for Genoa, which is three or four days journey to go post I am, &c

74 GRAY TO WEST

Turin, Nov 16, N S 1739

AFTER eight days journey through Greenland, we arrived at Turin. You approach it by a handsome avenue of nine miles long, and quite strait. The entrance is guarded by certain vigilant dragons, called Douaniers, who mumbled us for some time The city is not large, as being a place of strength, and consequently confined within its fortifications, it has many beauties and some faults, among the first are streets all laid out by the line, regular uniform buildings, fine walks that surround the whole, and in general a good lively clean appearance But the houses are of brick plastered, which is apt to want repairing, the windows of oiled paper, which is apt to be torn, and every thing very slight, which is apt to tumble down There is an excellent Opera, but it is only in the Carnival Balls every night, but only in the Carnival Masquerades, too, but only in the Carnival This Carnival lasts only from Christmas to Lent, one half of the remaining part of the year is pass'd in remembering the last, the other in expecting the future Carnival We cannot well subsist upon such slender diet, no more than upon an execrable Italian Comedy, and a Puppet-Show, called Rap-

out by the line, as it contributes much to the beauty of this City, so it makes it appear much smaller, than it really is, for at your first entrance you see quite through it the Strada del Po is near $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile long, with a handsome *Corridore* ["Arcade" written over] on both sides from one end to the other, & is terminated by a fine Doric Gate, that leads to the Po, which runs not a quarter of a mile from the Town the buildings here in general are of brick, either plaister'd, or intended to be so (for in those, that are not, the holes of the scaffolding are all left unstopt) & generally of some regular order, 4 Story high, for the length of whole streets the windows are oil'd Paper, which is often torn, & has a very ill effect to the eye Many great houses, the Architecture but indifferent, but altogether makes a good appearance enough

* * * * That part of the letter here omitted, contained only a description of the city, which, as Mr Gray has given it to Mr West in the following letter, and that in a more lively manner, I thought it unnecessary to insert A liberty I have taken in other parts of this correspondence, in order to avoid repetitions *Mason*

LETTER 74 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 65-8

presentazione d'un' anima dannata, which, I think, are all the present diversions of the place; except the Marquise de Cavail-lac's Conversazione, where one goes to see people play at Ombre and Taroc,¹ a game with 72 cards all painted with suns, and moons, and devils and monks. Mr Walpole has been at court, the family are at present at a country palace, called La Venerie. The palace here in town is the very quintessence of gilding and looking-glass, inlaid floors, carved pannels, and painting, wherever they could stick a brush. I own I have not, as yet, any where met with those grand and simple works of Art, that are to amaze one, and whose sight one is to be the better for. But those of Nature have astonished me beyond expression. In our little journey up to the Grande Chartreuse,² I do not remember to have gone ten paces without an exclamation, that there was no restraining. Not a precipice, not a torrent, not a cliff, but is pregnant with religion and poetry. There are certain scenes that would awe an atheist into belief, without the help of other argument. One need not have a very fantastic imagination to see spirits there at noon-day. You have Death perpetually before your eyes, only so far removed, as to compose the mind without frightening it. I am well persuaded St Bruno was a man of no common genius, to choose such a situation for his retirement, and perhaps should have been a disciple of his, had I been born in his time. You may believe Abelard and Heloise were not forgot upon this occasion. If I do not mistake, I saw you too every now and then at a distance among the trees; il me semble, que j'ai vu ce chien de visage là quelque part. You seemed to call to me from the other side of the precipice, but the noise of the river below was so great, that I really could not distinguish what you said, it seemed to have a cadence like verse. In your next you will be so good to let me know what it was. (The week we have since passed among the Alps, has not equalled the single day upon that mountain, because the winter was rather too far advanced, and the weather a little foggy. (However, it did not want its beauties, the savage rudeness of the view is inconceivable without seeing it. I reckoned in one day, thirteen cascades, the least of which was, I dare say, one hundred feet in height.) I had Livy in the chaise with me, and beheld his 'Nives cœlo propè immistæ, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora jumentaue torrida

¹ A contemporary description of the game of taroc or *munchiate* is given by C. de Brosses, *Lettres Familiales*, XLIV.)

² See Letter 71, n. 1

frigore, homines intonsi & inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, omnia confragosa, præruptaque'.³ The creatures that inhabit them are, in all respects, below humanity; and most of them, especially women, have the tumidum guttur,⁴ which they call goscia Mont Cenis, I confess, carries the permission mountains have of being frightful⁵ rather too far, and its horrors were accompanied with too much danger to give one time to reflect upon their beauties There is a family of the Alpine monsters I have mentioned, upon its very top, that in the middle of winter calmly lay in their stock of provisions and firing, and so are buried in their hut for a month or two under the snow When we were down it, and got a little way into Piedmont, we began to find 'Apricos quosdam colles, rivosque prope sylvas, & jam humano cultu digniora loca' ⁶ I read Silius Italicus too, for the first time, and wished for you according to custom We set out for Genoa in two days time ⁷

75 GRAY TO WEST

Genoa, Nov 21, 1739.

Horridos tractus, Boreæq; linquens
Regna Taurini fera, molliorem
Advehor brumam, Genuæq; amantes
Littora soles

At least if they do not, they have a very ill taste, for I never beheld any thing more amiable {Only figure to yourself a vast semicircular bason, full of fine blue sea, and vessels of all sorts and sizes, some sailing out, some coming in, and others at anchor, and all round it palaces and churches peeping over one another's heads, gardens and marble terrases full of orange and cypress trees, fountains, and trellis-works covered with vines,

³ Livy, xxi 32⁴ Goitre—Juvenal, *Sat* xiii 162 'Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?'⁵ A phrase, as Mason notes, borrowed from Madame de Sévigné 'Guillegues disoit hier que Pellisson abusoit de la permission qu'ont les hommes d'être lards' (*à Mme de Grignan*, 5 janv 1764)⁶ Livy, xxi 37⁷ Their route from Turin, as Gray notes in his *Journal*, was through Moncalieri, Asti (a small city where they lay), Alessandria, Novi ('the first Town in the Genoese State', where they lay), over the mountains by the road over 'the highest of 'em called the Bouquet', then through the plain, where they had to cross a torrent above 20 times, and so into the City of GenoaLETTER 75 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 68–70

which altogether compose the grandest of theatres ¹⁾ This is the first coup d'oeil, and is almost all I am yet able to give you an account of, for we arrived late last night To-day was, luckily, a great festival, and in the morning we resorted to the church of the Madonna delle Vigne, to put up our little orisons, (I believe I forgot to tell you, that we have been sometime converts to the holy Catholic church) we found our Lady richly dressed out, with a crown of diamonds on her own head, another upon the child's, and a constellation of wax lights burning before them Shortly after came the Doge, in his robes of crimson damask, and a cap of the same, followed by the Senate in black Upon his approach began a fine concert of music, and among the rest two eunuchs' voices, that were a perfect feast to ears that had heard nothing but French operas for a year. We listened to this, and breathed nothing but incense for two

¹ In his *Journal*, after mentioning the approach to Genoa through 'the magnificent Fauxbourg', which 'is a little mile long with many noble Villas on either hand, with their gardens & marble decorations', Gray continues 'there is a sort of Terrace here in use, that I have not before seen, on the top of their high walls next the street, runs a row of marble Columns of a regular order, between 'em are Statues, or Orange trees placed, & on them rests a frame of Trellis-work, which is cover'd with Vines, or Jelsamine, these have a noble effect, as have the Porticoes, that many of their houses are flanked with, they are usually even with the 2^d Story, supported by tall pillars of white Marble, & Balustrades of the same, with cielings of Stucco, white figures on a grey ground they look cool, & stately the Gates are commonly lofty arches, thro' which you have a view of the Vestibule, the square area surrounded by the galleries, upon which the apartments open, with double flights of steps, that lead up into them, & another opposite arch, that discovers to you either the gardens behind, or a Nich with a Statue, & Fountain, or some piece of painting in perspective to represent one or the other this is the general form of their palaces both without, & within the City, & some of them are wholly built of marble the City surrounds its Port, which is semicircular, entirely, & appears from the Sea, like a most stately Theatrical, it's houses, & palaces, Churches, & Porticoes gradually rising one above another, & intermix'd with Gardens, & Terraces full of Oranges, Vines, Lemon, & Cypress-Trees the declivity of its situation, tho' it adds much to the beauty of the prospect, is a great inconvenience in reality, the streets being all too narrow, & too steep to admit of Coaches; however they are always clean, & well-paved at the Western gate is a very high Watch-tower, & from hence runs a handsome Terrace along by the Sea-side for a great way, here Coaches can drive, & enjoy a noble view of a part of the City with that beautiful Bay, which is usually cover'd with Vessels of all Sizes The 2 noblest Streets in Genoa, are those called the Strade Nuova, & Balbi they are neither of them very long, or wide, but have on each side 6 or 7 of the most beautiful palaces' Gray notes that at Genoa they staved, 'alla S^{ta} Martha, a week'

hours The Doge is a very tall, lean, stately, old figure, called Costantino Balbi,² and the Senate seem to have been made upon the same model They said their prayers, and heard an absurd white friar preach, with equal devotion After this we went to the Annonciata, a church built by the family Lomellini, and belonging to it, which is, indeed, a most stately structure, the inside wholly marble of various kinds, except where gold and painting take its place From hence to the Palazzo Doria. I should make you sick of marble, if I told you how it was lavished here upon the porticoes, the balustrades, and terrases, the lowest of which extends quite to the sea The inside is by no means answerable to the outward magnificence, the furniture seems to be as old as the founder of the family³ There great imbossed silver tables tell you, in bas-relief, his victories at sea; how he entertained the Emperor Charles, and how he refused the sovereignty of the Commonwealth when it was offered him; the rest is old-fashioned velvet chairs, and gothic tapestry The rest of the day has been spent, much to our hearts' content, in cursing French music and architecture, and in singing the praises of Italy We find this place so very fine, that we are in fear of finding nothing finer We are fallen in love with the Mediterranean sea, and hold your lakes and your rivers in vast contempt This is

'The happy country where huge lemons grow,'

as Waller says,⁴ and I am sorry to think of leaving it in a week for Parma, although it be

The happy country where huge cheeses grow

76 GRAY TO MRS GRAY

Bologna, Dec 9, N S 1739

OUR journey hither has taken up much less time than I expected We left Genoa (a charming place, and one that deserved a longer stay) the week before last, crossed the moun-

² Doge, 1738-40

³ The famous admiral, Andrea Doria (1466-1560)

⁴ *Battle of the Summer Islands*, 1 5-6

Bermuda, walled with rocks, who does not know?

That happy island where huge lemons grow .

LETTER 76 —First printed in Mason's *Memours*, pp 70-2

tains, and lay that night at Tortona,¹ the next at St Giovanni, and the morning after came to Piacenza That city, (though the capital of a Dutchy) made so frippery an appearance, that instead of spending some days there, as had been intended, we only dined, and went on to Parma, stayed there all the following day, which was pass'd in visiting the famous works of Corregio in the Dome, and other churches The fine gallery of pictures, that once belonged to the Dukes of Parma, is no more here; the King of Naples² has carried it all thither, and the city had not merit enough to detain us any longer, so we proceeded through Reggio to Modena) this, though the residence of its Duke, is an ill-built melancholy place, all of brick, as are most of the towns in this part of Lombardy He himself lives in a private manner, with very little appearance of a court about him, he has one of the noblest collections of paintings in the world, which entertained us extremely well the rest of that day and a part of the next, and in the afternoon we came to Bologna ³ So now you may wish us joy of being in the dominions

¹ In his *Journal* Gray says they did not enter Tortona (see n. 3), presumably they passed the night outside the city

² Charles of Bourbon, son of Philip V of Spain, King of Naples, or of the Two Sicilies, 1735-59, King of Spain, as Charles III, 1759-88

³ The journey from Genoa to Bologna is described as follows in Gray's *Journal* 'Nov 28 1739 Left Genoa, cross'd the mountains again, & came to Tortona this City is one of the K of Sardinia's last acquisitions, & strongly fortified 'tis on an eminence we did not enter it, for the gates were shut The vast plains of Lombardy were now begun, lay at Castel S^t Giovanni Pass'd the famous river, Trebia, the country on this side of it, where Scipio incamped, after Hannibal had cross'd the Po, is still, as Livy has described it, Loca altiora, collesq impeditiores equiti, the more remarkable, as the rest is a huge, & very level plain it was at this time so narrow, & so shallow a stream, that we cross'd without a ferry in the Chaise, but the vast broad, & stony Channel of it, tho' then dry, was a sufficient intimation of it's bigness at certain seasons on the other side of it is a naked plain for a little while, & beyond that Willows, & Shrubs here was the Scene of that Battle there are in that plain some vestigia of an Aqueduct, 8 or 10 great ruinous masses of Brick, on which the Arches seem to have rose possibly it convey'd the water of that river to Placentia we dined at that City, which makes a very mean appearance pass'd thro' Borgo S^t Donnino, ferr'd over the R Taro, & arrived very late at night at Parma, which is 5 little miles further stayed there one day The City, being all built of Brick (like the others in this part of Lombardy) & that not plaster'd, has but a smoky, & melancholy appearance, there are few, or no good buildings it is large, & the little R Parma runs thro' the middle of it

Pass'd the River Lenza (anciently Nigella) over a very long bridge, which goes across the whole channel of it the Stream itself one might jump

of his Holiness This is a populous city, and of great extent All the streets have porticoes on both sides, such as surround a part of Covent-Garden, a great relief in summer-time in such a climate; and from one of the principal gates to a church of the Virgin, [where is a wonder-working picture, at three miles distance] runs a corridore of the same sort, lately finished, and, indeed, a most extraordinary performance. The churches here are more remarkable for their paintings than architecture, being mostly old structures of brick, but the palaces are numerous, and fine enough to supply us with somewhat worth seeing from morning till night The country of Lombardy, hitherto, is one of the most beautiful imaginable, the roads broad, and exactly straight, and on either hand vast plantations of trees, chiefly mulberries and olives, and not a tree without a vine twining about it and spreading among its branches This scene, indeed, which must be the most lovely in the world during the proper season, is at present all deformed by the winter, which here is rigorous enough for the time it lasts, but one still sees the skeleton of a charming place, and reaps the benefit of its product, for the fruits and provisions are admirable, in short you find every thing, that luxury can desire, in perfection We have now been here a week, and shall stay some little time longer We are at the foot of the Apennine mountains; it will take up three days to cross them, and then we shall come to Florence, where we shall pass the Christmas Till then we must remain in a state of ignorance as to what is doing in England, for our letters are to meet us there If I do not find four or five from you alone, I shall wonder

over passed thro' Reggio without stopping, the country all hereabouts, & quite to Bologna is as fertile, & well-cultivated as possible, & must in summer afford the most beautiful view in the world, the fields are regularly planted with rows of Elms, Mulberry, & *Olive Trees*, & Vines running up every one of them, between them is Corn sown, & the hedges are many of them kept cut, as in a Garden, the roads are commonly quite strait, & very broad for leagues together, we came in the afternoon to Modena That City makes at least as bad an appearance as Parma, & much in the same kind, only that here are Portico's running along all the Streets, which add somewhat to the view, & keep it clean stayed there one day . The Beauty of the Country rather increases, than diminishes, as you go from hence to Bologna, but it is a beauty still of the same nature'

77. GRAY TO MRS. GRAY

Florence, Dec 19, N S 1739

WE spent twelve days at Bologna,¹ chiefly (as most travellers do) in seeing sights, for as we knew no mortal there, and as it is no easy matter to get admision into any Italian house, without very particular recommendations, we could see no company but in public places, and there are none in that city but the churches We saw, therefore, churches, palaces, and pictures from morning to night; and the 15th of this month set out for Florence, and began to cross the Apennine mountains, we travelled among and upon them all that day, and, as it was but indifferent weather, were commonly in the middle of thick clouds, that utterly deprived us of a sight of their beauties For this vast chain of hills has its beauties, and all the vallies are cultivated, even the mountains themselves are many of them so within a little of their very tops They are not so horrid as the Alps, though pretty near as high, and the whole road is admirably well kept, and paved throughout, which is a length of fourscore miles, and more We left the Pope's dominions, and lay that night in those of the Grand Duke³ at Fiorenzuola,⁴ a paltry little town, at the foot of Mount Giogo, which is the highest of them all Next morning we went up it, the post-house is upon its very top, and usually involved in clouds, or half-buried in the snow Indeed there was none of the last at the time we were there, but it was still a dismal habitation The descent is most excessively steep, and the turnings very

LETTER 77 — First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 72-4

¹ Of Bologna, where they stayed '12 Days, al Pelegrino', Gray says in his *Journal* 'That City does not at all strike the eye upon entering it, but rather has a mean & dirty appearance very few of the Streets are without a Portico on each side, which, tho' irregular, is undoubtedly an ornament but in general the buildings (some Palaces excepted) are very old, & being of Brick, the whole has an air of Melancholy'

² In his *Journal* Gray records 'To Floience 2 Days Begun to pass the Apennine cloudy damp weather road paved, & admirably kept, what one could see of the prospect less savage than the Alps, & agreeable enough, lay at Fiorenzuola, a paltry, & ill-provided Village next morning cross'd the Giogo, vastly steep, & dangerous, particularly the descent view of the plains of Florence in coming down from the mountains very beautiful many olive, & Lemon Trees'

³ Francis II, of Lorraine (1708-65), Grand Duke of Tuscany, 1737-65, husband of Maria Theresa, Emperor, as Francis I, 1745-65.

⁴ In Tuscany, near the source of the Santerno

short and frequent; however, we performed it without any danger, and in coming down could dimly discover Florence, and the beautiful plain about it, through the mists, but enough to convince us, it must be one of the noblest prospects upon earth in summer. That afternoon we got thither, and Mr Mann,⁵ the resident, had sent his servant to meet us at the gates, and conduct us to his house. He is the best and most obliging person in the world. The next night we were introduced at the Prince of Craon's⁶ assembly (he has the chief power here in the Grand Duke's absence). The Princess,⁷ and he, were extremely civil to the name of Walpole, so we were asked to stay supper, which is as much as to say, you may come and sup here whenever you please, for after the first invitation this is always understood. We have also been at the Countess Suarez's,⁸ a favourite of the late Duke,⁹ and one that gives the first movement to every thing gay that is going forward here. The news is every day expected from Vienna of the Great Duchess's¹⁰ delivery; if it be a boy, here will be all sorts of balls, masquerades, operas, and illuminations, if not, we must wait for the Carnival, when all those things come of course. In the mean time it is impossible to want entertainment, the famous gallery, alone, is an amusement for months, we commonly pass

⁵ Horace, afterwards Sir Horace, Mann (1701-86), second son of Robert Mann, a London merchant. He was in 1737 appointed assistant to the Minister at the Court of Tuscany, and in 1740 became Minister, and held the post until his death. He was created a Baronet, 1755, died unmarried at Florence, aged 85, Nov. 1786, having never revisited England since taking up his appointment. Walpole and Mann, whose families were connected, became intimate friends, and when the former returned to England they began a correspondence, which continued uninterruptedly for forty-five years (during which they never met), until Mann's death. During their stay in Florence (at least for part of the time), Walpole and Gray resided in Mann's house (see Letter 90, n. 7).

⁶ Marc de Beauvau (1679-1754), Prince de Craon, whom Walpole describes as 'a good-natured simple old man, poor and extravagant, loves piquet, the Princess, and baubles'. He and the Princess at this time were resident in Florence, where the Prince was at the head of the Council of Regency.

⁷ Anne-Marguerite de Ligniville (d. 1772), Princesse de Craon, formerly the favourite mistress of Leopold, last Duke of Lorraine, by whom she had twenty children. The Duke married her to M. de Beauvau, and prevailed on the Emperor to make him a Prince of the Empire.

⁸ She figures frequently (as Madame Suarez) in Walpole's early letters to Mann.

⁹ Giovanni Gastone, the last Medicean Grand-Duke, 1723-37.

¹⁰ Maria Theresa; the child was a boy, who in 1765, on his father's death, became Emperor as Joseph II.

two or three hours every morning in it, and one has perfect leisure to consider all its beauties. You know it contains many hundred antique statues, such as the whole world cannot match, besides the vast collection of paintings, medals, and precious stones, such as no other prince was ever master of; in short, all that the rich and powerful house of Medicis has in so many years got together.¹¹ And besides this city abounds with so many palaces and churches, that you can hardly place yourself any where without having some fine one in view, or at least some statue or fountain, magnificently adorned, these undoubtedly are far more numerous than Genoa can pretend to; yet, in its general appearance, I cannot think that Florence equals it in beauty. Mr Walpole is just come from being presented to the Electress Palatine Dowager,¹² she is a sister of the late Great Duke's, a stately old lady, that never goes out but to church, and then she has guards, and eight horses to her coach. She received him with much ceremony, standing under a huge black canopy, and, after a few minutes talking, she assured him of her good will, and dismissed him. She never sees any body but thus in form, and so she passes her life, poor woman! * * *

78 GRAY TO WEST

Florence, Jan 15, 1740

I THINK I have not yet told you how we left that charming place Genoa. How we crossed a mountain, all of green marble, called Buchetto. How we came to Tortona, and waded through the mud to come to Castel St Giovanni, and there eat

¹¹ He catalogued and made occasional short remarks on the pictures, &c, which he saw here, as well as at other places, many of which are in my possession, but it would have swelled this work too much if I had inserted them. *Mason*—Some of these notes were printed by Mitford 1835-43, vol iv, pp 225-305, others, by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp 203-60.

¹² Anna Maria Luisa (1667-1743), the last of the House of Medici. She was daughter of the Grand Duke Cosimo III, and sister of Giovanni Gastone (see n 6), she married Johann Wilhelm, Elector Palatine, 1690-1716, after whose death she returned to reside in Florence (see Walpole's letter to Mann of 3 March 1743). Walpole refers to Gray's account of this visit in his letter to Mark Noble of 22 March 1787 (see *Supplement to the Letters of Horace Walpole*, vol iii, p 335, and note).

LETTER 78—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, p 75.

¹ In the Ligurian Apennines.—In the account of their journey from Turin to Genoa, in his *Journal*, Gray notes 'the Bouquet, over which the road winds, supplies Genoa with that beautiful Marble, speckled with Green,

Jan. 1740

Gray to West

Letter 78

mustard and sugar with a dish of crows' gizzards. Secondly, how we pased the famous plains

Quà Trebie glaucas salices intersecat undâ,
Arvae Romanis nobilitata malis
Visus adhuc amnis veteri de clade rubere
Et suspirantes ducere mæstus aquas,
Maurorumque ala, & nigræ increbrescere turmæ,
Et pulsa Ausonidum ripa sonare fugâ ²

Nor, thirdly, how we pased through Piacenza, Parma, Modena, entered the territories of the Pope, stayed twelve days at Bologna, crosed the Apennines, and afterwards arrived at Florence. None of these things have I told you, nor do I intend to tell you, till you ask me some questions concerning them. No not even of Florence itself, except that it is as fine as possible, and has every thing in it that can bleis the eyes. ³But, before I enter into particulars, you must make your peace both with me and the Venus de Medicis, who, let me tell you, is highly and justly offended at you for not inquiring, long before this, concerning her symmetry and proportions * * *

78 * West to Gray

[Feb. or March 1740]

[West wrote a letter to Gray, which Mason thought 'too bizarre for the Public'. The letter must have been written in February or March, as Gray's reply was written in March or April (see Letter 78 **)]

78 ** Gray to West

[March or April 1740]

[From Mason's correspondence with Walpole in July 1773 (*Walpole-Mason Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 87 ff.) we learn that there were two letters of Gray written in Italian, which Mason (after submitting them to Walpole) did not print. The first of these was in reply to a letter of West (Letter 78*). In Gray's letter there were verses 'Te dea etc', which Mason thought very beautiful, and an allusion to the Venus de Medici, 'which occasioned a very pretty Latin elegy of West's, which he sent him in return' (see Letter 84). Walpole was not pleased with Gray's Italian letter and suggested that Mason White, & Black, which you see in their Churches, & Palaces the Rocks, as you go along, appear all of that hue, & huge rough blocks of it frequently are seen at the doors of little Villages, that lie hereabouts']

² The river Trebbia, which falls into the Po near Piacenza, was the scene of the defeat of the Romans by Hannibal, 218 B.C. Mason cannot have copied Gray's text correctly. Gray probably wrote Trebiæ (not Trebie) and unda (not undâ) in line 1, and alæ (not ala) in line 5.

³⁻³ This last paragraph is an addition of Mason's. See Letter 78**

might mention Gray's having spoken of the *Venus* to West without producing his letter. Mason followed Walpole's advice, and interpolated in Gray's letter to West of 15 Jan. a reference to the *Venus* (see Letter 78, n. 3). Gray's letter was probably written in March or April, as West's reply (see Letter 84) was written in April.]

79 GRAY TO WHARTON

Proposals for printing by Subscription, in

THIS LARGE

LETTER¹

The Travels of T. G. GENT which will consist of the following Particulars

CHAP. I

THE Author arrives at Dover, his conversation with the Mayor of that Corporation, sets out in the *Pacquet-Boat*, grows very sick, the Author spews, a very minute account of all the circumstances thereof his arrival at Calais, how the inhabitants of that country speak French, & are said to be all Papishes, the Author's reflexions thereupon

2

How they feed him with Soupe, & what Soupe is how he meets with a Capucin, & what a Capucin is how they shut him up in a *Post-Chaise*, & send him to Paris, he goes wondring along dureing 6 days, & how there are Trees, & Houses just as in England arrives at Paris without knowing it

3

Full account of the river *Seine*, & of the various animals & plants its borders produce Description of the little Creature, called an *Abbé*, its parts, & their uses, with the reasons, why they will not live in England, & the methods, that have been used to propagate them there a Cut of the Inside of a Nunnery, it's Structure, wonderfully adapted to the use of the animals, that inhabit it a short account of them, how they propagate without the help of a Male, & how they eat up their own young ones, like Cats, and Rabbits supposed to have both Sexes in themselves, like a Snail Dissection of a Dutchess with Copper-Plates, very curious

LETTER 79—First printed by Mitford (1816), vol. II, pp. 71–7, now reprinted from original

¹ Gray wrote these words in large capitals to indicate the type in which his imaginary work was to be printed

4

Goes to the Opera, grand Orchestra of Humstrums, Bagpipes, Salt-boxes, Tabours, & Pipes Anatomy of a French Ear, shewing the formation of it to be entirely different from that of an English one, & that Sounds have a directly contrary effect upon one & the other Farinelli^{1a} at Paris said to have a fine manner, but no voice Grand Ballet, in which there is no seeing the dance for Petticoats Old Women with flowers, & jewels stuck in the Curls of their grey Hair, Red-heel'd Shoes & Roll-ups² innumerable, Hoops, & Paniers immeasurable, Paint unspeakable Tables, wherein is calculated with the utmost exactness, the several Degrees of Red, now in use, from the rising blush of an Advocate's Wife to the flaming Crimson of a Princess of the blood, done by a Limner in great Vogue

5

The Author takes unto him a Taylour his Character how he covers him with Silk, & Fringe, & widens his figure with buckram a yard on each side, Wastcoat, & Breeches so strait, he can neither breath, nor walk how the Barber curls him en Bequille, & à la negligee, & ties a vast Solitaire³ about his Neck, how the Milliner lengthens his ruffles to his finger's ends, & sticks his two arms into a Muff how he cannot stir, & how they cut him in proportion to his Clothes

6

He is carried to Versailles, despises it infinitely a dissertation upon Taste goes to an Installation in the Chappel-royal enter the King, & 50 Fiddlers Solus. Kettle-Drums, & Trumpets, Queens, & Dauphins, Princesses, & Cardinals, Incense, & the Mafs Old Knights, making Curtsies, Holy-Ghosts, & Fiery-tongues

7

Goes into the Country to Rheims in Champagne stays there 3 Months, what he did there (he must beg the reader's pardon, but) he has really forgot

8

Proceeds to Lyons Vastness of that City Can't see the Streets for houses ⁴ how rich it is, & how much it stinks. Poem

^{1a} See Letter 60, n 13

² See Letter 61, n 2

³ See Letter 61, n 3

⁴ Mitford quotes from Walpole's *Fugitive Pieces* (vol 1, p 222) 'When one

upon the Confluence of the Rhône, & the Saône, by a friend of the Author's, very pretty!

9

Makes a journey into Savoy, & in his way visits the Grande Chartreuse, he is set astride upon a Mule's back, & begins to climb up the Mountain Rocks & Torrents beneath, Pine-trees, & Snows above, horrors, & terrours on all sides the Author dies of the Fright

10

He goes to Geneva his mortal antipathy to a Presbyterian, & the cure for it returns to Lyons gets a surfeit with eating Ortolans, & Lampreys, is advised to go into Italy for the benefit of the air

11

Sets out the latter end of November⁵ to cross the Alps he is devoured by a Wolf, & how it is to be devoured by a Wolf the 7th day he comes to the foot of Mount Cenis how he is wrap'd up in Bear Skins, & Bever-Skins, Boots on his legs, Caps on his head, Muffs on his hands, & Taffety over his eyes, he is placed on a Bier, & is carried to heaven by the savages blind-fold how he lights among a certain fat nation, call'd Clouds,⁶ how they are always in a Sweat, & never speak, but they fart how they flock about him, & think him very odd for not doing so too he falls flump into Italy

12

Arrives at Turin, goes to Genoa, & from thence to Placentia, crosses the River Trebia the Ghost of Hannibal appears to him, & what it, & he, say upon the occasion locked out of

is misled by a proper name, the only use of which is to direct, one feels like the countryman, who complained—"That the houses hindered him from seeing Paris" The thing becomes an obstruction to itself And from *Menagiana* (vol 1, p 13) 'Mons le Duc de M disoit, que les maisons de Paris estoient si hautes, qu'elles empechoient de voir la ville'

⁵ A slip for October, they reached Turin on 7 Nov (see Letter 73)

⁶ In his letter to West from Turin of 11 Nov 1739 Walpole writes 'At the foot of mount Cenis we were obliged to quit our chaise, which was taken all to pieces and loaded on mules, and we were carried in low arm-chairs on poles, swathed in beaver bonnets, beaver gloves, beaver stockings, muffs, and bear-skins When we came to the top, behold the snows fallen! and such quantities, and conducted by such heavy clouds that hung gloung, that I thought we could never have waded through them'

Parma in a cold winter's night the author by an ingenious stratagem gains admittance despises that City, & proceeds thro' Reggio to Modena how the Duke, & Dutcheſs lye over their own Stables, & go every night to a vile Italian Comedy despises them, & it, & proceeds to Bologna

13

Enters into the Dominions of the Pope o' Rome meets the Devil, & what he says on the occasion very publick, & scandalous doings between the Vines & the Elm-trees, & how the Olive-trees are shock'd thereupon Author longs for Bologna-Sausages, & Hams, & how he grows as fat as a Hog

14

Observations on Antiquities the Author proves, that Bologna was the ancient Tarentum, that the Battle of Salamis, contrary to the vulgar opinion, was fought by Land, & that not far from Ravenna that the Romans were a Colony of the Jews,⁷ & that Eneas was the same with Ehud

15

Arrival at Florence is of opinion, that the Venus of Medicis is a modern performance, & that a very indifferent one, & much inferiour to the K. Charles at Chareing-Croſs Account of the City, & Manners of the Inhabitants a learned Diſertation on the true Situation of Gomorrah

And here will end the first part of these instructive & entertaining Voyages the Subscribers are to pay 20 Guineas; 19 down, & the remainder upon delivery of the book N B A few are printed on the softest Royal Brown Paper for the use of the Curious. . . .

My Dear, dear Wharton⁸

(Which is a dear more than I give any body else it is very odd to begin with a Parenthesis, but) You may think me a Beast, for not having sooner wrote to you, & to be sure a Beast I am now when one owns it, I don't see what you have left to say I take this opportunity to inform you (an opportunity

⁷ See Letter 85

⁸ Of Old-Park, near Durham With this gentleman Mr Gray contracted an acquaintance very early, and though they were not educated together at Eton, yet afterwards at Cambridge, when the Doctor was Fellow of Pem-

I have had every week this twelvemonth) that I am arrived safe at Calais, & am at present at Florence, a city in Italy in I don't know how many degrees N latitude under the Line I am sure it is not, for I am at this instant expiring with Cold. You must know, that not being certain what circumstances of my History would particularly suit your curiosity, & knowing that all I had to say to you would overflow the narrow limits of many a good quire of Paper, I have taken this method of laying before you the contents, that you may pitch upon what you please, & give me your orders accordingly to expatiate thereupon for I conclude you will write to me, won't you? oh! yes, when you know, that in a week I set out for Rome, & that the Pope is dead,^o & that I shall be (I should say, God willing, & if nothing extraordinary intervenc, & if I'm alive, & well, & in all human probability) at the Coronation of a new one now as you have no other correspondent there, & as if you do not, I certainly shall not write again (observe my impudence) I take it to be your interest to send me a vast letter, full of all sorts of News, & Bawdy, & Politics, & such other ingredients,

broke Hall, they became intimate friends, and continued so to the time of Mr Gray's death. *Mason* — Thomas Wharton (1717–94), physician, Gray's most intimate friend, was the eldest of the three sons of Robert (1690–1752), Mayor of Durham, second son of Thomas (1652–1714), physician, eldest son of the celebrated physician and anatomist, Dr Thomas Wharton (1614–73), Fellow, and for many years Censor, of the Royal College of Physicians, the friend of Isaac Walton and Elias Ashmole. Thomas, the friend of Gray (who was his senior by a year or more, but of the same standing in the University), was admitted as a Pensioner at Pembroke College, Cambridge (with which he had an hereditary connexion, his great-grandfather and uncle having both been members of the College) in 1734, B A, 1738, elected Fellow, 1739, M A, 1741, M D, 1752. He vacated his Fellowship in 1747, on his marriage to Margaret Wilkinson, of Cross Gate, Durham, by whom he had three sons and five daughters (see Genealogical Tables). He succeeded to the estate of Old-Park (which had been acquired by his great-great-grandfather in 1620) on the death of his father in 1752. Gray, as the address of this letter shows, had become intimate with him during his first period of residence at Peterhouse, and the friendship was renewed after Gray's return to College in 1742, when he found Wharton in residence at Pembroke. Wharton continued to reside (at irregular intervals) until Oct. 1746, when he left Cambridge, after which he and Gray were separated for five years (see Letter 166, n. 7). They met again in Cambridge in April 1752, and afterwards were often together in London, and at Wharton's home at Old-Park. Wharton, who became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1754, and was Censor in 1757, practised as a physician in London between 1752 and 1758, when he went to reside at Old-Park.

^o Clement XII (Lorenzo Corsini, elected in 1730) died 6 Feb. 1740

March 1740

Gray to Wharton

Letter 79

as to you shall seem convenient with all decent expedition only do not be too severe upon the Pretender;¹⁰ & if you like my Style, pray say so this is à la Française; & if you think it a little too foolish, & impertinent, you shall be treated alla Toscana with a thousand Signoria Illustrissima's in the mean time I have the honour to remain

Your loving Frind tell Deth T GRAY

Florence March 12 N S [1740]

P.S This is à l'Angloise I don't know where you are, if at Cambridge, pray let me know all how, & about it, and if my old friends Thompson, or Clark¹¹ fall in your way, say I am extremely theirs but if you are in town, I entreat you to make my best Compliments to Mrs. Wharton ¹² Adieu, Yours Sincerely a second time

80 GRAY TO MRS GRAY

Florence, March 19, 1740.

THE Pope is at last dead, and we are to set out for Rome on Monday next The Conclave is still sitting there, and likely to continue so some time longer, as the two French Cardinals are but just arrived, and the German ones are still expected It agrees mighty ill with those that remain inclosed Ottoboni¹

¹⁰ For the reason, see Letter 81 *ad fin.*

¹¹ These were presumably contemporaries of Gray at Peterhouse, in which case the former was John Thompson, a Yorkshireman, educated at Bradford, who was admitted Pensioner of Peterhouse in June 1732; B A , 1735, M A , 1739, and elected Ramsay Fellow, and later Parke Fellow Clark was John Clerke, son of Thomas Clerke, Rector of Beckenham, Kent (born in 1717), who was admitted Pensioner of St Catharine's in April 1734 and migrated to Peterhouse in Nov 1735, he was (like Gray) Cosin and Hale Scholar, B A , 1738, Fellow, 1740, M A , 1742, M D . 1753, d 1790 He practised for many years as a physician at Epsom A letter to him from Gray, dated 12 Aug 1760, was printed by Mason (see Letter 318) On the death of his wife (27 April 1757) Gray wrote the epitaph beginning, 'Lo! where this silent Marble weeps', which is inscribed on the tablet to her memory in the Church of Beckenham, Kent (see Letter 266) Gray visited him at Epsom in 1763 (see Letter 373, n 2)

¹² Presumably Wharton's mother, who is mentioned in Gray's letter to him of 26 Dec 1754 (Letter 194 *ad fin.*)

LETTER 80—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 77–8

¹ Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, created Cardinal by Alexander VIII in 1689. He had a celebrated collection of cameos and intaglios, which was dispersed after his death (see Walpole to West, 7 May 1740)

is already dead of an apoplexy, Altieri² and several others are said to be dying, or very bad. Yet it is not expected to break up till after Easter. We shall lie at Sienna the first night, spend a day there, and in two more get to Rome. One begins to see in this country the first promises of an Italian spring, clear unclouded skies, and warm suns, such as are not often felt in England, yet, for your sake, I hope at present you have your proportion of them, and that all your frosts, and snows, and short-breaths are, by this time, utterly vanished. I have nothing new or particular to inform you of, and, if you see things at home go on much in their old course, you must not imagine them more various abroad. The diversions of a Florentine Lent are composed of a sermon in the morning, full of hell and the devil, a dinner at noon, full of fish and meager diet, and, in the evening, what is called a *Conversazione*, a sort of assembly at the principal people's houses, full of I cannot tell what. Besides this, there is twice a week a very grand concert * * *

81 GRAY TO MRS GRAY

Rome, April 2, N S 1740

THIS is the [eighth]¹ day since we came to Rome, but the first hour I have had to write to you in. The journey from Florence cost us four days, one of which was spent at Sienna, (an agreeable, clean, old city, of no great magnificence, or extent, but in a fine situation, and good air.) What it has most considerable is its cathedral, a huge pile of marble, black and white laid alternately, and laboured with a gothic niceness and delicacy in the old-fashioned way. Within too are some paintings and sculpture of considerable hands. The sight of this, and some collections that were showed us in private houses, were a sufficient employment for the little time we were to pass there; and the next morning we set forward on our journey through a country very oddly composed, (for some miles you have a continual scene of little mountains cultivated from top to bottom with rows of olive-trees, or else elms, each of which has its vine twining about it, and mixing with the branches, and corn sown

² See Letter 85, n 8LETTER 81 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 78–81¹ Mason 'thurd', evidently a mistake for 'eighth' (perhaps by a misreading of 3 for 8). Walpole, writing to West from Rome on 26 Mar, says 'we are this instant arrived', consequently 2 April was the eighth day since they came to Rome. Cf Letter 60, n 2a

between all the ranks. This, diversified with numerous small houses and convents, makes the most agreeable prospect in the world. But, all of a sudden, it alters to black barren hills, as far as the eye can reach, that seem never to have been capable of culture, and are as ugly as useless. Such is the country for some time before one comes to Mount Radicofani, a terrible black hill, on the top of which we were to lodge that night. It is very high, and difficult of ascent, and at the foot of it we were much embarrassed by the fall of one of the poor horses that drew us. This accident obliged another chaise, which was coming down, to stop also, and out of it peeped a figure in a red cloak, with a handkerchief tied round its head, which, by its voice and mien, seemed a fat old woman,² but, upon its getting out, appeared to be Senesino,³ who was returning from Naples to Sienna, the place of his birth and residence. On the highest part of the mountain is an old fortress, and near it a house built by one of the Grand Dukes for a hunting-seat, but now converted into an inn. It is the shell of a large fabrick, but such an inside, such chambers, and accommodations, that your cellar is a palace in comparison, and your cat sups and lies much better than we did, for, it being a saint's eve, there was nothing but eggs. We devoured our meager fare, and, after stopping up the windows with the quilts, were obliged to lie upon the straw beds in our clothes. Such are the conveniences in a road, that is, as it were, the great thoroughfare of all the world. Just on the other side of this mountain, at Ponte-Centino, one enters the patrimony of the church, a most delicious country, but thinly inhabited. That night brought us to Viterbo, a city of a more lively appearance than any we had lately met with, the houses have glass windows, which is not very usual here, and most of the streets are terminated by a handsome fountain. Here we had the pleasure of breaking our fast on the leg of an old hare and some broiled crows. Next morning, in descending Mount Viterbo, we first discovered (though at near thirty miles distance) the cupola of St. Peter's, and a little after began to enter on an old Roman pavement, with now and then a ruined tower, or a sepulcher on each

² See Walpole's letter to West, of 23 March 1740, from Radicofani.

³ Francesco Bernardi (c. 1680–c. 1750), known as Senesino, from Siena, his birthplace, famous soprano, he was one of the Italian singers engaged by Handel for his opera company in London, where he sang on numerous occasions between 1720 and 1735.

hand We now had a clear view of the city, though not to the best advantage, as coming along a plain quite upon a level with it, however, it appeared very vast, and surrounded with magnificent villas and gardens We soon after crossed the Tiber, a river that ancient Rome made more considerable than any merit of its own could have done. However, it is not contemptibly small, but a good handsome stream, very deep, yet somewhat of a muddy complexion The first entrance of Rome is prodigiously striking It is by a noble gate, designed by Michel Angelo, and adorned with statues, this brings you into a large square, in the midst of which is a vast obelisk of granite, and in front you have at one view two churches of a handsome architecture, and so much alike that they are called the twins; with three streets, the middlemost of which is one of the longest in Rome (As high as my expectation was raised, I confess, the magnificence of this city infinitely surpasses it You cannot pass along a street but you have views of some palace, or church, or square, or fountain, the most picturesque and noble one can imagine We have not yet set about considering its beauties, ancient and modern, with attention, but have already taken a slight transient view of some of the most remarkable.) St Peter's I saw the day after we arrived, and was struck dumb with wonder I there saw the Cardinal d'Auvergne,⁴ one of the French ones, who, upon coming off his journey, immediately repaired hither to offer up his vows at the high altar, and went directly into the Conclave, the doors of which we saw opened to him, and all the other immured Cardinals came thither to receive him Upon his entrance they were closed again directly It is supposed they will not come to an agreement about a Pope till after Easter, though the confinement is very disagreeable I have hardly philosophy enough to see the infinity of fine things, that are here daily in the power of any body that has money, without regretting the want of it, but custom has the power of making things easy to one I have not yet seen his majesty of Great-Britain,⁵ &c though I have the two boys in the gardens of the Villa Borgese, where they go a-shooting almost every day, it was at a distance, indeed, for we did not choose to meet them, as you may imagine This letter (like all those the English send, or receive) will pass through the hands

⁴ Henri Oswald de la Tour d'Auvergne Bouillon (1671-1747), Archbishop of Tours, 1719, of Vienne, 1721, created Cardinal by Clement XII in 1737

⁵ The Old Pretender (see Letter 85, n. 12).

March 1740

Gray to Mrs Gray

Letter 81

of that family, before it comes to those it was intended for. They do it more honour than it deserves, and all they will learn from thence will be, that I desire you to give my duty to my father, and wherever else it is due, and that I am, &c.

82 GRAY TO MRS GRAY

Rome, April 15, 1740 Good Friday.

TO-DAY I am just come from paying my adoration at St Peter's to three extraordinary reliques, which are exposed to public view only on these two days in the whole year, at which time all the confraternities in the city come in procession to see them (It was something extremely novel to see that vast church, and the most magnificent in the world, undoubtedly, illuminated (for it was night) by thousands of little crystal lamps, disposed in the figure of a huge cross at the high altar, and seeming to hang alone in the air.) All the light proceeded from this, and had the most singular effect imaginable as one entered the great door. Soon after came one after another, I believe, thirty processions, all dressed in linen frocks, and girt with a cord, their heads covered with a cowl all over, only two holes to see through left. Some of them were all black, others red, others white, others party-coloured, these were continually coming and going with their tapers and crucifixes before them, and to each company, as they arrived and knelt before the great altar, were shown from a balcony at a great height, the three wonders, which are, you must know, the head of the spear that wounded Christ, St Veronica's handkerchief, with the miraculous impression of his face upon it, and a piece of the true cross, on the sight of which the people thump their breasts, and kiss the pavement with vast devotion. (The tragical part of the ceremony is half a dozen wretched creatures, who with their faces covered, but naked to the waist, are in a side-chapel disciplining themselves with scourges full of iron prickles, but really in earnest, as our eyes can testify, which saw their backs and arms so raw we should have taken it for a red satin doublet torn, and shewing the skin through, had we not been convinced of the contrary by the blood which was plentifully sprinkled about them. It is late, I give you joy of Port-Bello¹, and many other things, which I hope are all true * * * *

LETTER 82 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 82-3

¹ See Letter 83, n 4

83 WALPOLE AND GRAY TO WEST

Rome, April 16, 1740 N S.

I'LL tell you, West, because one is amongst new things, you think one can always write new things When I first came abroad, every thing struck me, and I wrote its history, but now I am grown so used to be surprised, that I don't perceive any flutter in myself when I meet with any novelties, curiosity and astonishment wear off, and the next thing is, to fancy that other people know as much of places as one's self, or, at least, one does not remember that they do not It appears to me as odd to write to you of ~~St. Peter's~~, as it would do to you to write of ~~Westminster-abbey~~ Besides, as one looks at churches, &c with a ~~book~~ of travels in one's hand, and sees everything particularized there, it would appear transcribing, to write upon the same subjects I know you will hate me for this declaration, I remember how ill I used to take it when anybody served me so that was travelling —Well, I will tell you something, if you will love me You have seen prints of the ruins of the temple of Minerva Medica, you shall only hear its situation, and then figure what a villa might be laid out there 'Tis in the middle of a garden at a little distance are two subterraneous grottos, which were the burial-places of the liberti of Augustus There are all the niches and covers of the urns with the inscriptions remaining; and in one, very considerable remains of an ancient stucco ceiling with paintings in grotesque Some of the walks would terminate upon the Castellum Aquæ Martiæ, St John Lateran, and St Maria Maggiore, besides other churches, the walls of the garden would be two aqueducts, and the entrance through one of the old gates of Rome This glorious spot is neglected, and only serves for a small vineyard and kitchen-garden

I am very glad that I see Rome while it yet exists before a great number of years are elapsed, I question whether it will be worth seeing Between the ignorance and poverty of the present Romans, every thing is neglected and falling to decay, the villas are entirely out of repair, and the palaces so ill kept, that half the pictures are spoiled by damp At the villa Ludovisi is a large oracular head of red marble, colossal, and with vast foramina for the eyes and mouth —the man that showed the palace said

LETTER 83 —First printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol iv, pp 444-6

it was *un ritratto della famiglia* The cardinal Corsini¹ has so thoroughly pushed on the misery of Rome by impoverishing it, that there is no money but paper to be seen. He is reckoned to have amassed three millions of crowns You may judge of the affluence the nobility live in, when I assure you, that what the chief princes allow for their own eating is a testoon a day; eighteen pence there are some extend their expense to five pauls, or half a crown cardinal Albani² is called extravagant for laying out ten pauls for his dinner and supper You may imagine they never have any entertainments so far from it, they never have any company The princesses and duchesses particularly lead the dismallest of lives Being the posterity of popes, though of worse families than the ancient nobility, they expect greater respect than my ladies the countesses and marquises will pay them, consequently they consort not, but mope in a vast palace with two miserable tapers, and two or three monsignori, whom they are forced to court and humour, that they may not be entirely deserted Sundays they do issue forth in a vast unwieldy coach to the Corso.

In short, child, after sunset one passes one's time here very ill; and if I did not wish for you in the mornings, it would be no compliment to tell you that I do in the evening Lord! how many English I could change for you, and yet buy you wondrous cheap! And then French and Germans I could fling into the bargain by dozens Nations swarm here You will have a great fat French cardinal garnished with thirty abbés roll into the area of St Peter's, gape, turn short, and talk of the chapel of Versailles I heard one of them say t'other day, he had been at the *Capitale* One asked of course how he liked it—*Ah! il y a assez de belles choses*

Tell Asheton I have received his letter, and will write next post, but I am in a violent hurry and have no more time, so Gray finishes this delicately—

Not so delicate; nor indeed would his conscience suffer him to write to you, till he received de vos nouvelles, if he had not

¹ Neri Maria Corsini, created Cardinal by Clement XII in 1730, see C de Brosse (*Lettres Familiales*, LI) 'Le gouvernement est entre ses foibles mains il a mis les finances surtout en pitoyable état Le peuple crie hautement de la rareté et du mauvais titre de l'argent, se plaint du transport de l'espèce à Florence'

² Annibale Albani (d 1751), created Cardinal by Clement XI in 1711

the tail of another person's letter to use by way of evasion I sha'n't describe, as being in the only place in the world that deserves it, which may seem an odd reason—but they say as how it's fulsome, and every body does it (and I suppose every body says the same thing), else I should tell you a vast deal about the Coliseum, and the Conclave, and the Capitol, and these matters. A-propos du Colisée, if you don't know what it is, the prince Borghese will be very capable of giving you some account of it, who told an Englishman that asked what it was built for 'They say 'twas for Christians to fight with tigers in' We are just come from adoring a great piece of the true cross, St Longinus's spear, and St Veronica's handkerchief, all which have been this evening exposed to view in St. Peter's. In the same place, and on the same occasion last night, Walpole saw a poor creature naked to the waist discipline himself with a scourge filled with iron prickles, till he had made himself a raw doublet, that he took for red satin torn, and showing the skin through. I should tell you, that he fainted away three times at the sight, and I twice and a half at the repetition of it. All this is performed by the light of a vast fiery cross, composed of hundreds of little crystal lamps, which appears through the great altar under the grand tribuna, as if hanging by itself in the air. All the confraternities of the city resort thither in solemn procession, habited in linen frocks, girt with a cord, and their heads covered with a cowl all over, that has only two holes before to see through. Some of these are all black, others parti-coloured and white and with these masqueraders that vast church is filled, who are seen thumping their breast, and kissing the pavement with extreme devotion. But methinks I am describing —'tis an ill habit, but this, like everything else, will wear off. We have sent you our compliments by a friend of yours, and correspondent in a corner, who seems a very agreeable man, one Mr Williams³. I am sorry he staid so little a

³ This is supposed to be the John Williams who had been secretary to West's father, and who after the death of the latter (1726) is said to have carried on a liaison with West's mother, and eventually (after West's death) to have married her. * 'Mr Gray said, the cause of the disorder, a consumption, which brought Mr West to an early grave, was the fatal discovery which he made of the treachery of a supposed friend, and the viciousness of a mother whom he tenderly loved, this man, under the mask of friendship

* The Mrs Williams mentioned in the *Delany Correspondence* (v 144-5) was probably West's mother, not his sister as there suggested

Apr 1740

Walpole and Gray to West

Letter 83

while in Rome I forget Porto Bello⁴ all this while, pray let us know where it is, and whether you or Asheton had any hand in the taking of it. Duty to the admiral. Adieu!

Ever yours,
T. GRAY

84 WEST TO GRAY

ELEGIA ¹

[April, 1740]²

ERGO desidiæ videor tibi crimine dignus,
Et meritò victas do tibi sponte manus
Arguor & veteres nimium contemnere Musas,
Irata et nobis est Medicæa Venus ³
Mene igitur statuas & inania saxa vereri!
Stultule! marmoreâ quid mihi cum Venere?
Hic veræ, hinc vivæ Veneres, & mille per urbem,
Quarum nulla queat non placuisse Jovi
Cedite Romanæ formosæ et cedite Graiæ,⁴
Sintque oblita Helenæ nomen et Hermionæ!
Et, quascunque refert ætas vetus, Heroinæ
Unus honor nostris jam venit Angliasin.
Oh quales vultus, Oh quantum numen ocellis!
I nunc & Tuscas improbe confer opes
Ne tamen hæc obtusa nimis præcordia credas,
Neu me adeo nullâ Pallade progenitum
Testor Picridumque umbras & flumina Pindi
Me quoque Calhiopes semper amasse choros,
Et dudum Ausonias urbes, & visere Graias
Cura est, ingenio si licet ire meo

to him and his family, intrigued with his mother, and robbed him of his peace of mind, his health, and his life' (Norton Nicholls, *Reminiscences of Gray*, in Appendix Z) A still more sinister story was recorded by Dyce, who stated, on the authority of Mitford, 'that West's death was hastened by mental anguish, there having been good reason to suspect that *his mother poisoned his father*' (see Gosse, *Works of Gray*, vol 11, p 113)

⁴ On the Isthmus of Panama, taken from the Spaniards by Admiral Vernon, 20 Nov 1739

LETTER 84 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 76-7

¹ The letter which accompanied this little elegy is not extant. *Mason*.

² The date is supplied by Gray's note ('Fav sent from London to Florence. April—1740') on his transcript of the poem in his *Commonplace-book*

³ See Letter 78**

⁴ Propertius, 2 *Eleg* xxv 66 'Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graui'

Sive est Phidiacum marmor,⁵ seu Mentoris æra,⁶
 Seu paries Coo nobilis e calamo,⁷
 Nec minus artificum magna argumenta recentum
 Romanique decus nominis & Veneti
 Quà Furor & Mavors & sævo in Marmore vultus,
 Quàque et formoso mollior ære Venus
 Quàque loquax spirat fucus, vivique labores,
 Et quicquid calamo dulcius ausa manus
 Hic nemora, et solâ mærens Melibæus in umbrâ,
 Lymphaque muscoso prosiliens lapide,
 Illic majus opus, faciesque in pariete major
 Exurgens, Divum & numina Cœlicolum,
 O vos fœlices, quibus hæc cognoscere fas est,
 Et totâ Italiâ, quâ patet usque, frui!
 Nulla dies vobis eat injucunda, nec usquam
 Noritis quid sit tempora amara pati

85 WALPOLE AND GRAY TO ASHTON

Rome, May 14, 1740 N S

BOILEAU's Discord dwelt in a College of Monks¹ At present the Lady is in the Conclave Cardinal Corsini² has been interrogated about certain Millions of Crowns that are absent from the Apostolic Chamber, He refuses giving Account, but to a Pope However he has set several Arithmeticians to work, to compose Summs, & flourish out Expenses, which probably never existed Cardinal Cibo³ pretends to have a Banker at Genoa, who will prove that he has received three Millions on the Part of the Eminent Corsini This Cibo is a madman, but set on by others He had formerly some great office in the government, from whence they are generally rais'd to the

⁵ Sculpture by Phidias⁶ Chased vases by Mentor⁷ Paintings by Apelles, the most famous of which (Venus rising from the sea) was painted for a temple at Cos, his reputed birthplaceLETTER 85—First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp 49–54, now reprinted from original¹ *Lutrin*, l. 25 ffQuand la Discorde encor toute noire de crimes,
Sortant des Cordeliers pour aller aux Minimes, &c.² See Letter 83, n. 1³ Camillo Cibo (d. 1743), of the princely house of Massa Carrara, created Cardinal by Benedict XIII in 1729

Cardinalate After a time, not being promoted as he expected, he resign'd his Post, and retir'd to a Mountain where He built a most magnificent Hermitage There He inhabited for two years, grew tir'd, came back and received the Hat

Other feuds have been between Card Portia⁴ and the Faction of Benedict the Thirteenth,⁵ by whom He was made Cardinal About a month ago, he was within three Votes of being Pope he did not apply to any Party, but went gleaning privately from all & of a sudden burst out with a Number, but too soon, & that threw Him quite out Having been since left out of their Meetings, he ask'd one of the Benedictine Cardinals the reason; who replied, that he never had been their Friend, & never should be of their assemblies, & did not even hesitate to call him Apostate This flung Portia into such a Rage that He spit blood, & instantly left the Conclave with all his Baggage. But the great Cause of their Antipathy to Him, was His having been one of the Four, that voted for putting Coscia⁶ to Death, Who now regains his Interest, & may prove somewhat disagreeable to his Enemies, Whose Honesty is not abundantly heavier than His Own He met Corsini t'other Day, & told Him, He heard His Eminence had a mund to his Cell Corsini answer'd He was very well contented with that He had Oh, says Coscia, I don't mean here in the Conclave, but in the Castle S^t Angelo

With all these Animosities, One is near having a Pope Card Gotti,⁷ an Old, inoffensive Dominican, without any Relations, wanted yesterday but two voices, & is still most likely to succeed Card Altieri has been sent for from Albano, whither he was retir'd upon account of his Brother's Death,⁸ & his own Illness, & where He was to stay till the Election drew nigh There¹ there's a sufficient Competency of Conclave News, I think

We have miserable Weather for the Season, Coud You think I was writing to You by my fireside at Rome in the middle of

⁴ Leandro (d. 1740), of the family of the Counts Porzia, created Cardinal in 1728

⁵ Pietro Francesco Orsini, Pope Benedict XIII, 1724–30

⁶ Niccolò Coscia (d. 1755), Archbishop of Benevento, created Cardinal by Benedict XIII in 1725

⁷ Vincenzo Luigi Gotti (d. 1742), Patriarch of Jerusalem, created Cardinal by Benedict XIII in 1728

⁸ Giovanni Battista Altieri (d. 1740), Archbishop of Tyre, created Cardinal by Benedict XIII in 1724, and Lorenzo Altieri (d. 1741), created Cardinal by Alexander VIII in 1690

May? the Common People say tis occasion'd by the Pope's Soul, which cannot find Rest

How goes your War? We are persuaded here of an additional one with France, Lord⁹ it will be dreadfull to return thro Germany I don't know who cooks up the News, here, but we have some Strange Peice every day. One that is much in Vogue, & would not be disagreeable for US, is, that the Czarina⁹ has clap'd the Marquis de la Chetardie¹⁰ in Prison One must hope till some Months hence tis all contradicted

I am balancing in great Uncertainty, whether to go to Naples or stay here, You know 'twoud be provoking to have a Pope chosen just as One's Back was turn'd and if I wait, I fear the Heats may arrive I don't know what to do

We are going to-night to a Great Assembly, at One of the Villas just out of the City, whither all the English are invited,¹¹ amongst the rest, Mr Stuard and his two Sons¹² There is one lives with Him call'd Lord Dunbar,¹³ Murray's¹⁴ brother, who wou'd be his Minister, if he had any Occasion for One I meet him frequently in public places, & like Him He is very sensible, very agreable & well bred

Good night, Child by the way I have had no letters from England, these two last Posts

Yrs ever

I am by trade a Finisher of Letters don't you wonder at the Conclave? instead of being immured, every one in his proper hutch, as one used to imagine they have the liberty of skuttleing out of one hole into another, & might breed, if they were young enough I do assure you every thing one has heard say of Italy is a Lye, & am firmly of opinion, that no mortal was

⁹ Anne, Empress of Russia (1730-40)

¹⁰ Joachim Jacques Trotti (1705-59), Marquis de la Chétardie, Ambassador to Russia, 1739-42 He was the lover of Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great Her accession to the throne (1741) was largely due to his intrigues The report of his imprisonment was unfounded

¹¹ See Letter 86, *ad fin*

¹² James Edward Stuart (the Old Pretender), Charles Edward Stuart (the Young Pretender), and Henry Benedict Stuart (afterwards Cardinal of York)

¹³ Hon James Murray (c 1690-1770), second son of fifth Viscount Stormont, titular Earl of Dunbar (1721).

¹⁴ Hon William Murray (1705-93), fourth son of fifth Viscount Stormont (see Letter 120, n 25)

May 1740

Walpole and Gray to Ashton

Letter 85

ever here before us. I am writing to prove there never was any such people as the Romans, that this was antiently a Colony of the Jews, and that the Coliseum was built on the model of Solomon's Temple our people have told so many Stories of them, that they don't believe any thing we say about ourselves, Porto Bello is still said to be impregnable¹⁵ & it is reported the Dutch have declared War against us the English Court here brighten up on the News of our Conquests, & conclude all the contrary has happen'd you do not know perhaps, that we have our little good fortune in the Mediterranean, where Adm^l. Haddock has overturn'd certain little Boats carrying troops to Majorca, drown'd a few hundreds of them, & taken a little Grandee of Spain, that commanded the expedition at least so they say at Naples ¹⁶ I'm very sorry, but methinks they seem in a bad condition is West dead to the World in general, or only so to me? for you I have not the impudence to accuse, but you are to take this, as a sort of reproof, & I hope you will demean yourself accordingly you are hereby authorized to make my very particular compliments to My L^d Plymouth, & return him my thanks de l'honneur de son souvenir so I finish my Postscript with

Yours Ever T G

86 GRAY TO WEST

Tivoli, May 20, 1740

THIS day being in the palace of his Highness the Duke of Modena,¹ he laid his most serene commands upon me to write to Mr West, and said he thought it for his glory, that I should draw up an inventory of all his most serene possessions for the said West's perusal—Imprimis, a house, being in circumference a quarter of a mile, two feet and an inch, the said house containing the following particulars, to wit, a great room Item, another great room, item, a bigger room, item, another room, item, a vast room, item, a sixth of the same, a seventh ditto, an eighth as before, a ninth as abovesaid, a tenth (see No 1), item, ten more such, besides twenty besides, which, not to be too particular, we shall pass over. The said rooms contain

¹⁵ See Letter 83, n 4

¹⁶ An exaggerated report—Admiral Haddock had merely captured two Spanish transports with soldiers from Majorca (*Gent Mag*, 1740, p 199.)

LETTER 86—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 83-7.

¹ Francis III (of Este), Duke of Modena, 1737-80.

nine chairs, two tables, five stools, and a cricket From whence we shall proceed to the garden, containing two millions of superfine laurel hedges, a clump of cypress trees, and half the river Teverone, that pises into two thousand several chamber-pots Finis — Dame Nature desired me to put in a list of her little goods and chattels, and, as they were small, to be very minute about them She has built here three or four little mountains, and laid them out in an irregular semi-circle; from certain others behind, at a greater distance, she has drawn a canal, into which she has put a little river of hers, called Anio; she has cut a huge cleft between the two innermost of her four hills, and there she has left it to its own disposal, which she has no sooner done, but, like a heedless chit, it tumbles headlong down a declivity fifty feet perpendicular, breaks itself all to shatters, and is converted into a shower of rain, where the sun forms many a bow, red, green, blue and yellow To get out of our metaphors without any further trouble, it is the most noble sight in the world The weight of that quantity of waters, and the force they fall with, have worn the rocks they throw themselves among into a thousand irregular craggs, and to a vast depth In this channel it goes boiling along with a mighty noise till it comes to another steep, where you see it a second time come roaring down (but first you must walk two miles farther) a greater height than before, but not with that quantity of waters, for by this time it has divided itself, being crossed and opposed by the rocks, into four several streams, each of which, in emulation of the great one, will tumble down too, and it does tumble down, but not from an equally elevated place, so that you have at one view all these cascades intermixed with groves of olive and little woods, the mountains rising behind them, and on the top of one (that which forms the extremity of one of the half-circle's horns) is seated the town itself At the very extremity of that extremity, on the brink of the precipice, stands the Sybils' temple, the remains of a little rotunda, surrounded with its portico, above half of whose beautiful Corinthian pillars are still standing and entire, all this on one hand On the other, the open Campagna of Rome, here and there a little castle on a hillock, and the city itself on the very brink of the horizon, indistinctly seen (being 18 miles off) except the dome of St Peter's, which, if you look out of your window, wherever you are, I suppose, you can see. I did not tell you that a little below the first fall, on the side of the rock, and hanging over

May 1740

Gray to West

Letter 86

that torrent, are little ruins which they shew you for Horace's house, a curious situation to observe the

Præceptis Amio, & Tiburni lucus, & uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis ²

Mæcenās did not care for such a noise, it seems, and built him a house (which they also carry one to see) so situated that it sees nothing at all of the matter, and for any thing he knew there might be no such river in the world Horace had another house on the other side of the Teverone, opposite to Mæcenās's, and they told us there was a bridge of communication, by which 'andava il detto Signor per trastullarsi coll' istefso Orazio' In coming hither we crossed the Aquæ Albula, a vile little brook that stinks like a fury, and they say it has stunk so these thousand years I forgot the Piscina of Quintilius Varus, where he used to keep certain little fishes This is very entire, and there is a piece of the aqueduct that supplied it too, in the garden below is old Rome, built in little, just as it was, they say There are seven temples in it, and no houses at all They say there were none

May 21

We have had the pleasure of going twelve miles out of our way to Palestrina It has rained all day as if heaven and us were coming together See my honesty, I do not mention a syllable of the temple of Fortune, because I really did not see it, which, I think, is pretty well for an old traveller So we returned along the Via Prænestina, saw the Lacus Gabinus and Regillus, where, you know, Castor and Pollux appeared upon a certain occasion ³ And many a good old tomb we left on each hand, and many an Aqueduct,

Dumb are whose fountains, and their channels dry

There are, indeed, two whole modern ones, works of Popes, that run about thirty miles a-piece in length, one of them conveys still the famous Aqua Virgo to Rome, and adds vast beauty to the prospect So we came to Rome again, where waited for us a splendidissimo regalo of letters, in one of which came You, with your huge characters and wide intervals, staring I would have you to know, I expect you should take a handsome crow-quill when you write to me, and not leave room for a pin's point

² Horace, 1 *Odes*, vii 13-14

³ At the battle of the Lake Regillus, when the Romans defeated the Latins, 498 B.C. (Livy, ii 19, Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* ii 2, § 6)

in four sides of a sheet royal Do you but find matter, I will find spectacles

I have more time than I thought, and I will employ it in telling you about a Ball that we were at the other evening. Figure to yourself a Roman villa, all its little apartments thrown open, and lighted up to the best advantage At the upper end of the gallery, a fine concert, in which La Diamantina, a famous virtuosa, played on the violin divinely, and sung angelically, Giovannino and Pasqualini (great names in musical story) also performed miraculously On each side were ranged all the secular grand monde of Rome, the Ambassadors, Princesses, and all that Among the rest Il Serenissimo Pretendente (as the Mantova gazette calls him) displayed his rueful length of person, with his two young ones,⁴ and all his ministry around him 'Poi nacque un grazioso ballo,' where the world danced, and I sat in a corner regaling myself with iced fruits, and other pleasant rinfrescatives

87 GRAY TO WEST

Rome, May 1740

MATER rosarum, cui teneræ vident
 Auræ Favoni, cui Venus it comes
 Lasciva, Nympharum choreis
 Et volucrum celebrata cantu¹
 Dic, non inertem fallere quâ diem
 Amat sub umbrâ, seu sinit aureum
 Dormire plectrum, seu retentat
 Picrio Zephyrinus¹ antio
 Furore dulci plenus, & immemor
 Reptantis inter frigora Tusculi
 Umbrosa, vel colles amici
 Palladiæ superantis Albæ
 Dilecta Fauno, & capripedum choris
 Pineta, testor vos, Anio minax
 Quæcunque per clivos volutus
 Præcipiti tremefecit amne,

⁴ See Letter 85, n 12

LETTER 87 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 87–92, (Gray transcribed the verses in his *Commonplace-book*)

¹ Rich^d West *Walpole* —He intitled this ode 'Ad C Favonium Zephyrinum', and writ it immediately after his journey to Frascati and the cascades of Tivoli, which he describes in the preceding letter *Mason*

Illius altum Tībur, & Æsulæ
 Audīſſe ſylvas nomen amabiles,
 Illius & gratas Latinis
 Naias in ingemināſſe rupes
 Nam me Latinæ Naiades uvidā
 Vidēre ripā, quā niveas levi
 Tam ſæpe lavit rore plumas
 Dulcè canens Venusinus ales,²
 Mirum¹ canenti conticuit nemus,
 Sacriq; fontes, et retinent adhuc
 (Sic Musa juſſit) ſaxa molles
 Docta modos, veteresque lauri
 Mirare nec tu me citharæ rudem
 Claudis laborantem numeris loca
 Amœna, jucundumque ver in-
 -compositum docuere carmen,
 Hærent ſub omni nam folio nigri
 Phœbea luci (credite) ſomnia,³
 Argutusque & lymphæ & auræ
 Nescio quid ſolito loquuntur

I am to-day juſt returned from Alba, a good deal fatigued, for you know the Appian⁴ is ſomewhat tiresome We dined at Pompey's,⁵ he indeed was gone for a few days to his Tuſculan, but, by the care of his Villicus, we made an admirable meal. We had the dugs of a pregnant ſow, a peacock, a diſh of thruſhes, a noble ſcarus juſt freſh from the Tyrrhene, and ſome conchylia

² In a copy of this ode in Gray's handwriting, which belonged to Horace Walpole, and is now in the Waller Collection, theſe laſt lines read

quā niveas lavit
 Tam ſæpe plumas rore puro
 Et gelido Venusinus ales

³ Cf *Aen* vi 283-4

Ulmus opaca ingens quam ſedem Somnia vulgo
 Vana tenere ferunt, foliſque ſub omnibus hærent,

and ſee Letter 26, n 17

⁴ Mitford quotes Statius, 2 *Silv* 11 12 'Appia longarum teritur regina viarum'

⁵ However whimsical this humour may appear to ſome readers, I choſe to inſert it, as it gives me an opportunity of remarking that Mr Gray was extremely ſkilled in the cuſtoms of the ancient Romans, and has catalogued, in his common place book, their various eatables, wines, perfumes, cloathes, medicines, &c with great preciſion, referring under every article to paſſages in the Poets and Hiſtorians where their names are mentioned *Mason*

of the Lake with garum sauce. For my part I never eat better at Lucullus's table. We drank half a dozen cyathi a-piece of ancient Alban to Pholoe's⁶ health; and, after bathing, and playing an hour at ball, we mounted our *elsedum* again, and proceeded up the mount to the temple. The priests there entertained us with an account of a wonderful shower of birds eggs, that had fallen two days before, which had no sooner touched the ground, but they were converted into gudgeons, as also that the night past a dreadful voice had been heard out of the *Adytum*, which spoke Greek during a full half hour, but no body understood it. But quitting my Romanities, to your great joy and mine, let me tell you, in plain English, that we come from Albano. The present town lies within the inclosure of Pompey's Villa in ruins. The Appian way runs through it, by the side of which, a little farther, is a large old tomb, with five pyramids upon it, which the learned suppose to be the burying-place of the family, because they do not know whose it can be else. But the vulgar assure you it is the sepulchre of the *Curiatii*, and by that name (such is their power) it goes. One drives to Castel Gondolfo, a house of the Pope's, situated on the top of one of the *Collinette*, that forms a brim to the bason, commonly called the Alban lake. It is seven miles round, and directly opposite to you, on the other side, rises the *Mons Albanus*, much taller than the rest, along whose side are still discoverable (not to common eyes) certain little ruins of the old *Alba longa*. They had need be very little, as having been nothing but ruins ever since the days of *Tullus Hostilius*. On its top is a house of the Constable *Colona's*, where stood the temple of *Jupiter Latiaris*. At the foot of the hill *Gondolfo*, are the famous outlets of the lake, built with hewn stone, a mile and a half under ground. *Livy*, you know, amply informs us of the foolish occasion of this expence,⁷ and gives me this opportunity of displaying all my erudition, that I may appear considerable in your eyes. This is the prospect from one window of the palace. From another, you have the whole *Campagna*, the *City*, *Antium*, and the *Tyrrhene sea* (twelve miles distant) so distinguishable, that you may see the vessels sailing upon it. All this is charming. Mr. Walpole says, our memory sees more than our eyes in this

⁶ Horace, 1 *Odes*, xxxiii 7, &c

⁷ The *emissarium* for draining the Alban Lake is said to have been constructed during the siege of Veii by the Romans, 406-396 B.C. (*Livy*, v 15-17, 19)

May 1740

Gray to West

Letter 87

country Which is extremely true, since, for realities, Windsor, or Richmond Hill, is infinitely preferable to Albano or Frascati I am now at home, and going to the window to tell you it is the most beautiful of Italian nights, which, in truth, are but just begun (so backward has the spring been here, and every where else, they say) There is a moon¹ there are stars for you¹ Do not you hear the fountain? Do not you smell the orange flowers? That building yonder is the Convent of S Isidore; and that eminence, with the cypress trees and pines upon it, the top of M Quirinal This is all true, and yet my prospect is not two hundred yards in length. We send you some Roman inscriptions to entertain you The first two are modern, transcribed from the Vatican library by Mr Walpole

Pontifices olim quem fundavere priores,
Præcipuâ Sixtus perficit arte tholum,⁸
Et Sixti tantum se gloria tollit in altum,
Quantum se Sixti nobile tollit opus
Magnus honos magni fundamina ponere templi,
Sed finem cæptis ponere major honos

Saxa agit Amphion, Thebana ut mœnia condat
Sixtus & immensæ pondera molis agit⁹
Saxa trahunt ambo longè diversa sed arte
Hæc trahit Amphion, Sixtus & arte trahit.
At tantum exsuperat Dircæum Amphiona Sixtus,
Quantum hic exsuperat cætera saxa lapis

Mine is ancient, and I think not less curious It is exactly transcribed from a sepulchral marble at the villa Giustiniani I put stops to it, when I understand it

DIS Manibus
Claudiæ, Pistes
Primus Conjugi
Optumæ, Sanctæ,
Et Piæ, Benemeritæ
Non æquos, Parcae, statuistis stamina vitæ
Tam bene compositos potuistis sede tenere
Amisa est conjux cur ego & ipse moror?
Si bella esse mi iste mea vivere debuit
Tristia contigerunt qui amissâ conjuge vivo.
Nil est tam miserum, quam totam perdere vitam

⁸ The dome of St Peter's was finally completed in 1590, under Sixtus V (Pope 1585-90)

⁹ Sixtus erected the obelisk in the Piazza of St Peter's in 1586

Nec vita enasci dura peregristus crudelia pensa, sorores,
 Ruptaque deficiunt in primo munere fusi
 O nimis injustæ ter denos dare munus in annos,
 Deceptus grautus fatum · sic presit egestas ·
 Dum vitam tulero, Primus Pistes lugea conjugum ¹⁰

88. GRAY TO MRS GRAY

Naples, June [14], 1740

OUR journey hither was through the most beautiful part of the finest country in the world, and every spot of it, on some account or other, famous for these three thousand years past ¹ The season has hitherto been just as warm as one would wish it, no unwholesome airs, or violent heats, yet heard of

¹⁰ Mason presumably reproduced the punctuation inserted by Gray, the blunders in lines 5, 9, 15, were no doubt due to carelessness on the part of Mason The inscription is given as under in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Latinae* Vol vi, Pars iii, p 1783, No 15546 *Cippus marmoreus In villa Iustiniana Nunc in Museo Vaticano*

DIIS MANIBVS
 CLAVDIAE PISTES
 PRIMVS CONIVGI
 OPTVMAL SANCTIAE
 LT PIAC BENEMERITAE

NON AC QVOS PAR CAE STA TV IS TIS STA MINA VITAE
 TAM DE NE COM PO SI TOS PO TVIS TIS SEDE TENE RL
 A MIS SA EST CON IVNX CVR FGO ET IP SE MO ROR
 SI FELIX ES SEM PIS TE ME A VI VRE DE BV IT
 TRISTIA CONTIGERVN QVI A MIS SA CON IV GE VI VO
 NIL EST TAM MISE RVN QVAM TO TAM PER DF RE VITAM
 NEC VI TAE NAS CI DVRA PLR EGIS TIS CRV DE LI A PEN SA SORORES
 RVP TA QVE DE FIGVNT IN PRIMO MV NE RF FV SI
 O NIMIS INIVS TAE TER DL NOS DA RE MV NVS IN AN NOS
 DECEPTVS GRA VI VS FATVM SIC PRES IT FGES TAS
 DVM VI TAM IV LE RO PRIMVS PISTES IVGLA CONIVGVIM

LETTER 88 —First printed in Mason's *Memours*, pp 92–4 Mason dates this letter 17 June, but 17 is almost certainly a mistake of his, or a misprint, for 14, for Gray speaks here of having been at Portici (Herculaneum) 'to-day', which is shown by Walpole's letter to West describing the same visit (No 122 in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*) to have been 14 June; further, Gray himself in notes headed 'The Environs of Naples, June 16 NS 1740' (the date is the date when the notes were written) gives an account of Portici which he had then seen (see his *Notes of Travel*, printed in Tovey's *Gray and his Friends*, pp 235 ff)

¹ Mr Gray wrote a minute description of every thing he saw in this tour from Rome to Naples, as also of the environs of Rome, Florence, &c But as these papers are apparently only memorandums for his own use, I do not think it necessary to print them, although they abound with many uncommon remarks, and pertinent classical quotations The reader will please to observe throughout this section, that it is not my intention to give Mr Gray's Travels, but only extracts from the Letters which he writ during his travels.

June 1740

Gray to Mrs. Gray

Letter 88

The people call it a backward year, and are in pain about their corn, wine, and oil; but we, who are neither corn, wine, nor oil, find it very agreeable. Our road was through Velletri, Cisterna, Terracina, Capua, and Aversa, and so to Naples. The minute one leaves his Holiness's dominions, the face of things begins to change from wide uncultivated plains to olive groves and well-tilled fields of corn, intermixed with ranks of elms, every one of which has its vine twining about it, and hanging in festoons between the rows from one tree to another. The great old fig-trees, the oranges in full bloom, and myrtles in every hedge, make one of the delightfulest scenes you can conceive, besides that, the roads are wide, well-kept, and full of passengers, a sight I have not beheld this long time. My wonder still increased upon entering the city, which I think, for number of people, outdoes both Paris and London. The streets are one continued market, and thronged with populace so much that a coach can hardly pass. The common sort are a jolly lively kind of animals, more industrious than Italians usually are, they work till evening, then take their lute or guitar (for they all play) and walk about the city, or upon the sea-shore with it, to enjoy the fresco. (One sees their little brown children jumping about stark-naked, and the bigger ones dancing with castanets, while others play on the cymbal to them.) Your maps will show you the situation of Naples, it is on the most lovely bay in the world, and one of the calmest seas. It has many other beauties besides those of nature. We have spent two days in visiting the remarkable places in the country round it, such as the bay of Baiæ, and its remains of antiquity, the lake Avernus, and the Solfatara, Charon's grotto, &c. We have been in the Sybils' cave and many other strange holes under ground (I only name them, because you may consult Sandy's travels),² but the strangest hole I ever was in, has been to-day at a place called Portici, where his Sicilian Majesty³ has a country-seat. About a year ago, as they were digging, they discovered some parts of ancient buildings above thirty feet deep in the ground: Curiosity led them on, and they have been digging ever since; the passage they have made, with all its turnings and windings, is now more than a mile long. As you walk you see parts of an

Mason—See Letter 77, n. 11. The papers mentioned by *Mason* are notes of travel in France and Italy, some owned by Sir John Murray, some in the Eton College Library. See the preceding note.

² For Sandys' Travels see Letter 94, n. 2.

³ See Letter 76, n. 2.

amphitheatre, many houses adorned with marble columns, and incrustated with the same, the front of a temple, several arched vaults of rooms painted in fresco. Some pieces of painting have been taken out from hence, finer than any thing of the kind before discovered, and with these the King has adorned his palace, also a number of statues, medals, and gems, and more are dug out every day. This is known to be a Roman town,⁴ that in the Emperor Titus's time was overwhelmed by a furious eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which is hard by. The wood and beams remain so perfect that you may see the grain, but burnt to a coal, and dropping into dust upon the least touch. We were to-day at the foot of that mountain, which at present smokes only a little, where we saw the materials that fed the stream of fire, which about four years since ran down its side. We have but a few days longer to stay here, too little in conscience for such a place * * *

89 WEST TO GRAY

Bond-street, June 5, 1740

I LIVED at the Temple till I was sick of it. I have just left it, and find myself as much a lawyer as I was when I was in it. It is certain, at least, I may study the law here as well as I could there. My being in chambers did not signify to me a pinch of snuff. They tell me my father was a lawyer, and, as you know, eminent in the profession,¹ and such a circumstance must be of advantage to me. My uncle² too makes some figure in Westminster hall; and there's another advantage. Then my grandfather's³ name would get me many friends. Is it not strange that a young fellow, that might enter the world with so many

⁴ *Herculaneum*—see Walpole's account of it in his letter to West, from Naples, of 14 June 1740 (No. 122 in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*).

LETTER 89—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 97-9. 5 June, Old Style is the equivalent of 16 June, New Style. This letter is therefore later than Letter 88, which should be dated June [14].

¹ Richard West (d. 1726), who is described as having been 'eminent for legal and constitutional learning', was Lord Chancellor of Ireland (May 1725-Dec. 1726). His son was ten years old at the time of his death.

² Thomas Burnet (1694-1753), third son of Bishop Burnet, West's maternal grandfather, he was made a serjeant-at-law in 1736, and was appointed King's serjeant in 1740, in 1741 he was appointed a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, he was knighted in 1745.

³ In a note on an early letter of West's to him Walpole states that West was 'Only Son of Ld Chancellor West of Ireland, by Elizabeth, Daughter to D^r Burnet Bishop of Salisbury' (*Gray-Walpole Correspondence* No. 18, preliminary note).

June 1740

West to Gray

Letter 89

advantages, will not know his own interest? &c &c —What shall I say in answer to all this? For money, I neither dote upon it nor despise it, it is a necessary stuff enough For ambition, I do not want that neither, but it is not to sit upon a bench. In short, is it not a disagreeable thing to force one's inclination, especially when one's young? not to mention that one ought to have the strength of a Hercules to go through our common law, which, I am afraid, I have not Well! but then, say they, if one profession does not suit you, you may choose another more to your inclination Now I protest I do not yet know my own inclination, and I believe, if that was to be my direction, I should never fix at all There is no going by a weathercock —I could say much more upon this subject, but there is no talking tête-à-tête cross the Alps O the folly of young men, that never know their own interest! they never grow wise till they are ruined! and then nobody pities them, nor helps them —Dear Gray! consider me in the condition of one that has lived these two years without any person that he can speak freely to. I know it is very seldom that people trouble themselves with the sentiments of those they converse with, so they can chat about trifles, they never care whether your heart aches or no Are you one of these? I think not But what right have I to ask you this question? Have we known one another enough, that I should expect or demand sincerity from you? Yes, Gray, I hope we have, and I have not quite such a mean opinion of myself, as to think I do not deserve it —But, Signor, is it not time for me to ask something about your further intentions abroad? Where do you propose going next? an in Apuliam? nam illò si advenis, tanquam Ulysses, cognosces tuorum neminem Vale So Cicero prophesies in the end of one of his letters⁴—and there I end

Yours, &c ⁵

90 GRAY TO PHILIP GRAY

Florence, July [10], 1740

AT my return to this city, the day before yesterday, I had the pleasure of finding yours dated June the 9th The

⁴ To L Valerius (*Epist ad Fam* 1 10)

⁵ Mason notes that 'this letter was written apparently in much agitation of mind, which Mr West endeavours to conceal by an unusual carelessness of manner'. West's trouble was no doubt on account of his mother (see Letter 83, n 3).

LETTER 90 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*. pp 95–7 Mason dates

period of our voyages, at least towards the south, is come, as you wish. We have been at Naples, spent nine or ten days there, and returned to Rome, where finding no likelihood of a Pope yet these three months, and quite wearied with the formal assemblies, and little society of that great city, Mr Walpole determined to return hither to spend the summer, where he imagines he shall pass his time more agreeably than in the tedious expectation of what, when it happens, will only be a great show. For my own part, I give up the thoughts of all that with but little regret, but the city itself I do not part with so easily, which alone has amusements for whole years. However, I have passed through all that most people do, both ancient and modern, what that is you may see, better than I can tell you, in a thousand books. The Conclave we left in greater uncertainty than ever, the more than ordinary liberty they enjoy there, and the unusual coolness of the season, makes the confinement less disagreeable to them than common, and, consequently, maintains them in their irresolution. There have been very high words, one or two (it is said) have come even to blows, two more are dead within this last month, Cenci¹ and Portia,² the latter died distracted, and we left another (Altieri)³ at the extremity. Yet nobody dreams of an election till the latter end of September. All this gives great scandal to all good catholics, and every body talks very freely on the subject. (The Pretender (whom you desire an account of) I have had frequent opportunities of seeing at church, at the corso, and other places, but more particularly, and that for a whole night, at a great ball given by Count Patrizi to the Prince and Princess Craon,⁴ (who were come to Rome at that time, that he might receive from the hands of the Emperor's minister there the order of the golden fleece) at which he and his two sons were present. (They are good fine boys, especially the younger, who has the more spirit of the two, and both danced incessantly all night long. For him,

this letter 16 July, which, as Gray says that they returned to Florence 'the day before yesterday', would give 14 July as the date of their return. Mason's date must be wrong, since Walpole begins a letter to Conway at Radicofani, half-way on their journey, on 5 July, and dates the continuation of it from Florence on 9 July. Assuming that they had reached Florence the day before, i.e. on 8 July, then Gray's letter would have been written on 10 July, which may have been misread by Mason, or misprinted, as 16

¹ Serafino Cenci (d. 1740), Archbishop of Benevento, created Cardinal by Clement XII in 1734

² See Letter 85, n. 4

³ See Letter 85, n. 8

⁴ See Letter 77, nn. 6, 7

July 1740

Gray to Philip Gray

Letter 90

he is a thin ill-made man, extremely tall and awkward, of a most unpromising countenance, a good deal resembling King James the Second, and has extremely the air and look of an idiot, particularly when he laughs or prays. The first he does not often, the latter continually. He lives private enough with his little court about him, consisting of Lord Dunbar,⁵ who manages every thing, and two or three of the Preston Scotch Lords, who would be very glad to make their peace at home.)

We happened to be at Naples on Corpus Christi Day, the greatest feast in the year, so had an opportunity of seeing their Sicilian Majesties to advantage. The King walked in the grand procession, and the Queen⁶ (being big with child) sat in a balcony. He followed the Host to the church of St. Clara, where high mass was celebrated to a glorious concert of music. (They are as ugly a little pair as one can see. She a pale girl, marked with the small-pox, and he a brown boy with a thin face, a huge nose, and as ungainly as possible.)

We are settled here with Mr. Mann in a charming apartment,⁷ the river Arno runs under our windows, which we can fish out of. The sky is so serene, and the air so temperate, that one continues in the open air all night long in a slight nightgown without any danger, and the marble bridge is the resort of every body, where they hear music, eat iced fruits, and sup by moon-light, though as yet (the season being extremely backward every where) these amusements are not begun. You see we are now coming northward again, though in no great haste, the Venetian and Milanese territories, and either Germany or the South of France, (according to the turn the war may take) are all that remain for us, that we have not yet seen, as to Loretto, and that part of Italy, we have given over all thoughts of it.

91 GRAY TO WEST

Florence, July 16, 1740

You do yourself and me justice, in imagining that you merit, and that I am capable of sincerity.¹ I have not a thought,

⁵ See Letter 85, n. 13

⁶ Maria Amelia, of Saxony, eldest daughter of Frederick Augustus II, King of Poland, she married Charles, King of the Two Sicilies, in 1738.

⁷ Mann was lodged in the 'Casa Manetti in Via de' Santi Apostoli by the Ponte di Trinità' (see Walpole's letter to Miss Berry of 29 Nov. 1790). Walpole wrote to Conway on 9 July: 'I am lodged with Mr. Mann. I have a *terreno* all to myself with an open gallery on the Arno.'

LETTER 91 — First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 99-102

¹ See West's letter to Gray of 5 June (Letter 89)

or even a weakness, I desire to conceal from you, and consequently on my side deserve to be treated with the same openness of heart. My vanity perhaps might make me more reserved towards you, if you were one of the heroic race, superior to all human failings, but as mutual wants are the ties of general society, so are mutual weaknesses of private friendships, supposing them mixt with some proportion of good qualities, for where one may not sometimes blame, one does not much care ever to praise. All this has the air of an introduction designed to soften a very harsh reproof that is to follow, but it is no such matter. I only meant to ask, Why did you change your lodging? Was the air bad, or the situation melancholy? If so, you are quite in the right. Only, is it not putting yourself a little out of the way of a people, with whom it seems necessary to keep up some sort of intercourse and conversation, though but little for your pleasure or entertainment, (yet there are, I believe, such among them as might give you both) at least for your information in that study, which, when I left you, you thought of applying to? for that there is a certain study necessary to be followed, if we mean to be of any use in the world, I take for granted, disagreeable enough (as most necessities are) but, I am afraid, unavoidable. Into how many branches these studies are divided in England, every body knows, and between that which you and I had pitched upon, and the other two, it was impossible to balance long. Examples shew one that it is not absolutely necessary to be a blockhead to succeed in this profession. The labour is long, and the elements dry and unentertaining, nor was ever any body (especially those that afterwards made a figure in it) amused, or even not disgusted in the beginning, yet, upon a further acquaintance, there is surely matter for curiosity and reflection. It is strange if, among all that huge mass of words, there be not somewhat intermixed for thought. Laws have been the result of long deliberation, and that not of dull men, but the contrary, and have so close a connexion with history, nay, with philosophy itself, that they must partake a little of what they are related to so nearly. Besides, tell me, Have you ever made the attempt? Was not you frightened merely with the distant prospect? Had the Gothic character and bulkiness of those volumes (a tenth part of which perhaps it will be no further necessary to consult, than as one does a dictionary) no ill effect upon your eye? Are you sure, if Coke² had been printed

² See Letter 58**, n. 5.

July 1740

Gray to West

Letter 91

by Elzevir, and bound in twenty neat pocket volumes, instead of one folio, you should never have taken him up for an hour, as you would a Tully, or drank your tea over him? I know how great an obstacle ill spirits are to resolution. Do you really think, if you rid ten miles every morning, in a week's time you should not entertain much stronger hopes of the Chancellorship, and think it a much more probable thing than you do at present? The advantages you mention are not nothing, our inclinations are more than we imagine in our own power, reason and resolution determine them, and support under many difficulties. To me there hardly appears to be any medium between a public life and a private one, he who prefers the first, must put himself in a way of being servicable to the rest of mankind, if he has a mind to be of any consequence among them. Nay, he must not refuse being in a certain degree even dependent upon some men who already are so. If he has the good fortune to light on such as will make no ill use of his humility, there is no shame in this. If not, his ambition ought to give place to a reasonable pride, and he should apply to the cultivation of his own mind those abilities which he has not been permitted to use for others' service. Such a private happiness (supposing a small competence of fortune) is almost always in every one's power, and the proper enjoyment of age, as the other is the employment of youth. You are yet young, have some advantages and opportunities, and an undoubted capacity, which you have never yet put to the trial. Set apart a few hours, see how the first year will agree with you, at the end of it you are still the master; if you change your mind, you will only have got the knowledge of a little somewhat that can do no hurt, or give you cause of repentance. If your inclination be not fixed upon any thing else, it is a symptom that you are not absolutely determined against this, and warns you not to mistake mere indolence for inability. I am sensible there is nothing stronger against what I would persuade you to, than my own practice, which may make you imagine I think not as I speak. Alas! it is not so, but I do not act what I think, and I had rather be the object of your pity, than you should be that of mine, and, be assured, the advantage I may receive from it, does not diminish my concern in hearing you want somebody to converse with freely, whose advice might be of more weight, and always at hand. We have some time since come to the southern period of our voyages, we spent about nine days at Naples. It is the largest and most

populous city, as its environs are the most deliciously fertile country, of all Italy (We sailed in the bay of Baiæ, sweated in the Solfatara, and died in the grotta del Cane, as all strangers do, saw the Corpus Christi procession, and the King and the Queen,⁴ and the city underground,⁵ (which is a wonder I reserve to tell you of another time) and so returned to Rome for another fortnight; left it (left Rome!) and came hither for the summer. You have seen an Epistle to Mr Ashton,⁶ that seems to me full of spirit and thought, and a good deal of poetic fire. I would know your opinion. Now I talk of verses, Mr Walpole and I have frequently wondered you should never mention a certain imitation of Spenser, published last year by a namesake of yours,⁷ with which we are all enraptured and enmarvailed.)

92 WALPOLE AND GRAY TO WEST

Florence, July 31, 1740 N S

Dear West,

I HAVE advised with the most notable antiquarians of this city on the meaning of *Thur gut Luetis*. I can get no satisfactory interpretation. In my opinion 'tis Welsh. I don't love offering conjectures on a language in which I have hitherto made little proficiency, but I will trust you with my explication. You know the famous Aglaughlan, mother of Cadwalladhor, was renowned for her conjugal virtues, and grief on the death of her royal spouse. I conclude this medal was struck in her regency, by her express order, to the memory of her lord, and that the inscription *Thur gut Luetis* means no more than *her dear Llewys* or *Llewellyn*.¹

⁴ See Letter 90, n. 6

⁵ Herculanæum (see Letter 88)

⁶ *An Epistle from Florence to Thomas Ashton Esq. Tutor to the Earl of Plymouth*. It was first printed in Dodsley's *Collection* (vol. 11, pp. 305 ff.) in 1748 (see Gray's letter to Walpole of that year—Letter 144). Walpole subsequently printed it among his *Fugitive Pieces* (see *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. 1, pp. 4–16).

⁷ Gilbert West (1703–56), his imitation of Spenser (*A Canto of the Faery Queen*) was published in 1739, and afterwards (in 1748) reprinted in Dodsley's *Collection* (vol. 11, pp. 63–87) under the title of 'On the Abuse of Travelling'.

LETTER 92—First printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. 14, pp. 450–2

¹ The words are not Welsh, and no explanation of them has been offered

In return for your coins I send you two or three of different kinds. The first is a money of one of the kings of Naples; the device, a horse, the motto, *Equitas regni*. This curious pun is on a coin in the Great Duke's collection, and by great chance I have met with a second. Another is, a satirical medal struck on Lewis XIV, 'tis a bomb, covered with flower-deluces, bursting, the motto, *Se ipsissimum*. The last, and almost the only one I ever saw with a text well applied, is a German medal with a rebellious town besieged and blocked up, the inscription, *This kind is not expelled but by fasting*.

Now I mention medals, have they yet struck the intended one on the taking of Porto Bello? Admiral Vernon^{1a} will shine in our medallic history. We have just received the news of the bombarding Carthagena,² and the taking Chagre.³ We are in great expectation of some important victory obtained by the squadron under sir John Norris.⁴ we are told the Duke⁵ is to be of the expedition. is it true?⁶ All the letters too talk of France's suddenly declaring war, I hope they will defer it for a season, or one shall be obliged to return through Germany.

The Conclave still subsists, and the divisions still increase; it was very near separating last week, but by breaking into two popes, they were on the dawn of a schism. Aldovrandi⁷ had thirty-three voices for three days, but could not procure the requisite two more, the Camerlingo⁸ having engaged his faction to sign a protestation against him, and each party were inclined to elect. I don't know whether one should wish for a schism or not, it might probably rekindle the zeal for the church in the powers of Europe, which has been so far decaying.

On Wednesday we expect a third she-meteor. Those learned

^{1a} Admiral Edward Vernon (1684-1757). Nearly fifty medals commemorating the capture of Porto Bello (see Letter 83, n. 4) were struck.

² Unsuccessfully bombarded by Admiral Vernon, 6-9 March 1740.

³ A small fort, on the Isthmus of Panama, taken by Admiral Vernon, 24 March 1740.

⁴ Admiral Sir John Norris (1660-1749), Lord of the Admiralty, 1718-29.

⁵ Prince William Augustus (1721-65), second son of King George II, cr. Duke of Cumberland, 1726, Commander-in-Chief at Fontenoy, 1745, at Culloden, 1746, resigned all his military commands after the signature of the Convention of Klosterzeven (1757).

⁶ 'Monday, July 14. Sir John Norris in the "Victory", on board of which was also the Duke of Cumberland, sailed from St. Helen's with his squadron of 20 men of war' (*Gent. Mag.*, 1740, p. 356).

⁷ Cardinal Pompeo Aldovrandi (d. 1752).

⁸ Cardinal Annibale Albani, the Pope's Chamberlain.

luminaries the Ladies P[omfret]⁹ and W[alpole]¹⁰ are to be joined by the Lady M[ary] W[ortley] M[ontagu]¹¹ You have not been witness to the rhapsody of mystic nonsense which these two fair ones debate incessantly, and consequently cannot figure what must be the issue of this triple alliance we have some idea of it. Only figure the coalition of prudery, debauchery, sentiment, history, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and metaphysics, all, except the second, understood by halves, by quarters, or not at all You shall have the journals of this notable academy. Adieu, my dear West!

Yours ever,
HOR WALPOLE

Though far unworthy to enter into so learned and political a correspondence, I am employed pour barbouiller une page de 7 pouces et demie en hauteur, et 5 en largeur, and to inform you that we are at Florence, a city of Italy, and the capital of Tuscany the latitude I cannot justly tell, but it is governed by a prince called Great-duke, an excellent place to employ all one's animal sensations in, but utterly contrary to one's rational powers I have struck a medal upon myself the device is thus O, and the motto *Nihilismo*, which I take in the most concise manner to contain a full account of my person, sentiments, occupations, and late glorious successes If you choose to be annihilated too, you cannot do better than undertake this journey Here you shall get up at twelve o'clock, breakfast till three, dine till five, sleep till six, drink cooling liquors till eight, go to the bridge till ten, sup till two, and so sleep till twelve again

*Labore fessi venimus ad larem nostrum,
Desideratoque acquiescimus lecto*

⁹ Henrietta Louisa Jeffreys (d 1761), daughter and heiress of second Baron Jeffreys, m (1720) Thomas Fermor, first Earl of Pomfret Walpole frequently ridicules her affectation of learning

¹⁰ Margaret Rolle, Baroness Walpole, afterwards Countess of Orford, only daughter and heiress of Samuel Rolle, of Heanton Satchville, Devonshire, m 1 (1724), Robert Walpole, Lord Walpole, eldest son of the Prime Minister (whom he succeeded in 1745 as second Earl of Orford), 2 (1751), Hon Sewallis Shirley, son of first Earl Ferrers, from both of whom she was separated

¹¹ Lady Mary Pierrepont (d 1762), daughter of Evelyn Pierrepont, Duke of Kingston, by his first wife, Lady Mary Fielding, m (1712) Edward Wortley-Montagu Miss Berry represents the three names by initials only

July 1740

Walpole and Gray to West

Letter 92

Hoc est, quod unum est, pro laboribus tantis
*O quid solutus est beatus curis?*¹²

We shall never come home again, a universal war is just upon the point of breaking out, all outlets will be shut up I shall be secure in my nothingness, while you, that will be so absurd as to exist, will envy me You don't tell me what proficiency you make in the noble science of defence Don't you start still at the sound of a gun? Have you learned to say Ha' ha' and is your neck clothed with thunder?¹³ Are your whiskers of a tolerable length? And have you got drunk yet with brandy and gunpowder? Adieu, noble captain!¹⁴

93 GRAY TO MRS GRAY

Florence, Aug 21, N S 1740

IT is some time since I have had the pleasure of writing to you, I having been upon a little excursion cross the mountains to Bologna We set out from hence at sunset, pass'd the Apennines by moon-light, travelling incessantly till we came to Bologna at four in the afternoon next day There we spent a week agreeably enough, and returned as we came The day before yesterday arriv'd the news of a Pope, and I have the mortification of being within four days journey of Rome, and not seeing his coronation, the heats being violent, and the infectious air now at its height We had an instance, the other day, that it is not only fancy Two country fellows, strong men, and used to the country about Rome, having occasion to come from thence hither, and travelling on foot, as common with them, one died suddenly on the road, the other got hither, but extremely weak, and in a manner stupid, he was carried to the hospital, but died in two days So, between fear and laziness, we remain here, and must be satisfied with the accounts other people give us of the

¹² Catullus, xxxi, *Ad Sirmionem Peninsulam*

O quid solutus est beatus curis?
Cum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino
Labore fessi venimus larem ad nostrum,
Desideratoque acquiescimus lecto
Hoc est, quod unum est pro laboribus tantis

Gray is quoting from memory, but the impossible first line may be due to a mistake of Miss Berry or the printer

¹³ Job xxxix 25

¹⁴ West had thoughts of entering the army

LETTER 93 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 103-4

matter The new Pope is called Benedict XIV being created Cardinal by Benedict XIII¹ the last Pope but one (His name is Lambertini, a noble Bolognese, and Archbishop of that city² When I was first there, I remember to have seen him two or three times, he is a short, fat man, about sixty-five years of age, of a hearty, merry countenance, and likely to live some years He bears a good character for generosity, affability, and other virtues, and, they say, wants neither knowledge nor capacity. The worst side of him is, that he has a nephew or two; besides a certain young favourite, called Melara, who is said to have had, for some time, the arbitrary disposal of his purse and family He is reported to have made a little speech to the Cardinals in the Conclave, while they were undetermined about an election, as follows 'Most eminent Lords, here are three Bolognese of different characters, but all equally proper for the Popedom. If it be your pleasures, to pitch upon a Saint, there is Cardinal Gotti,³ if upon a Politician, there is Aldrovandi,⁴ if upon a Booby, here am I') The Italian is much more expressive, and, indeed, not to be translated, wherefore, if you meet with any body that understands it, you may show them what he said in the language he spoke it 'Emin^(ssim) Sigr¹ Ci siamo tré, diversi sì, mà tutti idonei al Papato Si vi piace un Santo, c'è l'Gotti,⁵ se volete una testa scaltra, e Politica, c'è l'Aldrovandé,⁶ se un Coghione, eccomi⁷ Cardinal Coscia⁷ is restored to his liberty, and, it is said, will be to all his benefices Corsini⁸ (the late Pope's nephew) as he has had no hand in this election, it is hoped, will be called to account for all his villanous practices (The Pretender, they say, has resigned all his pretensions to his eldest boy, and will accept of the Grand Chancellorship, which is thirty thousand crowns a-year, the pension he has at present is only twenty thousand. I do not affirm the truth of this last article, because, if he does, it is necessary he should take the

¹ See Letter 85, n 5

² Prospero Lambertini, created Cardinal in 1726, Pope 1740-58 — 'Bolonnois, archevêque de Bologne, bonhomme, uni, facile, aimable et sans morgue, chose rare en ceux de son espèce, goguenard et licencieux dans ses discours, exemplaire et vertueux dans ses actions, plus d'agrément dans l'esprit que d'étendue dans le génie, savant surtout dans le droit canon, passe pour pencher vers le jansénisme, estimé et aimé dans son corps, quoique sans morgue, ce qui est singulier' (C de Brosses, *Lettres Familiales*, LI)

³ See Letter 85, n 7

⁵ So Mason, read 'c'è'l Gotti'.

⁷ See Letter 85, n 6

⁴ *Sic* See Letter 92, n 7.

⁶ So Mason.

⁸ See Letter 83, n 1

Aug 1740

Gray to Mrs. Gray

Letter 93

ecclesiastical habit, and it will sound mighty odd to be called his Majesty the Chancellor) — So ends my Gazette)

93* West to Gray

[Aug 1740]

[In his letter to West of 25 Sept (Letter 94) Gray refers to 'a very diminutive letter', which West had written, in reply to a letter of Gray, which West described as his 'serious letter' (Letter 91 of 16 July) West's letter is not extant]

94 GRAY TO WEST

Florence, Sept 25, NS 1740

WHAT I send you now, as long as it is, is but a piece of a poem¹ (It has the advantage of all fragments, to need neither introduction nor conclusion. Besides, if you do not like it, it is but imagining that which went before, and came after, to be infinitely better Look in Sandy's Travels² for the history of Monte Barbaro, and Monte Nuovo³

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LETTER 94 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 105-9

¹ A copy of a slightly different version of this poem in Gray's handwriting was among the Walpole MSS in the Waller Collection

² George Sandys (1598-1644) published an account of his travels, under the title of *The Relation of a Journey begun an Dom 1610, in Four Books*, in 1615

³ Mason quotes (with some errors of transcription) 'West of Cicero's villa stands the eminent Gaurus, a stony and desolate mountain, in which there are diverse obscure caverns, choaked almost with earth, where many have consumed much fruitless industry in searching for treasure The famous Lucrine Lake extended formerly from Avernus to the aforesaid Gaurus But is now no other than a little sedgy plash, choaked up by the horrible and astonishing eruption of the new mountain, whereof, as oft as I think, I am easy to credit whatsoever is wonderful For who here knows not, or who elsewhere will believe, that a mountain should arise, (partly out of a lake and partly out of the sea) in one day and a night, unto such a height as to contend in altitude with the high mountains adjoining? In the year of our Lord 1538, on the 29th of September, when for certain days foregoing the country hereabout was so vexed with perpetual earthquakes, as no one house was left so entire as not to expect an immediate ruin, after that the sea had retired two hundred paces from the shore, (leaving abundance of fish, and springs of fresh water rising in the bottom) this mountain visibly ascended, about the second hour of the night, with an hideous roaring, horribly vomiting stones and such store of cinders as overwhelmed all the building thereabout, and the salubrious baths of Tripergula, for so many ages celebrated, consumed the vines to ashes, killing birds and beasts the fearful inhabitants of Puzzol flying through the dark with their wives and children, naked, defiled, crying out, and detesting their calamities Manifold mischiefs have they

Nec procul infelix se tollit in æthera Gaurus,
 Prospiciens vitreum lugenti vertice pontum
 Tristior ille diu, & veteri desuetus olivâ
 Gaurus, pampineæq; cheu jam nescius umbræ,
 Horrendi tam sæva premit vicinia montis,
 Attonitumq; urget latus, exuritq; ferentem

Nam fama est olim, mediâ dum rura silebant
 Nocte, Deo victa, & molli perfusa quiete,
 Infremuisse æquor ponti, auditamq; per omnes
 Latè tellurem surdum immugire cavernas ⁴
 Quo sonitu nemora alta tremunt, tremit excita tuto
 Parthenopæa sinu, flammantisq; ora Vesuvi
 At subito se aperire solum, vastosq; recessus
 Pandere sub pedibus, nigrâq; voragine fauces,
 Tum⁵ piceas cinerum glomerare sub æthere nubes
 Vorticibus rapidis, ardentiq; imbre procellam
 Præcípites fugere feræ, perq; avia longè
 Sylvarum fugit pastor, juga per deserta,
 Ah, miser! increpitans sæpè altâ voce per umbram
 Nequicquam natos, creditq; audire sequentes
 Atque ille excelso rupis de vertice solus
 Respectans notasq; domos, & dulcia regna,
 Nil usquàm videt infelix præter mare tristi
 Lumine percussum, & pallentes sulphure campos,
 Fumumq; flammâq; rotataq; turbine saxa

Quin ubi detonuit fragor, & lux reddita cælo,
 Mæstos confluere agricolas, passuq; videres
 Tandem iterum timido deserta requirere tecta.
 Sperantes, si forte oculis, si fortè darentur
 Uxorum cineres, miserorumve ossa parentum,
 (Tenuia, sed tanti saltem solatia luctus)
 Unâ colligere, & justâ componere in urnâ
 Uxorum nusquam cineres, nusquam ossa parentum
 (Speciem miseram!) afsuetosve Lares, aut rura videbunt

suffered by the barbarous, yet none like this which Nature inflicted — This new mountain, when newly raised, had a number of issues, at some of them smoking and sometimes flaming, at others disgorging rivulets of hot waters, keeping within a terrible rumbling, and many miserably perished that ventured to descend into the hollowness above. But that hollow on the top is at present an orchard, and the mountain throughout is bereft of its terrors' (Bk iv, pp 275, 277-8)

⁴ Waller MS 'Tellurem late surdum mugire cavernas'

⁵ Waller MS 'Et'.

Quippe ubi planities campi diffusa jacebat;
 Mons novus ille supercilium, frontemq; favillâ
 Incanum ostentans, ambustis cautibus, æquor
 Subjectum, stragemq; suam, mæsta arva, minaci
 Despicit imperio, soloq; in littore regnat

Hinc infame loci nomen, multosq; per annos
 Immemor antiquæ laudis, nescire labores
 Vomeris, & nullo tellus revirescere cultu
 Non avium colles, non carmine matutino
 Pastorum resonare, adeò undique dirus habebat
 Informes latè horror agros,⁶ saltusq; vacantes
 Sæpius et⁷ longè detorquens navita proram
 Monstrabat digito littus, sævæq; revolvens
 Funera narrabat noctis, veteremq; ruinam

Montis adhuc facies manet hirta atq; aspera saxis
 Sed furor extinctus jamdudum, & flamma quievit,
 Quæ nascenti aderat, seu fortè bituminis atrî
 Defluxere olim rivi, atque effæta lacuna
 Pabula sufficere ardori, viresq; recusat,
 Sive in visceribus meditans⁸ incendia jam nunc
 (Horrendum) arcane glomerat genti cæcæ futuræ
 Exitio, sparsos tacitusq; recolligit ignes
 Raro per clivos haud⁹ secius ordine vidi
 Canescentem oleam longum post tempus amicti
 Vite virent tumuli,¹⁰ patriamq; revisere gaudens
 Bacchus in afsuetis tenerum caput exerit¹¹ arvis
 Vix tandem, infidoq; audet se credere cœlo

There was a certain little ode¹² set out from Rome, in a letter of recommendation to you, but possibly fell into the enemies' hands, for I never heard of its arrival. It is a little impertinent to enquire after its welfare, but you, that are a father, will excuse a parent's foolish fondness. Last post I received a very diminutive letter.¹³ It made excuses for its unentertainingness, very little to the purpose, since it assured me, very strongly, of your esteem, which is to me the thing, all the rest appear but as

⁶ Waller MS 'informes tam durus habebat Horror agros late circum'

⁷ Waller MS 'hoc'

⁸ Waller MS 'meditata'

⁹ Waller MS 'Per clivos raro nec'

¹⁰ Waller MS 'colles' altered to 'tumuli'

¹¹ Waller MS 'exserit'

¹² The Alcaic ode ('Mater rosarum') sent with Letter 87

¹³ See Letter 93*

the petits agrémens, the garnishing of the dish. P Bougeant,¹⁴ in his *Langage des Bêtes*, fancies that your birds, who continually repeat the same note, say only in plain terms, 'Je vous aime, ma chere, ma chere, je vous aime,' and that those of greater genius indeed, with various trills, run divisions upon the subject, but that the *fond*, from whence it all proceeds, is 'toujours je vous aime' Now you may, as you find yourself dull or in humour, either take me for a chaffinch or nightingale, sing your plain song, or show your skill in music, but in the bottom let there be, toujours, toujours de l'Amitié

As to what you call my serious letter,¹⁵ be assured, that your future state is to me entirely indifferent Do not be angry, but hear me, I mean with respect to myself For whether you be at the top of Fame, or entirely unknown to mankind, at the Council-table, or at Dick's coffee-house,¹⁶ sick and simple, or well and wise, whatever alteration mere accident works in you, (supposing it utterly impossible for it to make any change in your sincerity and honesty, since these are conditions *sine quâ non*) I do not see any likelihood of my not being yours ever

95 GRAY TO PHILIP GRAY

Florence, Oct 9, 1740

THE beginning of next spring is the time determined for our return at furthest, possibly it may be before that time How the interim will be employed, or what route we shall take, is not so certain If we remain friends with France, upon leaving this country we shall cross over to Venice, and so return through the cities north of the Po to Genoa, from thence take a felucca to Marseilles, and come back through Paris If the contrary fall out, which seems not unlikely, we must make the Milanese, and those parts of Italy, in our way to Venice, from thence pass through the Tirol into Germany, and come home by the Low-Countries As for Florence, it has been gayer than ordinary for this last month, being one round of balls and entertainments, occasioned by the arrival of a great Milanese Lady, for the only thing the Italians shine in, is their reception of strangers At such times every thing is magnificence The more remarkable,

¹⁴ See Letter 62, n. 10

¹⁵ Letter 91

¹⁶ On the south side of Fleet St, near Temple Bar It was a favourite resort of West's (see Walpole to West, and West to Ashton in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, Nos 90 and 135) Gray also frequented it (see Letter 99)

LETTER 95 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 109-11

Oct 1740

Gray to Philip Gray

Letter 95

as in their ordinary course of life they are parsimonious, even to a degree of nastiness. I saw in one of the vastest palaces in Rome (that of Prince Pamfilio) the apartment which he himself inhabited, a bed that most servants in England would disdain to lie in, and furniture much like that of a soph¹ at Cambridge, for convenience and neatness. This man is worth 30,000*l.* sterling a year. As for eating, there are not two Cardinals in Rome that allow more than six paoli, which is three shillings a day, for the expence of their table,² and you may imagine they are still less extravagant here than there. But when they receive a visit from any friend, their houses and persons are set out to the greatest advantage, and appear in all their splendour, it is, indeed, from a motive of vanity, and with the hopes of having it repaid them with interest, whenever they have occasion to return the visit. I call visits going from one city of Italy to another, for it is not so among acquaintance of the same place on common occasions. The new Pope has retrenched the charges of his own table to a sequin (10*s*) a meal. The applause which all he says and does meets with, is enough to encourage him really to deserve fame. They say he is an able and honest man, he is reckoned a wit too. The other day, when the Senator of Rome came to wait upon him, at the first compliments he made him the Pope pulled off his cap. His Master of the Ceremonies, who stood by his side, touched him softly, as to warn him that such a condescension was too great in him, and out of all manner of rule. Upon which he turned to him and said, 'Oh! I cry you mercy, good Master, it is true, I am but a Novice of a Pope, I have not yet so much as learned ill manners') * * *

96 GRAY TO PHILIP GRAY

Florence,¹ Jan 12, 1741

WE still continue constant at Florence, at present one of the dullest cities in Italy. Though it is the middle of the Carnival there are no public diversions, nor is masquerading

¹ Short for 'sophister', a student in his second or third year.

² See Walpole's remarks in Letter 83

LETTER 96—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 111–13

¹ Between the date of this and the foregoing letter the reader will perceive an interval of full three months as Mr Gray saw no new places during this period, his letters were chiefly of news and common occurrences, and are therefore omitted *Mason*

permitted as yet. The Emperor's² obsequies are to be celebrated publicly the 16th of this month; and after that, it is imagined every thing will go on in its usual course. In the mean time, to employ the minds of the populace, the Government has thought fit to bring into the city in a solemn manner, and at a great expence, (a famous statue of the Virgin called the *Madonna dell'Impruneta*,³ from the place of her residence, which is upon a mountain seven miles off. It never has been practised but at times of public calamity, and was done at present to avert the ill effects of a late great inundation,⁴ which it was feared might cause some epidemical distemper. It was introduced a fortnight ago in procession, attended by the Council of Regency, the Senate, the Nobility, and all the Religious Orders, on foot and bare-headed, and so carried to the great church, where it was frequented by an infinite concourse of people from all the country round. Among the rest I paid my devotions almost every day, and saw numbers of people possessed with the devil, who were brought to be exorcised. It was indeed in the evening, and the church-doors were always shut before the ceremonies were finished, so that I could not be eye-witness of the event, but that they were all cured is certain, for one never heard any more of them the next morning. I am to-night just returned from seeing our Lady make her exit with the same solemnities she entered. The show had a finer effect than before, for it was dark, and every body (even those of the mob that could afford it) bore a white-wax flambeau. I believe there were at least five thousand of them, and the march was near three hours in passing before the window. The subject of all this devotion is supposed to be a large Tile with a rude figure in bas-relief upon it. I say supposed, because since the time it was found (for it was found in the earth in ploughing) only two people have seen it, the one was, by good luck, a saint, the other was struck blind for his presumption. Ever since she has been covered with seven veils, nevertheless, those who approach her tabernacle cast their eyes down, for fear they should spy her through all her

² Charles VI (Emperor, 1711) died 20 Oct. 1740.

³ 'This is probably the miraculous image of Santa Maria dell' Impruneta, which is housed in the Church of that name on the San Miniato side of the Arno a few miles from Florence. The image is miracle-working by tradition, and in former times was carried on occasions of distress to the city of Florence' (Mr Alfred E. Hamill in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 165, Nov. 18, 1933, p. 358).

⁴ See Walpole's letter to West of Nov. 1740.

Jan 1741

Gray to Philip Gray

Letter 96

veils. Such is the history, as I had it from the Lady of the house where I stood to see her pass, with many other circumstances, all which she firmly believes, and ten thousand beside

We shall go to Venice in about six weeks, or sooner. A number of German troops are upon their march into this State, in case the King of Naples thinks proper to attack it. It is certain he has asked the Pope's leave for his troops to pass through his country. The Tuscans in general are much discontented, and foolish enough to wish for a Spanish government, or any rather than this * * * *

96 * Gray to West

[c April, 1741]

[In his letter to West from Florence of 21 April 1741 (Letter 97) Gray refers to a previous letter he had written to him, criticizing his tragedy of *Pausanias*]

96 ** West to Gray

[April, 1741]

[In his letter to West of 21 April 1741 (Letter 97) Gray speaks of having just received a letter from West]

97 GRAY TO WEST

Florence, April 21, 1741

I KNOW not what degree of satisfaction it will give you to be told that we shall set out from hence the 24th of this month, and not stop above a fortnight at any place in our way. This I feel, that you are the principal pleasure I have to hope for in my own country. Try at least to make me imagine myself not indifferent to you, for I must own I have the vanity of desiring to be esteemed by somebody, and would choose that somebody should be one whom I esteem as much as I do you. As I am recommending myself to your love, methinks I ought to send you my picture (for I am no more what I was, some circumstances excepted, which I hope I need not particularize to you); you must add then, to your former idea, two years of age, reasonable quantity of dullness, a great deal of silence, and something that rather resembles, than is, thinking, a confused notion of many strange and fine things that have swum before my eyes for some time, a want of love for general society, indeed an inability to it. On the good side you may add a sensibility for what others feel, and indulgence for their faults or weaknesses, a love of truth, and detestation of every thing else. Then you are to deduct a little

LETTER 97 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 113-16

impertinence, a little laughter, a great deal of pride, and some spirits. These are all the alterations I know of, you perhaps may find more. Think not that I have been obliged for this reformation of manners to reason or reflection, but to a severer school-mistress, Experience. One has little merit in learning her lessons, for one cannot well help it, but they are more useful than others, and imprint themselves in the very heart. I find I have been haranguing in the style of the Son of Sirach,¹ so shall finish here, and tell you that our route is settled as follows. First to Bologna for a few days, to hear the Viscontina² sing; next to Reggio, where is a Fair. Now, you must know, a Fair here is not a place where one eats ginger-bread or rides upon hobby-horses, here are no musical clocks, nor tall Leicestershire women; one has nothing but masquing, gaming, and singing. If you love operas, there will be the most splendid in Italy, four tip-top voices, a new theatre, the Duke and Dukes in all their pomps and vanities. Does not this sound magnificent? Yet is the city of Reggio but one step above Old Brentford.^{2a} Well, next to Venice by the 11th of May, there to see the old Doge³ wed the Adriatic Whore. Then to Verona, so to Milan, so to Marseilles, so to Lyons, so to Paris, so to West, &c in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Eleven months, at different times, have I passed at Florence, and yet (God help me) know not either people or language. Yet the place and the charming prospects demand a poetical farewell, and here it is

* * Oh Fœsulæ amœna

Frigoribus juga, nec nimium spirantibus auris¹
 Alma quibus Tusci Pallas decus Apennini
 Elise dedit, glaucæque suâ canescere sylvâ¹
 Non ego vos posthac Arni de valle videbo
 Porticibus circum, & candenti cincta coronâ
 Villarum longé nitido consurgere dorso,
 Antiquamve Ædem, et veteres præferre Cupressus
 Mirabor, tectisque super pendentia tecta

¹ Jesus the son of Sirach, the alleged author of Ecclesiasticus

² Caterina Visconti, she afterwards sang in England (see Walpole's letters to Mann of 11 Sept., 5, 12, and 23 Nov. 1741)

^{2a} See Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. iv, p. 186. "When Dr. Adam Smith was expatiating on the beauty of Glasgow, he (Johnson) 'had cut him short by saying, 'Pray, Sir, have you ever seen Brentford?'" Brentford may have passed into a proverb.

³ Luigi Pisani, Doge of Venice, 1735-41, he died within two months (17 June) of the date of this letter, aged 78.

Apr 1741

Gray to West

Letter 97

I will send you, too, a pretty little Sonnet of a Sig^r Abbate Buondelmonte,⁴ with my imitation of it

Spesò Amor sotto la forma
D'amistà ride, e s'asconde
Poi si mischia, e si confonde
Con lo sdegno, e col rancor
In Pietade ei si trasforma,
Par trastullo, e par dispetto
Mà nel suo diverso aspetto
Sempr' egli è l'istesso Amor

Lusit amicitiae interdum velatus anuctu,
Et benè composità veste fefellit Amor
Mox iræ afsumsit cultus, faciemque nunantem,
Inque odium versus, versus & in lacrymas
Ludentem fuge, nec lacrymantì, aut crede furenti,
Idem est dissimili semper in ore Deus

Here comes a letter from you—I must defer giving my opinion of Pausanias till I can see the whole, and only have said what I did in obedience to your commands⁵ I have spoken with such freedom on this head, that it seems but just you should have your revenge, and therefore I send you the beginning not of an Epic Poem, but of a Metaphysic one⁶ (Poems and Metaphysics (say you, with your spectacles on) are inconsistent things A metaphysical poem is a contradiction in terms) It is true, but I will go on It is Latin too to increase the absurdity. It will, I suppose, put you in mind of the man who wrote a treatise of Canon Law in Hexameters Pray help me to the description of a mixt mode, and a little Episode about Space⁷

⁴ Giuseppe Maria Bondelmonti (1713–57), of the ancient family of that name

⁵ See Letters 96,* 96 **

⁶ The beginning of the first book of a didactic poem, *De Principis Cogitandi* The fragment which he now sent contained the first fifty-three lines *Mason*—The poem, which is addressed 'Ad Favonium', was first printed by *Mason* (*Memoirs*, pp 160–9) The opening lines of the fourth book, containing an invocation to West after his death, were sent by Gray to Walpole in 1747 (see Letter 131, n 20)

⁷ This is the last extant letter which Gray wrote from Italy *Mason*, at the beginning of the Section in his *Memoirs* concerned with Gray's travels (p 40), gave an explanation, in words dictated to him by Walpole 'I shall only further say to forewarn the reader of a disappointment, that this

98 Gray to Chute

[Dover—c Sept 1 O S 1741]

[In his letter to Chute of 7 Sept 1741 (Letter 99) Gray addresses him as 'suavissimè Chuti' whom I wrote to from Dover] The letter was no doubt written on the day Gray landed at Dover on his way to London, which Mason says he reached about 1 Sept]

99 GRAY TO CHUTE¹My Dear S^r

I COMPLAIN no more You have not forgot me M^{rs} Dick, to whom I resorted for a Dish of Coffee, instead thereof produced unto me from between her fat Breasts your kind Letter, big with another no less kind from our poor mangled Friend² to

correspondence is defective towards the end, and includes no description either of Venice or its territory, the last places which Mr Gray visited This defect was occasioned by an unfortunate disagreement between him and Mr Walpole, this therefore occasioned their separation at Reggio Mr Gray went before him to Venice At the end of the Section (p 116) Mason adds 'When Mr Gray left Venice, which he did the middle of July following, he returned home through Padua, Verona, Milan, Turin, and Lyons From all of which places he writ either to his Father or Mother with great punctuality But merely to inform them of his health and safety, about which (as might be expected) they were now very anxious, as he travelled only with a "Laquais de Voyage"' See Appendix D Mason presumably destroyed Gray's letters to his father and mother Gray must have written also to West, but no letters survive

LETTER 99—First printed (in modified text) by Chaloner Chute in *History of the Vyne*, pp 86–9, now reprinted from original

¹ John Chute (1701–76), the last descendant in the male line of Chaloner Chute, Speaker of the House of Commons (1659), was the tenth and youngest child of Edward Chute (1658–1722), of the Vyne, in Hampshire, his mother being Katharine Keck, widow of Ferdinand Tracy He was educated at Eton, and after his father's death lived chiefly abroad until 1746, when he returned to England On the death of his brother Anthony in 1754 he succeeded to the family estates, and thenceforth resided at the Vyne until his death Walpole and Gray made his acquaintance at Florence in 1740, while they were staying with Mann After Gray parted from Walpole at Reggio in 1741 he spent two months with Chute at Venice On his return to England Chute became very intimate with Walpole, and renewed his friendship with Gray, who on more than one occasion was his guest at the Vyne It seems probable that there was a breach in their friendship in 1758 (see Letter 228, n 1)

² Horace Mann, who, as Chute notes, 'was at this time much tried by illness, which he bore most patiently' Walpole refers to his 'violent illness' in his letter to Mann from Paris in August of this year It involved a serious operation—hence Gray's phrase

whom I now address myself (you don't take it ill) & let him know, that as soon as I got hither, I took wing for the Strand to see a certain Acquaintance of his³ (for I then knew not whether he were dead, or alive) & get some News of him I was so struck with the great resemblance between them,⁴ that it made me cry out he is a true Eagle, but a little tamer, & a little fatter than the Eagle Resident I told him so, but he did not seem to think it so great a Compliment, as I did his Wife⁵ had miscarried but was quite well again, his house half pulled down, but rising again more magnificent from its Ruins. he received me, as became a Bird of his Race, & suffer'd himself to be caressed without giving me one Peck, or Scratch the only bad thing I know of him, is, that he wears a Frock, & a Bob-Wigg may I charge you, my dear M^r Chute (I give you your great Name for want of a little tiny one) with my Compliments to D^r Cocchi,⁶ Benevoli⁷ (tho' I hate him) & their Patient particularly to this last for recovering so soon, & so much to my Satisfaction I think one may call him dear Creature, & be fond in Security under the Sanction of your Cover I carried his Mus^m Flor^{ms} to Commissioner Haddock,⁸ who is Liddel's¹⁰ Uncle that Gentleman had left Paris, having been elected for

³ His twin brother, Galfridus (d 1756), sometime M P for Maidstone; he was the youngest of the three sons of Robert Mann, Deputy-Treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, and was in business with his eldest brother Edward as an army clothier

⁴ As was Walpole, he writes to Mann, 18 Sept 1748 'Your brother Gal is extremely a favourite with me I took to him for his resemblance to you, but am grown to love him upon his own fund'

⁵ She was a virago Walpole speaks of her 'infernal temper', and calls her 'Tisiphone', and 'a little white fiend' (See his letters to Mann of 5 Feb, 18 March, 16 Dec 1756, and 3 Sept 1757)

⁶ This was Antonio Cocchi (d 1758), described by Walpole as 'a learned physician and author of Florence, a particular friend of Mr Mann' He came from Florence to attend Walpole during his serious illness at Reggio in May of this year, after Gray had left for Venice

⁷ Another physician (see Letter 112)

⁸ These were the earliest volumes of the *Museum Florentinum, exhibens insigniora vetustatis monumenta, quæ Florentiæ sunt in thesauro medico, cum observationibus Anton Franc Gorii* (Florentiæ, 1731-66, 12 vol, fol max) Vols 1-11 comprised engraved gems, vol 111, statues, vols 1v-v1, coins Vols vii-x (portraits of painters in the Imperial Gallery at Florence), vols xi-x11 (supplement to the foregoing by Abate Anton Pazzi), were published later

⁹ Richard Haddock (d 1751), Comptroller of the Navy, 1733-49, he was elder brother of Vice-Admiral Nicholas Haddock (see Letter 85, n 16)

¹⁰ Presumably Richard Liddell (d 1746), who was returned in May of this year for Bossiney (Cornwall)

some place in this Parliament, & (tho' it is like to be controverted) took that opportunity to return to England for a time, but is now gone, I think to Spaw Adieu! M^r M: * * *

Nunc ad te totum me converto, suavissime Chutî! whom I wrote to from Dover ¹¹ if this be London, Lord send me to Constantinople either I, or it are extremely odd the Boys laugh at the depth of my Ruffles, the immensity of my Bagg, & the length of my Sword I am as an Alien in my native land, yea! I am as an Owl among the small birds it rains, every body is discontented, & so am I you can't imagine how mortifying it is to fall into the hands of an English Barber Lord, how You or Polleri would storm in such a Case don't think of coming hither without Lavour, ¹² or something equivalent to him (not an elephant) ¹³ the Natives are alive, & flourishing. the fashion is a grey frock with round Sleeves, Bob-wig, or a Spencer, plain Hat with enormous Brims, & shallow Crown, cock'd as bluff, as possible, Muslin-Neckcloth twisted round, rumpled, & tuck'd into the breast, all this with a certain Safaring ¹⁴ Air, as if they were just come back from Cartagena ¹⁴ if my pockets had any thing in them, I should be afraid of every body I met look in their face, they knock you down, speak to them, they bite off your Nose I am no longer ashamed in publick, but extremely afraid if ever they catch me among 'em, I give them leave to eat me so much for drefs, as to Politicks, every body is extreme angry with all that has been, or shall be done even a Victory at this time would be look'd upon as a wicked attempt to please the Nation the Theatres open not till tomorrow, so you will excuse my giving no account of them

¹¹ A sentence here of rather more than half a line, beginning (apparently) 'don't', has been scored through, and is undecipherable

¹² This letter has not been preserved (see Letter 98)

¹³ Probably a French barber employed by Chute

¹⁴ There are several versions of this malapropism Pinkerton in his *Walpoliana* gives the following, among other anecdotes of Lord William Poulet, on the authority of Walpole 'Lord William Poulet, though often Chairman of Committees of the House of Commons, was a great dunce, and could scarce read A gentleman writing to desire a fine horse he had, offered him any *equivalent* Lord William replied, that the horse was at his service, but he did not know what to do with an *elephant*' (vol 1, pp 17-18)

¹⁵ Gray put a curved stroke over the 'a', possibly he meant 'Seafaring'

¹⁶ In Colombia, S America, the attempted capture of which by Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth in March-April of this year had ended in disastrous failure

Sept 1741

Gray to Chute

Letter 99

tonight. now I have been at home, & seen how things go there, would I were with you again, that the Remainder of my Dream might at least be agreeable as it is, my prospect can not well be more unpleasing; but why do I trouble your Goodnature with such considerations? be assured, that when I am happy (if that can ever be) your Esteem will greatly add to that happiness, & when most the contrary, will always alleviate, what I suffer many, many thanks for your kindness, for your travels, for your News, for all the trouble I have given, & must give you omit nothing, when you write, for things that were quite indifferent to me at Florence, at this distance become interesting humble Service to Polleri, obliged for his harmonious Salutation, I hope to see some Scratches with his black Claw in your next Adieu! I am most sincerely, & ever Your's

T G

London—Sept 7 O S [1741]

P S Nobody is come from Paris yet ¹⁵

Addressed A Mons^r Monsieur Chute, Gentilhomme Anglois chez Mons^r Ubaldini nel Corso de' Tintori à Florence

99 * Conway to Gray

[Sept 1741]

[In an undated letter to Henry Conway (see Letter 44, n 9), which was probably written not long after his arrival in England on 14 Sept 1741, Horace Walpole says 'Before I thank you for myself, I must thank you for that excessive good nature you showed in writing to poor Gray I am less impatient to see you, as I find you are not the least altered, but have the same tender friendly temper you always had']

As Gray had returned to England on 1 Sept, Conway's letter to him (which has not been preserved) was presumably written between that date and the date of Walpole's letter, that is to say, in the first half of September]

100 WEST TO GRAY

I WRITE to make you write, for I have not much to tell you. I have recovered no spirits as yet, but, as I am not displeased with my company, I sit purring by the fire-side in my arm-chair

¹⁵ Meaning, no doubt, Walpole, who had made a stay in Paris towards the end of August on his way home. He arrived in London a week after the date of this letter, on 14 Sept

LETTER 100—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 121-2

with no small satisfaction. I read too sometimes, and have begun Tacitus, but have not yet read enough to judge of him, only his Pannonian sedition in the first book of his annals, which is just as far as I have got, seemed to me a little tedious. I have no more to say, but to desire you will write letters of a handsome length, and always answer me within a reasonable space of time, which I leave to your discretion

Popes,¹ March 28, 1742

P S The new *Dunciad*¹² qu'en pensez vous?

101 GRAY TO WEST

[c 1 April 1742]¹

I TRUST to the country, and that easy indolence you say you enjoy there, to restore you your health and spirits, and doubt not but, when the sun grows warm enough to tempt you from your fire-side, you will (like all other things) be the better for his influence. He is my old friend, and an excellent nurse, I assure you. Had it not been for him, life had often been to me intolerable. Pray do not imagine that Tacitus, of all authors in the world, can be tedious. An annalist, you know, is by no means master of his subject, and I think one may venture to say, that if those Pannonian affairs are tedious in his hands, in another's they would have been insupportable. However, fear not, they will soon be over, and he will make ample amends. A man, who could join the *brilliant* of wit and concise sententiousness peculiar to that age, with the truth and gravity of better times, and the deep reflection and good sense of the best moderns, cannot choose but have something to strike you. Yet what I admire in him above all this, is his detestation of tyranny,

¹ David Mitchell's, Esq, at Popes, near Hatfield, Hertfordshire, at whose house he died the 1st of June following. *Mason* —It seems probable that West and Gray had both been in town during the winter. West now begins a correspondence after their parting.

² The fourth book of the *Dunciad* had been published this month (March 1742), under the title of *The New Dunciad as it was found in the year MDCCXLI, with the Illustrations of Scriblerus and Notes Variorum*.

LETTER 101 —First printed in *Mason's Memoirs*, pp 122–3

¹ The date must be either the end of March or the beginning of April, as the letter answers West's of 28 March, and West's answer to it is dated 4 April.

and the high spirit of liberty that every now and then breaks out, as it were, whether he would or no I remember a sentence in his *Agricola* that (concise as it is) I always admired for saying much in a little compass. He speaks of Domitian, who upon seeing the last will of that General, where he had made him Coheir with his Wife and Daughter, 'Satis constabat lætatum eum, velut honore, judicioque tam cæca & corrupta mens assiduus adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi hæredem, nisi malum principem' ²

As to the *Dunciad*,³ it is greatly admired the Genii of Operas and Schools,⁴ with their attendants, the pleas of the Virtuoso and Florists,⁵ and the yawn of dulness in the end,⁶ are as fine as anything he has written. The *Metaphysicians'* part⁷ is to me the worst, and here and there a few ill-expressed lines, and some hardly intelligible.

I take the liberty of sending you a long speech of *Agrippina*,⁸ much too long, but I could be glad you would retrench it. *Aceronia*, you may remember, had been giving quiet counsels I fancy, if it ever be finished, it will be in the nature of *Nat Lee's Bedlam Tragedy*,⁹ which had twenty-five acts and some odd scenes.)

102 WEST TO GRAY

Popes, April 4, 1742

I own in general I think *Agrippina's* speech too long, but how to retrench it, I know not ¹ But I have something else to say, and that is in relation to the style, which appears to me too

² Cap xliii, *ad fin*¹ See Letter 100, n 2⁴ Bk iv, ll 45 ff⁵ Bk iv, ll 347 ff⁶ Bk iv, ll 605 ff⁷ Bk iv, ll 239 ff

⁸ The speech herewith sent to Mr West was the concluding one of the first scene of a tragedy, which I believe was begun the preceding winter *Mason* (See Letters 62, n 7, 102, n 1)

⁹ Nathaniel Lee (c 1653-92), the dramatist, became insane, and while in *Bedlam* is said to have written a tragedy in five-and-twenty acts

LETTER 102 — First printed in *Mason's Memoirs*, pp 136-7

¹ *Mason* claims to have obviated the objection against the length of *Agrippina's* speech, 'not by retrenching, but by putting part of it into the mouth of *Aceronia*, and by breaking it in a few other places' 'Originally', he adds, 'it was one continued speech from the line, "Thus even grave and undisturbed Reflection", to the end of the scene, which was undoubtedly too long for the lungs of any actress' Unhappily, *Mason's* garbled version, with its ridiculous interpolations, is the only text of *Agrippina* that has been preserved

antiquated Racine was of another opinion; he no where gives you the phrases of Ronsard His language is the language of the times, and that of the purest sort, so that his French is reckoned a standard I will not decide what style is fit for our English stage, but I should rather choose one that bordered upon Cato,² than upon Shakespear One may imitate (if one can) Shakespear's manner, his surprizing strokes of true nature, his expressive force in painting characters, and all his other beauties; preserving at the same time our own language Were Shakespear alive now, he would write in a different style from what he did These are my sentiments upon these matters Perhaps I am wrong, for I am neither a Tarpa,³ nor am I quite an Aristarchus⁴ You see I write freely both of you and Shakespear; but it is as good as writing not freely, where you know it is acceptable

I have been tormented within this week with a most violent cough, for when once it sets up its note, it will go on, cough after cough, shaking and tearing me for half an hour together, and then it leaves me in a great sweat, as much fatigued as if I had been labouring at the plough All this description of my cough in prose, is only to introduce another description of it in verse, perhaps not worth your perusal, but it is very short, and besides has this remarkable in it, that it was the production of four o'clock in the morning, while I lay in my bed tossing and coughing, and all unable to sleep —

Ante omnes morbos importunissima tussis,
 Quâ durare datur, traxitque sub illa vires
 Dura etenim versans imo sub pectore regna,
 Perpetuo exercet teneras luctamine costas,
 Oraque distorquet, vocemque immutat anhelam.
 Nec cessare locus sed saevo concita motu
 Molle domat latus, & corpus labor omne fatigat
 Unde molesta dies, noctemque insomnia turbant.
 Nec Tua, si mecum Comes hic jucundus adesses,
 Verba juvare queant, aut hunc lenire dolorem
 Sufficiant tua vox dulcis, nec vultus armatus⁵

² Addison's tragedy, first produced at Drury Lane in 1713

³ Spurius Maecius Tarpa, literary censor under Augustus

⁴ The great critic of antiquity (fl. 156 B.C.)

⁵ In Gray's copy in his Commonplace-book he notes 'Fav April 4 Wrote in the Country after his severe Illness, which left behind it a continual Hectic & Cough'

Apr 1742

West to Gray

Letter 102

Do not mistake me, I do not condemn Tacitus. I was then inclined to find him tedious. The German sedition sufficiently made up for it, and the speech of Germanicus, by which he reclaims his soldiers, is quite masterly. Your New Dunciad I have no conception of. I shall be too late for our dinner if I write any more.

Yours

103 GRAY TO WEST

London, [8] April, Thursday¹ [1742].

YOU are the first who ever made a Muse of a Cough; to me it seems a much more easy task to versify in one's sleep, (that indeed you were of old famous for)² than for want of it. Not the wakeful nightingale (when she had a cough) ever sung so sweetly. I give you thanks for your warble, and wish you could sing yourself to rest. These wicked remains of your illness will sure give way to warm weather and gentle exercise, which I hope you will not omit as the season advances. Whatever low spirits and indolence, the effect of them, may advise to the contrary, I pray you add five steps to your walk daily for my sake, by the help of which, in a month's time, I propose to set you on horseback.

(I talked of the Dunciad as concluding you had seen it, if you have not, do you choose I should get and send it you? I have myself, upon your recommendation, been reading Joseph Andrews. The incidents are ill laid and without invention, but the characters have a great deal of nature, which always pleases even in her lowest shapes. Parson Adams is perfectly well, so is Mrs. Shpslop, and the story of Wilson, and throughout he shews himself well read in Stage-Coaches, Country Squires, Inns, and Inns of Court. His reflections upon high people and low people, and misers and masters, are very good. However

LETTER 103 — First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 138–41.

¹ This must be 8 April.

² Jacob Bryant (1715–1804), a schoolfellow of West's, in a letter written in 1798 (printed in Mitford's *Life of Gray* in *Gray's Poetical Works*, 1847, pp. lx ff), says 'This is, I believe, founded in truth, for I remember some who were of the same house mentioning that he often composed in his dormant state, and that he wrote down in the morning what he had conceived in the night'. See also West's letter to Walpole of 1 June 1736 in *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, p. 77.

³ Fielding's novel, which had been published in the previous February.

the exaltedness of some minds (or rather as I shrewdly suspect their insipidity and want of feeling or observation) may make them insensible to these light things, (I mean such as characterize and paint nature) yet surely they are as weighty and much more useful than your grave discourses upon the mind,⁴ the passions, and what not. Now as the paradisaical pleasures of the Mahometans consist in playing upon the flute and lying with Houri, be mine to read eternal new romances of Marivaux⁵ and Crébillon.⁶

You are very good in giving yourself the trouble to read and find fault with my long harangues. Your freedom (as you call it) has so little need of apologies, that I should scarce excuse your treating me any otherwise, which, whatever compliment it might be to my vanity, would be making a very ill one to my understanding. As to matter of stile, I have this to say. The language of the age is never the language of poetry, except among the French, whose verse, where the thought or image does not support it, differs in nothing from prose. Our poetry, on the contrary, has a language peculiar to itself, to which almost every one, that has written, has added something by enriching it with foreign idioms and derivatives. Nay sometimes words of their own composition or invention. Shakespear and Milton have been great creators this way, and no one more licentious than Pope or Dryden, who perpetually borrow expressions from the former. Let me give you some instances from Dryden, whom every body reckons a great master of our poetical tongue — Full of *museful mopeings* — unlike the *trim* of love — a pleasant *beverage* — a *roundelay* of love — stood silent in his *mood* — with knots and *knares* deformed — his *ureful mood* — in

⁴ He seems here to glance at Hutchinson, the disciple of Shaftesbury of whom he had not a much better opinion, than of his master *Mason* — *Mason* no doubt means Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), at this time Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow. (See Letter 115, n 5)

⁵ Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux (1688–1763), the author of many comedies and novels, the most famous of which was *La Vie de Marianne* (see Letter 112, n 31)

⁶ See Letter 62, n 9. According to *Mason*, it was Crébillon's *Égarements du Cœur et de l'Esprit* (published in 1736) that Gray especially admired. *Le Sopha*, for which Gray confesses his partiality in his letter to Chute of 24 May 1742, was published in 1740. (See Letter 109, n 7) Some twenty years later than this Walpole, writing to Gray from Paris (19 Nov 1765), says 'Crébillon is entirely out of fashion, and Marivaux a proverb *marivauder* and *marivaudage* are established terms for being prolix and tiresome.' (See Letter 417)

proud *array*—his *boon* was granted—and *disarray* and shameful rout—*wayward* but wise—*furished* for the field—the *foiled doddered oaks*—*disherited*—*smouldring flames*—*retchless* of laws—*crones* old and ugly—the *beldam* at his side—the *grandam-hag*—*villanize* his Father's fame —But they are infinite And our language not being a settled thing (like the French) has an undoubted right to words of an hundred years old, provided antiquity have not rendered them unintelligible In truth, Shakespear's language is one of his principal beauties, and he has no less advantage over your Addisons and Rowes in this, than in those other great excellencies you mention. Every word in him is a picture Pray put me the following lines into the tongue of our modern Dramatics

But I, that am not shaped for sportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass
I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty
To strut before a wanton ambling nymph—
I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,
Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up—⁷

And what follows To me they appear untranslatable, and if this be the case, our language is greatly degenerated However, the affectation of imitating Shakespear may doubtless be carried too far, and is no sort of excuse for sentiments ill-suited, or speeches ill-timed, which I believe is a little the case with me. I guess the most faulty expressions may be these—*silken* son of *dalliance*⁸—*drowsier* pretensions—wrinkled *beldams*—*arched* the hearer's brow and *riveted* his eyes in *fearful extasie* These are easily altered or omitted and indeed if the thoughts be wrong or superfluous, there is nothing easier than to leave out the whole The first ten or twelve lines are, I believe, the best;⁹ and as for the rest, I was betrayed into a good deal of it by Tacitus, only what he has said in five words, I imagine I have said in fifty lines Such is the misfortune of imitating the inimitable Now, if you are of my opinion, una litura may do

⁷ *Richard III.*, i. i. (*ad int.*)

⁸ In the third speech of Agrippina—an echo, as Tovey points out, of Pope's 'silken sons' in the *Dunciad* (iv. 292), and Shakespear's 'silken dalliance' in *Henry V.* (Act ii. 1. 2)

⁹ The lines which he means here are from—*thus ever grave and undisturb'd reflection—to Rubellius lives* For the part of the scene, which he sent in his former letter, began there. *Mason*

the business better than a dozen, and you need not fear unravelling my web I am a sort of spider; and have little else to do but spin it over again, or creep to come other place and spin there. Alas! for one who has nothing to do but amuse himself, I believe my amusements are as little amusing as most folks. But no matter, it makes the hours pass, and is better than ἐν ἀμαθίᾳ καὶ ἀμουσίᾳ καταβιώναι.¹⁰ Adieu

104. WEST TO GRAY

[c 12] April¹ [1742]

TO begin with the conclusion of your letter, which is Greek, I desire that you will quarrel no more with your manner of passing your time In my opinion it is irreproachable, especially as it produces such excellent fruit, and if I, like a saucy bird, must be pecking at it, you ought to consider that it is because I like it No una litura I beg you, no unravelling of your web, dear Sir! only pursue it a little further, and then one shall be able to judge of it a little better You know the crisis of a play is in the first act, its damnation or salvation wholly rests there But till that first act is over, every body suspends his vote, so how do you think I can form, as yet, any just idea of the speeches in regard to their length or shortness? The connexion and symmetry of such little parts with one another must naturally escape me, as not having the plan of the whole in my head, neither can I decide about the thoughts whether they are wrong or superfluous, they may have some future tendency which I perceive not The style only was free to me, and there I find we are pretty much of the same sentiment For you say the affectation of imitating Shakespear may doubtless be carried too far, I say as much and no more (For old words we know are old gold, provided they are well chosen Whatever Ennius² was, I do not consider Shakespear as a dunghill in the least On the contrary, he is a mine of antient ore, where all our

¹⁰ Tovey refers to Aelian, who states (*Var Hist* vii 15) that the Mytilenaeans imposed this penalty on their revolted allies, that their children should not be educated (γράμματα μὴ μαρθάνειν, μηδὲ μουσικὴν διδάσκεισθαι), considering it the heaviest of punishments to be condemned to pass one's life in a state of ignorance and grossness (πασῶν κολασέων βαρυτάτην εἶναι ταύτην, ἐν ἀμουσίᾳ καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ καταβιώναι ἡγησάμενοι)

LETTER 104 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 142-4

¹ The letter is in reply to Gray's letter of 8 April (Letter 103)

² Virgil, who borrowed from Ennius, is reported to have said, 'lego aurum in stercore Enni'

great modern poets have found their advantage. I do not know how it is, but his old expressions have more energy in them than ours, and are even more adapted to poetry, certainly, where they are judiciously and sparingly inserted, they add a certain grace to the composition, in the same manner as Poussin³ gave a beauty to his pictures by his knowledge in the antient proportions. But should he, or any other painter, carry the imitation too far, and neglect that best of models Nature, I am afraid it would prove a very flat performance. To finish this long criticism I have this further notion about old words revived, (is not this a pretty way of finishing?) I think them of excellent use in tales, they add a certain drollery to the comic, and a romantic gravity to the serious, which are both charming in their kind, and this way of charming Dryden understood very well. One need only read Milton to acknowledge the dignity they give the Epic. But now comes my opinion that they ought to be used in Tragedy more sparingly, than in most kinds of poetry. Tragedy is designed for public representation, and what is designed for that should certainly be most intelligible. I believe half the audience that come to Shakespear's plays do not understand the half of what they hear—But finissons enfin—Yet one word more—You think the ten or twelve first lines the best, now I am for the fourteen last,⁴ add, that they contain not one word of antientry.

I rejoice you found amusement in Joseph Andrews. But then I think your conceptions of Paradise a little upon the Bergerac.⁵ Les Lettres du Seraphim R. a Madame la Cherubinesse de Q. What a piece of extravagance would there be!

And now you must know that my body continues weak and enervate. And for my animal spirits, they are in perpetual fluctuation. Some whole days I have no relish, no attention for any thing, at other times I revive, and am capable of writing a long letter, as you see, and though I do not write speeches, yet I translate them. When you understand what speech, you will own that it is a bold and perhaps a dull attempt. In three words, it is prose, it is from Tacitus, it is of Germanicus.⁶ Peruse, perpend, pronounce.

³ Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665)

⁴ He means the conclusion of the first scene. *Mason*

⁵ Cyrano de Bergerac (1620–55), he was the author of *Histoires Comiques des États et Empires de la Lune et du Soleil*, to which Swift is said to have been indebted in *Gulliver's Travels*

⁶ Mason omits this translation. The speech in question was probably that in *Annals*, i. 42–3

105 GRAY TO WEST

My Dear West

[London, April 23, 1742]¹

I SHOULD not have fail'd to answer your Letter immediately, but I went out of town for a little while, w^{ch} hinder'd me. its length (beside the Pleasure naturally accompanying a long letter from you) affords me a new one, when I think it is a kind of Symptom of the Recovery of your Health, & flatter myself that your bodily Strength returns in proportion pray do not forget to mention the Progress you make continually (as to Agrippina, I begin to be of your opinion, & find myself (as Women are of their children) less enamour'd of my Productions the older they grow she is laid up to sleep,² till next Summer so bid her Good night (I think you have translated Tacitus very justly, that is freely, & accommodated his thoughts to the Turn & Genius of our Language which at the same time I commend your Judgement, is no commendation of the English tongue, which is too diffuse, & daily grows more & more enervate, & one shall never be more sensible of this, than in turning an Author like Tacitus I have been trying it in some parts of Thucydides (who has a little resemblance of him in his Conciseness) & endeavour'd to do it closely, but found it produced mere Nonsense if you have any inclination to see what figure he makes in Italian, I have a Tuscan translation of Davanzati,³ much-esteem'd in Italy, & will send you the same

LETTER 105. — First printed in part in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 145–6 (with-out the translation of Propertius), now first printed in full from original

¹ The date of the year has been inserted by Mason that of the month is supplied by the postmark

² He never after awakened her, and I believe this was occasioned by the strictures which his friend had made on his dramatic style, which (though he did not think them well founded, as they certainly were not) had an effect which Mr. West, we may believe, did not intend them to have I remember some years after I was also the innocent cause of his delaying to finish his fine ode on the progress of Poetry I told him, on reading the part he shewed me, that 'though I admired it greatly, and thought that it breathed the very spirit of Pindar, yet I suspected it would by no means hit the public taste' Finding afterwards that he did not proceed in finishing it, I often expostulated with him on the subject but he always replied 'No, you have thrown cold water upon it' I mention this little anecdote, to shew how much the opinion of a friend, even when it did not convince his judgment, affected his inclination. *Mason*

³ Bernardo Davanzati (1529–1606), a Florentine, his translation of the *Annals* was published in 1596–1600 Gray had his translation of the whole of Tacitus published posthumously in 1637, as appears from a Catalogue of Gray's library (in the Pierpont Morgan Library)

My - Dear Host

1742

17

p. 145. New, Letter printed, Verses
not -

I should not have failed to answer your Letter immediately, but I went out of town for a little while, w^h hindered me. it's length (beside the Pleasure naturally accompanying a long Letter from you) affords me a new one, when I think it is a kind of Symptom of the Recovery of your Health, & flatters myself that your bodily Strength returns in proportion. pray do not forget to mention the Progress you make continually. as to *deceppina*, I begin to be of your opinion, & find myself as Women are of their children's life unenamoured of my Productions the older they grow. she is laid up to sleep till next Summer; so bid her good-night. I think you have translated *Facetus* very justly, that is freely, & accommodated his thoughts to the Turn & Genius of our Language, which at the same time I commend your Judgement, is no commendation of the English tongue, which is too Diffuse, & daily grows more & more enervate, & one shall never be more sensible of this, than in turning an Author like *Facetus* I have been trying it in some parts of *Menyades* (who has a little resemblance of him in his *Conseils*) & endeavour'd to do it closely, but found it produced more *Romance* if you have any inclination to see what figure *Menyades* in Italian, I have a Tuscan Translation of *Deuagante*, much esteemed in Italy, & will send you the same Speech you sent me. that is, if you care for it. in the mean time except of *Propertius*.

Apr 1742

Gray to West

Letter 105

Speech you sent me that is, if you care for it in the mean time
accept of Propertius ⁴

LIB 2 ELEG 1

~To Mēcānas

You ask, why thus my Loves I still rehearse?
Whence the soft Strain & ever-melting Verse?
From Cynthia all, that in my Numbers shines,
She is my Genius, she inspires the Lines,
No Phœbus else, no other Muse I know
She tunes my easy Rhime, & gives the Lay to flow
If the loose Curls around her Forehead play,
Or lawless o'er their Ivory Margin stray
If the thin Coan Web her Shape reveal,
And half disclose the Limbs it should conceal
Of those loose Curls, that ivory Front I write,
Of the dear Web whole Volumes I indite
Or if to Musick she the Lyre awake,
That the soft Subject of my Song I make,
And sing, with what a careless Grace she flings
Her artful Hand across the sounding Strings
If sinking into Sleep she seem to close
Her languid Lids, I favour her Repose
With lulling Notes, & thousand Beauties see,
That Slumber brings to aid my Poetry
When less averse, & yielding to Desires
She half accepts, & half rejects my Fires
While to retain the envious Lawn she tries,
And struggles to clude my longing Eyes
The fruitful Muse from that auspicious Night
Dates the long Iliad of the amorous Fight
In brief whate'er she do, or say, or look
'Tis ample Matter for a Lover's Book
And many a copious Narrative you'll see,
Big with th' important Nothing's History
Yet would the Tyrant Love permit me raise
My feeble Voice to sing the Victor's Praise,
To paint the Hero's Toil, the Ranks of War,
The laurel'd Triumph, & the sculptured Car
No Giant-Race, no Tumult of the Skies,

⁴ A copy of this poem is in Gray's Commonplace-book with variants of no great importance.

No Mountain-Structure in my Verse should rise;
 No Tale of Thebes, or Ilum there should be,
 Nor how the Persian trod th' indignant Sea,
 Nor Marius' Cimbrian Wreaths would I relate,
 Nor lofty Carthage struggling with her Fate.
 Here should Augustus great in Arms appear,
 And thou, Mecænas, be my second Care
 Here Mutina from Flames & Famine free
 And there th' ensanguin'd Wave of Sicily,
 And sceptred Alexandria's captive Shore,
 And sad Philippi red with Roman Gore
 Then, while the vaulted Skies loud Io's rend,
 In golden Chains should loaded Monarchs bend,
 And hoary Nile with pensive Aspect seem
 To mourn the Glories of his sevenfold Stream.
 The long-contended World's old Discords cease,
 And Actium's Terrours grace the Pomp of Peace,
 While Beaks, that late in fierce Encounter met,
 Move thro' the sacred Way, & vainly threat
 Thee too the Muse should consecrate to Fame,
 And with his Garlands weave thy ever-faithful Name
 But nor Callimachus' enervate Strain
 May tell of Jove, & Phlegra's blasted Plain,
 Nor I with unaccustom'd Vigour trace
 Back to its Source divine the Julian Race
 Sailors to tell of Seas & Winds delight,
 The Shepherd of his Flocks, the Soldier of the Fight,
 A milder Warfare I in verse display,
 Each in his proper Art should waste the Day
 Nor thou my gentle Calling disapprove,
 To die is glorious in the Bed of Love
 Happy the Youth, & not unknown to Fame,
 Whose heart has never felt a second Flame
 Oh, might that envied Happiness be mine,
 To Cynthia all my Wishes I confine
 Or if, alas! it be my fate to try
 Another Love, the quicker let me die ⁵

⁵ This and the three preceding lines are Gray's adaptation of two lines, which Scaliger took from another elegy (ii 3, 45-6) and inserted in the text of this elegy. He was followed by Broekhuysen (see Letters 106, n 2, and 107, n 2). The lines as printed by Scaliger are

His saltem ut teneam jam finibus aut mihi si quis
 Venerit alter amor, acius ut moriar

Apr 1742

Gray to West

Letter 105

But she, the Mistrefs of my Faithful Breast,
Has oft the Charms of Constancy confest,
Condemns her fickle Sex'es fond Mistake,
And hates the Tale of Troy for Helen's Sake.
Me from myself the soft Enchantrefs stole,
Ah, let her ever my Desires controul,
Or if I fall, the Victim of her Scorn,
From her loved Doors may my pale Coarse be born
The Power of Herbs can other Harms remove,
And find a Cure for every Ill, but Love
The Lemnian's Hurt Machaon could repair,
Heal the slow Chief, & send again to War
To Chiron Phœnix owed his long-lost Sight,
And Phœbus' Son restored Androgeon to the Light
Here Skill is vain, even Magick here must fail,
The powerful Mixture, & the Midnight Spell.
The Hand, that can my captive Heart release,
And to this Bosom give its wonted Peace,
May the long Thirst of Tantalus allay,
And drive th' infernal Vulture from his Prey
For Ills unseen what remedy is found,
Or who can probe the undiscover'd Wound?
The Bed avails not, or the Leech's care,
Nor changeing Skies can hurt, nor sultry Air,
'Tis hard th' elusive Symptoms to explore,
Today the Lover walks, tomorrow is no more:
A Train of mourning Friends attend his Pall,
And wonder at the sudden Funeral
When then my Fates, that breath they gave, shall claim,
When the short Marble shall preserve a Name,
A little Verse, my All that shall remain,
Thy passing Courser's slacken'd Speed detain,
(Thou envied Honour of thy Poet's Days,
Of all our Youth th' Ambition & the Praise!)
Then to my quiet Urn awhile draw near,
And say, (while o'er the place you drop a Tear)
Love & the Fair were of his Life the Pride,
He lived, while She was kind, & when she frown'd, he died
Vale.

*Addressed To Richard West Esq, at David Mitchell's Esq of Popes near
Hatfield Hartfordshire Postmark 24 AP*

106 WEST TO GRAY

Popes, May 5, 1742

WITHOUT any preface I come to your verses,¹ which I read over and over with excessive pleasure, and which are at least as good as Propertius. I am only sorry you follow the blunders of Broukhusius,² all whose insertions are nonsense. I have some objections to your antiquated words, and am also an enemy to Alexandrines, at least I do not like them in Elegy. I like your Elegy extremely, so extremely, that I long to shew you some little errors you are fallen into by following Broukhusius: for example, your thirty first lines are most intelligibly soft and pretty: but pray what sense do you affix to your six Broukhusian lines, that begin at happy youth and end at—let me die? * * *³ Were I with you now, and Propertius with your verses lay upon the table between us, I could discuss this point in a moment, but there is nothing so tiresome as spinning out a criticism in a letter, doubts arise, and explanations follow, till there swells out at least a volume of undigested observations: and all because you are not with him whom you want to convince. Read only the letters between Pope and Cromwell⁴ in proof of this, they dispute without end. Are you aware now that I have an interest all this while in banishing Criticism from our correspondence? Indeed I have, for I am going to write down a little Ode (if it deserves the name) for your perusal, which I am afraid will hardly stand that test. Nevertheless I leave you at your full liberty; so here it follows

LETTER 106 —First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 146–8

¹ See Letter 105 *ad fin*

² Jan van Brockhuysen (1649–1707), Dutch classical scholar, published a critical edition of Propertius in 1702, and in the passage to which West refers followed Scaliger's text (see Letter 105, n. 5)

³ This paragraph (from 'I like') is here printed from a fragment of the original formerly in the possession of Col. W. F. Prideaux, who published it in *Notes and Queries* (9th Ser. iv. 531–2). Mason omitted the latter half of the paragraph, and printed as the beginning: 'But, after all, I admire your translation so extremely, that I cannot help repeating I long to shew you some little errors' &c., and he added the following note: 'I have omitted here a paragraph or two, in which different lines of the Elegy were quoted, because I had previously omitted the translation of it.'

⁴ Henry Cromwell, a man about town, more than thirty years Pope's senior, with whom he corresponded between 1707 and 1711. *The Familiar Letters to Henry Cromwell* were published in 1726 (by Pope's own connivance, as was afterwards proved) by Edmund Curll, the bookseller (1675–1747).

ODE

Dear Gray, that always in my heart
 Possessest far the better part,
 What mean these sudden blasts that rise
 And drive the Zephyrs from the skies?
 O join with mine thy tuneful lay,
 And invoke the tardy May
 Come, fairest Nymph, resume thy reign!
 Bring all the Graces in thy train!
 With balmy breath, and flowery tread,
 Rise from thy soft ambrosial bed,
 Where, in elysian slumber bound,
 Embow'ring myrtles veil thee round
 Awake, in all thy glories drest,
 Recall the Zephyrs from the west,
 Restore the sun, revive the skies,
 At mine, and Nature's call, arise!
 Great Nature's self upbraids thy stay,
 And misses her accusom'd May
 See! all her works demand thy aid,
 The labours of Pomona fade
 A plaint is heard from ev'ry tree,
 Each budding flow'ret calls for thee,
 The Birds forget to love and sing,
 With storms alone the forests ring
 Come then, with Pleasure at thy side,
 Diffuse thy vernal spirit wide,
 Create, where'er thou turn'st thy eye,
 Peace, Plenty, Love, and Harmony;
 Till ev'ry being share its part,
 And Heav'n and Earth be glad at heart⁵

107 GRAY TO WEST

London, May 8, 1742

I REJOICE to see you putting up your prayers to the May. She
 cannot choose but come at such a call (It is as light and
 genteel as herself) You bid me find fault; I am afraid I cannot;

⁵ This text, as printed by Mason, does not give the original version sent by West, but a version, corrected and improved, probably by Gray. See Appendix C and cf. Letter 38. It was in reply to this Ode that Gray wrote his own *Ode on the Spring* (see Letter 125, n. 4).

however I will try. The first stanza (if what you say to me in it did not make me think it the best) I should call the worst of the five (except the fourth line) The two next are very picturesque, Miltonic, and musical, her bed is so soft and so snug that I long to lie with her But those two lines 'Great Nature' are my favourites The exclamation of the flowers is a little step too far¹ The last stanza is full as good as the second and third, the last line bold, but I think not too bold Now, as to myself and my translation, pray do not call names I never saw Broukhusius in my life It is Scaliger² who attempted to range Propertius in order, who was, and still is, in sad condition * * *³ You see, by what I sent you, that I converse, as usual, with none but the dead They are my old friends, and almost make me long to be with them You will not wonder therefore, that I, who live only in times past, am able to tell you no news of the present (I have finished the Peloponnesian war⁴ much to my honour, and a tight conflict it was, I promise you I have drank and sung with Anacreon for the last fortnight, and am now feeding sheep with Theocritus) Besides, to quit my figure, (because it is foolish) I have run over Pliny's Epistles and Martial *ἐκ παρέργου*, not to mention Petrarch, who, by the way, is sometimes very tender and natural I must needs tell you three lines in Anacreon, where the expression seems to me imitable He is describing hair as he would have it painted

*Ἐλικας δ' ἐλευθέρας μοι
Πλοκάμων ἄτακτα συνθεῖς
Ἀφές ὥς θέλξει κείσθαι*⁵

Guefs, too, where this is about a dimple

Sigilla in mento impressa Amoris digitulo
Vestigio demonstrant mollitudinem

LETTER 107 — First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 148–50

¹ See Appendix C

² Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), the great scholar, he published an edition of Propertius in 1577 Gray was right in attributing the insertion to Scaliger (see Letter 105, n 5)

³ Here some criticism on the Elegy is omitted *Mason*

⁴ In Thucydides

⁵ The passage occurs in Ode xxix 'Setting in careless array the wanton tendrils of thy tresses, let them lie as they list'

May 1742

West to Gray

Letter 108

108 WEST TO GRAY

Popes, May 11, 1742

YOUR fragment is in Aulus Gellius,¹ and both it and your Greek delicious. But why are you thus melancholy? I am so sorry for it, that you see I cannot forbear writing again the very first opportunity, though I have little to say, except to expostulate with you about it. I find you converse much with the dead, and I do not blame you for that, I converse with them too, though not indeed with the Greek. But I must condemn you for your longing to be with them. What, are there no joys among the living? I could almost cry out with Catullus² 'Alphene immemor, atque unanimis false sodalibus!' But to turn an accusation thus upon another, is ungenerous, so I will take my leave of you for the present with a 'Vale et vive paullisper cum vivis.'

108 * Gray to Chute

[c. 20 May, 1742]

[In the letter to Chute of 24 May (Letter 109) Gray says 'I had wrote to you but a few days ago']

109 GRAY TO CHUTE

My Dear S^r

THREE Days ago, as I was in the Coffee-house very deep in Advertisements, a Servant came in, & waked me (as I thought) with the Name of M^r Chute for half a minute I was not sure, but that it was You transported into England by some strange Chance the Lord knows how, till he brought me to a Coach that seem'd to have lost its way by looking for a Needle in a Bottle of Hay, in it was a Lady,¹ who said she was not You,

LETTER 108 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, p. 150

¹ Not in Aulus Gellius, but, as Mitford points out, in Nonius Marcellus. The passage occurs in the *Compendiosa Doctrina*, Lib. 11 *De Honestæ sed Nove Dictis* 'Mollitudinem, pro mollietate' 2 xxx 1

² This is West's last extant letter, he died at Popes, near Hatfield, on the following 1 June. In Gray's Commonplace-book at Pembroke College, Cambridge, are transcripts of two translations from Catullus by West, to which Gray has appended the note 'Fav Wrote, May 11, 1742'. These translations (which are printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp. 167-8), doubtless accompanied the above letter, but were omitted by Mason, who must have omitted also a portion of the letter relating to them. It seems probable that there were other letters written by West before his death, which Mason did not print. See preliminary note to Letter 110, and Letter 131, n. 16.

LETTER 109 —First printed by Mitford in *Works of Gray* (1835-43), vol. 11, pp. 183-8, now reprinted from original.

¹ Perhaps Chute's sister-in-law, Mrs. Francis Chute (see Letter 122, n. 8).

but only a near relation, & was so good to give me a Letter, with which I return'd to my Den in order to prey upon it I had wrote to you but a few days ago,² & am glad of so good an Excuse to do it again, w^{ch} I may the better do, as my last was all out, & nothing to the Purpose, being design'd for a certain M^r Chute at Rome, & not him at Florence

I learn from it that I have been somewhat smarter, than I ought, but (to shew you with how little Malice) I protest I have not the least Idea what it was my Memory would be better, did I read my own Letters so often, as I do yours you must attribute it to a sort of kittenish Disposition, that scratches, where it means to caress, however I don't repent neither, if 'tis that, has made you write I know, I need not ask pardon, for you have forgiven me nay, I have a good Mind to complain myself (how could you say, that I design'd to hurt you, because I knew you could feel? I hate the thoughts of it, & would not for the world wound any thing, that was sensible) 'tis true, I should be glad to scratch the Careless, or the Foolish, but no armour is so impenetrable, as Indifference & Stupidity, and so I may keep my Claws to myself for another Instance of the shortness of my Memory would you believe, I have so little knowledge of the Florentine History, as not to guess, who the Lady-Errant is you mention³ sure it can't be the R^{di}³ & her faithful Swain, or may be M^r G^{di}⁴ & the little Abbé what you do there so long, I have no Conception if you stay at other Places in proportion, I despair of ever seeing you again 'tis true indeed M^r Mann is not every where I am shock'd to think of his Sufferings,⁵ but he of all Men was born to suffer with a good Grace he is a Stoick without knowing it, & seems to think Pain a Pleasure I am very sorry to complement him upon such an Occasion, & wish with all my Heart he were not so pleased. I much fear his Books are gone already, but if not, to be sure he shall have Middleton,⁶ & the Sofa⁷ it seems most people here are not

² The letter is not extant (see Letter 108*)

³ The Marchesa Riccardi Walpole, in his letter to Mann of 15 July 1745, speaks of having received many civilities from her at Florence

⁴ Mann, in a letter to Walpole of 17 Sept. 1741, in an account of the dismissal of certain *cicisbeos* by their mistresses says 'Madame Gondi has turned off the poor pale-faced Abbe'

⁵ See Letter 98, n. 2.

⁶ Conyers Middleton's *History of the Life of M. Tullius Cicero*, 2 vols. 4to, was published by subscription in 1741. It was republished in 3 vols. 8vo in 1742, and this edition was sent to Mann (see Letter 112, n. 22)

⁷ *Le Sofa, Conte moral*, by Crébillon fils, published in 1740. In the post-

such admirers of it, as I was but I won't give up an inch of it for all that did I tell you about M^r Garrick,⁸ that the Town are horn-mad after; there are a dozen Dukes of a night at Goodmans-fields⁹ sometimes, & yet I am stiff in the opposition¹⁰ our fifth Opera was the *Olympiade*,¹¹ in which they retain'd most of Pergolesi's¹² Songs & yet 'tis gone already, as if it had been a poor thing of Galuppi's¹³ two nights did I enjoy it all alone, snugg in a Nook in the Gallery, but found no one in those regions had ever heard of Pergolesi, nay, I heard several affirm it was a Composition of Pescetti's¹⁴ now there is a 6th sprung up by the name of Cefalo & Procri¹⁵ my Lady of Queensbury¹⁶

script to his letter to Mann of 11 Feb 1742 Walpole writes 'We have at last got Crébillon's *Sofa* Lord Chesterfield received three hundred, and gave them to be sold at White's It is admirable except the beginning of the first volume, and the last story, it is equal to anything he has written'

⁸ David Garrick on 19 Oct 1741 made his famous appearance at Goodman's Fields in the part of Richard III, which at once established his reputation—'the patent houses were deserted, and a string of carriages thronged the route from Temple Bar to Goodman's Fields' (*DNB*)

⁹ Goodman's Fields was a large open space lying between the Minories and Church Lane, Whitechapel, the theatre was in what is now Great Alie Street (Wheatley's *London*)

¹⁰ Walpole, writing to Mann two days later, expressed the like opinion 'All the run is now after Garrick, a wine-merchant, who is turned player, at Goodman's Fields He plays all parts, and is a very good mimic His acting I have seen, and may say to you, who will not tell it again here, I see nothing wonderful in it, but it is heresy to say so the Duke of Argyll says, he is superior to Betterton'

¹¹ The *Olympiade* was an opera of Metastasio's written to celebrate the birthday of the Empress Elizabeth, wife of the Emperor Charles VI, in 1733 It was first performed in London at the King's Theatre, on 20 April 1742, the music being a pasticcio, mostly by Pergolesi, but partly by D. Scarlatti and others

¹² Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–36), a native of Jesi, the year before his death he composed the *Olympiade*, 'the music of which was in his happiest vein', for performance in Rome, where it was a complete failure His last work was the celebrated *Stabat Mater* (see Letter 214, n 21)

¹³ Baldassare Galuppi (1706–85), a Venetian, he composed upwards of fifty operas

¹⁴ Giovanni Battista Pescetti (c 1704–c 1766), native of Venice, where he died, he spent some years in England, being director of Covent Garden in 1739, and of the Haymarket in 1740 Walpole mentions a new opera of his in his letter to Mann of 22 Jan 1742

¹⁵ The name of the composer of this opera, which was only performed three times, is unknown The music was not printed, and the libretto apparently has not survived

¹⁶ Lady Catherine Hyde (1701–77), second daughter of fourth Earl of

is come out against my Lady of Marlborough,¹⁷ & she has her Spirit too, & her Originality, but more of the Woman, I think, than t'other; as to the Facts it don't signify two pence, who's in the right, the manner of fighting, & character of the Combatants is all 'tis hoped old Sarah will at her again a Play of M^r Glover's,¹⁸ I am told, is preparing for the stage call'd Boadicea¹⁹ it is a fine Subject, but I have not an extreme Opinion of him the Invalides at Chelsea intend to present Ranelagh-Gardens,²⁰ as a Nuisance,^{20a} for breaking their first Sleep with the sound of Fiddles it opens, I think, tonight²¹ Mefieurs the Commons are to ballot for 7 Persons tomorrow, commission'd to state the publick accounts, & they are to be such, who have no places, nor are anyways dependent on the King the Committee have petition'd for all Papers relating to the Convention²² a bill has pass'd the lower House for indemnifying all, who might subject themselves to Penalties by revealing any transaction with regard to the Conduct of My L^d Orford,²³ & tomorrow the Lords are summon'd about it²⁴

Clarendon, and wife (1720) of Charles Douglas, third Duke of Queensberry, noted for her beauty (which she retained till her death), her wit, and her eccentricities. She was the 'Kitty' of Prior's *Female Phaeton*, to which Walpole added a stanza (see his letter to Mann of 26 April 1771)

¹⁷ Sarah Jennings (d. 1744), widow (at this time eighty-two) of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough. She had just published her *Memoirs in the shape of An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, From her first coming to Court To the Year 1710 In a Letter from Herself to My Lord —*, which provoked numerous pamphlets in reply, one of which presumably emanated from the Duchess of Queensberry.

¹⁸ Richard Glover (1712–85) best known as the author of *Leonidas*.

¹⁹ It was not till December 1753 that *Boadicea* appeared, when it was performed for nine nights at Drury Lane, two editions of it being published by Dodsley in the same month.

²⁰ So called from the ground on which they were laid out having been the property of the first Earl of Ranelagh, they were close to Chelsea Hospital, the present gardens of which are (in part) on the site.

^{20a} 'To present as a nuisance' is to lay an information against someone for allowing a public nuisance (*O E D*).

²¹ Walpole (who, of course, uses old style) writes to Mann on 26 May 1742. 'Two nights ago Ranelagh Gardens were opened at Chelsea', the date of this letter consequently is fixed as 24 May 1742, O S. (See n. 35.)

²² This was the Convention of Madrid with Spain, signed on 14 Jan. 1739, it had been debated in the Commons in the following March, when Walpole's majority fell to 28.

²³ Sir Robert Walpole had been created Earl of Orford on 9 Feb. of this year.

²⁴ The Indemnity Bill was passed in the Commons on 13 May but was thrown out in the Lords by a large majority on 25 May (see Walpole to Mann, 13 and 26 May 1742).

the Wit of the times consists in Satyrical Prints, I believe, there have been some Hundreds within this Month, if you have any hopeful young Designer of Caricaturas, that has a political Turn, he may pick up a pretty Subsistence here: let him pass thro' Holland to improve his Taste by the way we are all very sorry for poor Queen Hungary,²⁵ but we know of a second Battle (w^{ch} perhaps you may never hear off, but from me) as how Prince Lobbycock²⁶ came up in the Nick of Time, & cut 120,000 of 'em all to pieces, & how the King of Prussia narrowly escaped aboard a Ship, & so got down the Dannub to Wolf-in-Bottle,²⁷ where M^r Mallyboyce²⁸ lay incamp'd, & how the Hannoverians with Prince Hissy-Castle²⁹ at their head, fell upon the French Mounseers, & took him away with all his Treasure, among which is Pitt's Diamond,³⁰ & the Great Cistern³¹ all this

²⁵ Maria Theresa had been proclaimed Queen of Hungary in June of the previous year, the Austrians under Prince Charles of Lorraine had just been defeated at Chotusitz by Frederick the Great (17 May)

²⁶ That is, the Austrian general, Prince George Christian Lobkowitz (1702-53)

²⁷ Wolfenbuttel, about ten miles south of Brunswick

²⁸ Jean Baptista François Desmarets (1682-1762), Marquis de Maillebois, Maréchal de France

²⁹ Frederick, Hereditary Prince, afterwards (1760) Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, he married, in 1740, Mary, fourth daughter of George II, and died in 1785. He had recently been appointed Generalissimo of the allied forces (see Walpole to Mann, 25 Feb 1742)

³⁰ A diamond weighing 410 carats, which had been bought in India in 1701 for £20,400 by Thomas Pitt (grandfather of the Earl of Chatham), then Governor of Madras, and sold by him in 1717 to the Regent Duc d'Orléans, on behalf of Louis XV, for £135,000. Some incidents in the previous history of the diamond suggested Pope's lines

Asleep and naked as an Indian lay,
An honest factor stole a gem away,
He pledg'd it to the knight the knight had wit,
So kept the di'mond, and the rogue was bit

('Moral Essays Epist to Lord Bathurst', ll 361-4), the last line of which originally ended 'and was rich as Pitt'. Gray refers to the Pitt diamond again in connexion with Pitt's acceptance of a pension in 1761 (see Letters 346 and 353)

³¹ The Great Cistern was made by Charles Kandler from a design by Henry Jernegan in 1734-5. It was too big to find a private purchaser and a Government lottery was held to dispose of it, the profits being devoted to the fund for building Westminster Bridge. It passed into the possession of the Tsar (see W. J. Cripps, *Old English Plate*, sixth edition, p. 344)

Cisterns (of silver, copper, or pewter) used to be part of the outfit of a dining-room, being used apparently for rinsing plates, forks, &c, during a meal.

is firmly believed here, & a vast deal more, upon the Strength of which we intend to declare War with France

You are so obliging as to put me in mind of our last Years little expeditions,^{31a} alas! S^r, they are past, & how many Years will it be, at the rate you go on, before we can possibly renew them in this Country? in all probability I shall be gone first on a long Expedition to that undiscover'd Country, from whose bourn no Traveller returns, however (if I can) I will think of you, as I sail down the *River of Eternity* I can't help thinking, that I should find no difference almost between this world & t'other (for I converse with none but the dead here) only indeed I should receive, nor write no more Letters (for the Post is not very well regulated) if you see the King of Naples, pray talk with him on this Subject, for I see he is upon Settling one between his country & Constantinople, & I take this to be but a little more difficult

My Dab of Musick & Prints you are very good to think of sending with your own, to which I will add a farther Trouble by desiring you to send me some of the Roots of a certain Flower, w^{ch} I have seen at Florence, it is a huge white Hyacynth tinged with Pink (M^r M knows what I mean, by that same token that they grow sometimes in the fat Gerina's³² *Boosom*) I mean, if they bear a reasonable Price, w^{ch} you will judge of for me but don't give yourself any pains about³³ it, for if they are not easily had, & at an easy Rate, I am not at all eager for them do you talk of *strumming*? ohime! who have not seen the face of a *Haspical*,³⁴ since I came home, no, I have hanged up my Harp on the Willows, however I look at my Musick now & then, that I may not forget it, for when you return, I intend to sing a Song of Thanksgiving & praise the Lord with a chearful Noise of many-stringed Instruments Adieu! dear S^r, I am sincerely Yours

T G

[May 24 O S 1742]³⁵ London Not forgetting my Kifs Hands to M^r Whithed³⁶

Addressed ³⁷ A Monsieur Mons^r Chute Gentilhomme Anglois chez Mons^r Mann, Resident de Sa Majesté Britannique a la Cour Toscane Florence Par Hollande

^{31a} See Appendix D

³² This was no doubt the 'Madame Gerini, a good fat creature', of Mann's letter to Walpole of 12 Aug 1742

³³ From this point to the end of the letter is in another hand, a note intimating that 'the centre of this page is torn and lost, but 'tis copied below'

110 GRAY TO WEST

London, May 27, 1742

MINE, you are to know, is a white Melancholy, or rather Leucocholy for the most part, which though it seldom laughs or dances, nor ever amounts to what one calls Joy or Pleasure, yet is a good easy sort of a state, and ça ne laïse que de s'amuser. The only fault of it is insipidity, which is apt now and then to give a sort of Ennui, which makes one form certain little wishes that signify nothing. But there is another sort, black indeed, which I have now and then felt, that has somewhat in it like Tertullian's rule of faith, Credo quia impossibile est, for it believes, nay, is sure of every thing that is unlikely, so it be but frightful, and, on the other hand, excludes and shuts its eyes to the most possible hopes, and every thing that is pleasurable, from this the Lord deliver us!¹ for none but he and sunshiny weather can do it. In hopes of enjoying this kind of

³⁴ Corruption of harpsichord. Goldsmith, thirty years later, in *She Stoops to Conquer* (Act iv), makes Tony Lumpkin speak of 'the haspicholls'.

³⁵ The copy has 'March O S London'. This is obviously wrong as Gray's reference to the opening of Ranelagh Gardens 'tonight' fixes the date as 24 May 1742, O S (see n. 21).

³⁶ Francis Whithed (1719-51), of Southwick Park, near Fareham, in Hampshire, his name was originally Thistlethwayte, but he had taken that of Whithed on succeeding to the estate of an uncle. Walpole and Gray had made his acquaintance and that of his cousin, John Chute, at Florence in 1740. He returned to England with Chute in September 1746, and entered Parliament in the following July as member for Southampton county. He died at the Vyne in March 1751 to the great grief of Chute, who regarded him almost as a son. Gray was at Venice with Chute and Whithed after he parted from Walpole at Reggio in 1741.

³⁷ The address has been cut off, it is now copied from the cover, which was found in the hands of a bookseller.

LETTER 110.—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 151-5. It seems likely that in this instance, as in many others, Mason has combined parts of two or more letters. Gray and West were exchanging letters in April at intervals of three or four days, and so they continued to do at the beginning of May. But after West's letter of 11 May (Letter 108) Mason prints what professes to be Gray's reply, and dates it 27 May. The gap of sixteen days is unlikely, it is probable that other letters were written by both Gray and West in the interval, and it may be conjectured that Mason has combined part of a letter of Gray's about 15 May, referring to his melancholy, written in answer to West's letter, and parts of one or more later letters, one of which may have been written on 27 May. Gray says that he is going into the country, and there is other evidence (see the postscript to Letter 111) that it was about this date that he went to Stoke.

weather, I am going into the country¹ for a few weeks, but shall be never the nearer any society, so, if you have any charity, you will continue to write My life is like Harry the fourth's supper of Hens 'Poulets a la broche, Poulets en Ragout, Poulets en Hâchis, Poulets en Fricasées'² Reading here, Reading there, nothing but books with different sauces Do not let me lose my desert then, for though that be Reading too, yet it has a very different flavour The May seems to be come since your invitation, and I propose to bask in her beams and drefs me in her roses

Et Caput in vernâ semper habere rosâ³

I shall see Mr * * and his Wife, nay, and his Child too, for he has got a Boy Is it not odd to consider one's Cotemporaries in the grave light of Husband and Father? There is my Lords * * and * * *, they are Statesmen⁴ Do not you remember them dirty boys playing at cricket? As for me, I am never a bit the older, nor the bigger, nor the wiser than I was then No, not for having been beyond sea Pray how are you?

I send you an inscription for a wood joining to a park of mine, (it is on the confines of Mount Cithæron, on the left hand as you go to Thebes) you know I am no friend to hunters, and hate to be disturbed by their noise

Ἀζόμενος πολυθῆρον ἐκθόλας ἄλσος ἀνάσσειας
τᾶς δεινᾶς τεμένη λεῖπε, κυναγέ, θεᾶς

¹ Upon a visit to his relations at Stoke *Mason*—Gray's uncle, Jonathan Rogers (see Letter 26, n. 3), was then residing at West End Cottage, Stoke, where, sometime after his death in October 1742, Mrs. Gray and her sister, Mary Antrobus, retired to live with his widow The house, much enlarged and altered, is now known as Stoke Court

² Gray here associates with Henry IV. of France a story of which there are several well-known variants One of these is given by Boccaccio in the *Decameron* (i. 5) where it is related how the Marchioness of Monferrato entertained the King of France at a supper which consisted of nothing but chicken served in various ways Another form of the story gave rise to the proverbial expression 'toujours perdrix' (See *Notes and Queries*, 11th Ser. x. 194, 236)

³ Propertius, 3 *Eleg.* iii. 44

⁴ Lord Sandwich, Lord Halifax *Qr.* both at Eton in mine and Mr Gray's time, and early in the Ministry *Cole* (MS. note quoted by Mitford, 1835-43, vol. i, p. cvi)—John Montagu (1718-92), fourth Earl of Sandwich, and George Montagu Dunk (1716-71), second Earl of Halifax Neither of them had held office at the date of Gray's letter

Μῆνοι ἄρ' ἔνθα κύνων ζαθέων κλαγγεῦσιν ὕλαγμοί,
ἀνταχεῖς Νυμφᾶν ἀγροτερᾶν κελάδῳ

Here follows also the beginning of an Heroic Epistle, but you must give me leave to tell my own story first, because Historians differ Mafsinifsa was the son of Gala King of the Mafsyli, and, when very young at the head of his father's army, gave a most signal overthrow to Syphax, King of the Masæsylians, then an ally of the Romans Soon after Asdrubal, son of Gisgo the Carthaginian General, gave the beautiful Sophonisba, his daughter, in marriage to the young prince But this marriage was not consummated on account of Mafsinifsa's being obliged to hasten into Spain, there to command his father's troops, who were auxiliaries of the Carthaginians Their affairs at this time began to be in a bad condition, and they thought it might be greatly for their interest, if they could bring over Syphax to themselves This in time they actually effected, and to strengthen their new alliance, commanded Asdrubal to give his daughter to Syphax (It is probable their ingratitude to Mafsinifsa arose from the great change of affairs, which had happened among the Mafsylians during his absence, for his father and uncle were dead, and a distant relation of the royal family had usurped the throne) Sophonisba was accordingly married to Syphax and Mafsinifsa, enraged at the affront, became a friend to the Romans. They drove the Carthaginians before them out of Spain, and carried the war into Africa, defeated Syphax, and took him prisoner, upon which Cirtha (his capital) opened her gates to Lælius and Mafsinifsa The rest of the affair, the marriage, and the sending of poison, every body knows ⁵ This is partly taken from Livy,⁶ and partly from Appian ⁷

SOPHONISBA MASSINISSÆ

EPISTOLA

Egregium accipio promissū Munus amoris,
Inque manu mortem jam fructura fero
Atque utinam citius mandasses, luce vel unā,
Transieram Stygios non inhonesta lacus

⁵ Masinissa married Sophonisba, but the Romans demanded her surrender, whereupon Masinissa, to spare her the humiliation of captivity, sent her a bowl of poison with which she put an end to her life

⁶ Livy, xxix 23, xxx 3-15

⁷ *Pun* 10, 27, 28

Victoris nec falsa toros, nova nupta, mariti,
Nec fueram fastus, Roma superba, tuos.
Scilicet hæc partem tibi, Mafsinifsa, triumphī
Detractam, hæc pompæ jura minora suæ
Imputat, atque uxor quod non tua pressa catenis,
Objecta & sævæ plausibus urbis eo
Quin tu pro tantis cepisti præmia factis,
Magnum Romanæ pignus amicitiae!
Scipiadae excuses, oro, si tardius utar
Munere Non nimium vivere, crede, velim
Parva mora est, breve sed tempus mea fama requirit
Detinet hæc animam cura suprema meam
Quæ patriæ prodesse meæ Regina ferebar,
Inter Elisæas gloria prima nurus,
Ne videar flammæ nimis indulsisse secundæ,
Vel nimis hostiles extimuisse manus
Fortunam atque annos liceat revocare priores,
Gaudiaque heu! quantis nostra repensa malis
Primitiasne tuas meministi atque arma Syphacis
Fusa, & per Tyrias ducta trophæa vias?
(Laudis at antiquæ forsân meminisse pigebit,
Quodque decus quondam causa ruboris erit)
Tempus ego certe memini, felicia Pœnis
Quo te non puduit solvere vota deis,
Mœniaque intrantem vidi longo agmine duxit
Turba salutantum, purpureique patres
Fœminæ ante omnes longe admiratur euntem
Hæret & aspectu tota caterva tuo
Jam flexi, regale decus, per colla capilli,
Jam decet ardenti fuscus in ore color!
Commendat frontis generosa modestia formam,
Seque cupit laudi surripuisse suæ
Prima genas tenui signat vix flore juventas,
Et dextræ soli credimus esse virum
Dum faciles gradiens oculos per singula jactas,
(Seu rexit casus lumina, sive Venus)
In me (vel certè visum est) conversa morari
Sensi, virgineus perculit ora pudor
Nescio quid vultum molle spirare tuendo,
Credideramque tuos lentius ire pedes
Quærebam, juxta æqualis si dignior esset,
Quæ poterat visus detinuisse tuos

May 1742

Gray to West

Letter 110

Nulla fuit circum æqualis quæ dignior efset,
Aferuitque decus conscia forma suum
Pompæ finis erat Totâ vix nocte quievi:
Sin premat invitæ lumina victa sopor,
Somnus habet pompas, eademque recursat imago,
Atque iterum hesterno munere victor ades

* * * * *

110* Gray to West

[c June 3, 1742]

[In his letter to Ashton of 17 June 1742 (Letter 111) Gray mentions having received back unopened a letter he had recently written to West, which was the first intimation he had of West's death. This letter doubtless accompanied the *Ode on the Spring* (see Letter 125, n 4)]

111 GRAY TO ASHTON

My dear Ashton,

THIS melancholy day is the first that I have had any notice of my Loss in poor West, and that only by so unexpected a Means as some Verses publishd in a Newspaper (they are fine & true & I believe may be your own) ¹ I had indeed some reason to suspect it some days since from receiving a letter of my own ² to him sent back unopen'd. The stupid People had put it no Cover, nor thought it worth while to write one Line to inform me of the reason, tho' by knowing how to direct, they must imagine I was his friend. I am a fool indeed to be surprizd at meeting with Brutishness or want of Thought among Mankind, what I would desire is, that you would have the goodness

⁸ It seems much to be regretted that the author did not finish this poem. But I believe he never proceeded further with it. *Mason*—*Mitford*, who prints this poem in his *Works of Thomas Gray*, 1835-43, vol 1, pp 200-4, draws attention to the numerous classical reminiscences throughout the piece. He also remarks upon Gray's metrical irregularities.

LETTER 111.—First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp 170-1, reprinted by Toynbee (1915), No 153, from Mitford's transcript.

¹ A copy of the lines by Ashton was enclosed by Walpole in a letter to Mann at the beginning of July (see Mrs Toynbee's *Letters of Horace Walpole*, vol 1, p 248). A slightly different version is printed by Tovey (*op cit*, pp 171-2) from a transcript by Gray in his *Commonplace-book*.

² See Letter 110*

to tell me, what you know of his death, more particularly as soon as you have any Leisure; my own Sorrow does not make me insensible to your new Happinefs,¹ which I heartily congratulate you upon, as the means of Quiet, and Independance, & the Power of expressing your benevolence to those you love. neither my Misfortune, nor my joy shall detain you longer at a time, when doubtless you are a good deal employd, only believe me sincerely yours

T GRAY.

P S Pray do not forget my impatience,—especially if you do not happen to be in London I have no one to enquire of but yourself 'tis now three weeks, that I have been in the Country, but shall return to Town in 2 days

June 17—Stoke 1742

112. GRAY TO CHUTE AND MANN

*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*1

Jews-Harp ask M^r Whithed, whither when he goes to Heaven, he does not expect to see all his favourite Hens, all his dear little Pouts,² untimely Victims of the Pot & the Spit, come pipping & gobbling in a melodious Voice about him I know, he does, there's nothing so natural Poor Cont¹³ is he going to be a Cherub? I remember here (but he was not ripe then) he had a very promising Squeak with him, & that his Mouth, when open, made an exact Square⁴ I have never been at Ranelagh Gardens since they were open'd⁵ (for what does it signify to me?) but they do not succeed People see it once or twice & so they go to Vaux-Hall well, but is not it a very

¹ This presumably refers to Ashton's nomination to the Crown living of Aldingham, in North Lancashire, as the result of an application by Walpole to Henry Pelham on Ashton's behalf (see his letter to Pelham of 17 May 1742)

LETTER 112.—First printed by Mitford in *Works of Gray* (1835-43), vol. II, pp. 176-80, now reprinted from original

² The first half-sheet of the letter has been torn off and lost

³ Pouts or Pouls are young birds See Letter 124, n. 5

⁴ See Letter 24, n. 4

⁵ See Letter 24, n. 5

⁶ 24 May of this year (1742)—see Letter 109, n. 21

great Design, very new, finely lighted⁶ well, yes, aye, very fine truly, & so they yawn, & go to Vaux-Hall. & then it's too hot, & then it's too cold, & here's a Wind, & there's a Damp, & so the Women go to Bed, & the Men to a Bawdy⁶-House. you are to take Notice, that in our Country Delicacy & Indelicacy amount to much the same thing, the first will not be pleased with any Thing, & the other cannot however to do us Justice, I think, we are a reasonable, but by no means a pleasurable People, & to mend us we must have a Dash of the French, & Italian yet I don't know how, Travelling does not produce its right Effect—I find, I am talking, but You are to attribute it to my having at last found a Pen, that writes

You are so good, 'tis a shame to scold at you, but you never till now certified me, that you were at Casa Ambrosio⁷ I did not know in what Light to consider you I had an Idea, but did not know where to put it, for an Idea must have a Place per campeggiar bene You were an Intaglia⁸ unset, a Picture without a Frame but now all is well, tho' I am not very sure yet, whither you are above Stairs, or on the Ground-floor, but by your mentioning the Terrazzino,⁹ it must be the latter do the Frogs of Arno sing as sweetly, as they did in my Days² do you sup al fresco² Have you a Mugherino¹⁰ Tree & a Nanny² I fear, I don't spell this last Word right pray, ask M^r M, oh dear¹ I fear I am a Blunderer about Hyacinths,¹¹ for to be sure, they can't be taken out of the Ground till they have done blooming, & they are perhaps just now in Flower that you may know my Place,¹² I am just going into the Country¹³ for one easy fortnight, & then in earnest intend to go to Cambridge to Trinity Hall¹⁴

⁶ This word is scored through, but is still legible

⁷ Apparently Chute was not living with Mann in the Casa Manetti (see Letter 90, n. 7), but had quarters of his own in the Casa Ambrosio

⁸ Sic

⁹ Chute dates a letter to Walpole on 24 June of this year from 'Charming Terrazzino, Casa Ambrosio, Florence

¹⁰ *Jasmanum sambac*, the Arabian sweet-scented white jasmine 'Nanny' may possibly have been a nickname for a housekeeper (So Walpole called his housekeeper at Strawberry Hill)

¹¹ See Letter 109

¹² See above 'an Idea must have a Place per campeggiar bene'

¹³ No doubt to Stoke, where he had been in June (see Letter 111)

¹⁴ Gray had left Cambridge in Sept. 1738, he was now about to return for the purpose of taking a degree in law (see Appendix F) The intention here expressed of going to Trinity Hall (a college founded especially for the study of law) was not carried out, as he went back to Peterhouse

my sole Reason (as you know) is to look, as if^{14a}—and when I feel it go against my Stomach, I remember it was Your Prescription, and so it goes down look upon me then, my Dear S^r, in my proper Light, & consider how necessary it is to me to hear from You, as often as you can bestow an Hour upon me, I flatter myself, your Kindness will try to get the better of your Indolence, when you reflect how cruelly alone I must be in the midst of that Crowd¹

The Remainder of this Page I hope you will pardon me, if I dedicate to my good M^r Mann. S^r, I had the pleasure of receiving Your good dear Letter, & only defer'd thanking You till now, that I might be able to execute your little Commission first, the Contents of which I send to your Brother¹⁵ along with this Letter but first let me enquire, how you do alas! S^r, you may call 'em, Benevoli, or whatever soft Names you please, but I much fear they don't understand their business like our people with a thousand Consonants I perfectly believe D^r Cocchi's¹⁶ good Intentions, but he is not the Executioner himself, & here it is not sufficient to wish well, if it were I'm sure my Wishes are fervent enough to be felt even at Florence in spite of all the Lakes,¹⁷ & Seas, & Enemies, that lie betwixt us they are daily employ'd for your Happiness, & will, I hope, be of more Use to You, than they have been to myself the Books, I send you, are the *Etat de la France*,¹⁸ 3 Vol Fol ° upon my Word an excellent book he is a sensible, knowing, Englishman, only had the Misfortune to be born in France *Life of Mahomet*,¹⁹ by the same Author, it is famous you are desired to make no reflections, nor draw Consequences, when you read it L^d Burleigh's Papers²⁰—seem very curious, & well enough chose by the way,

^{14a} Gray means that he wished to look as if he were preparing for the legal profession, although he had no intention of following it. See Mason, *Memoirs*, p. 120 (quoted in Appendix F). He must have discussed his plans, when he was with Chute a year before.

¹⁵ Galfridus (see Letter 99, n. 3).

¹⁶ Mann's two physicians (see Letter 99, nn. 6, 7).

¹⁷ The original word has been almost obliterated, and 'Lakes' has been written in above it by a later hand, from the faint indications still remaining this, and not 'Lands', seems to be what Gray wrote.

¹⁸ *État de la France, dans lequel on voit tout ce qui regarde le gouvernement ecclésiastique, politique, etc.* The author was Henri de Boulainvilliers Comte de Saint-Saire, a voluminous writer, commonly known as the Comte de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722).

¹⁹ An 8vo edition of his *Vie de Mahomet* was published in London in 1730.

²⁰ The first instalment of the *Collection of State Papers* of William Cecil

they have lately publish'd Thurlow's Papers²¹ here in 7 Vol folio, out of which it would be hard to collect a Pocket-Volume worth haveing Dr Middleton's Cicero, 3 Vol²² & a Letter on the Catholick Religion²³ worth your reading Philip de Comines, 5 Vol²⁴ the Louvre Edition²⁵ is much more splendid, but wants the Supplement, & Notes, w^{ch} are here Wⁿ on the M^r²⁶ a very impudent fellow his Dedications will make you laugh. Ludlow's Memoirs, 3 Vol²⁷ as unorthodox in Politics, as the other in Religion 2 lyttel Bookys tocheing Kyng James, the fyrst very rare²⁸ Le Sopha,²⁹ de Crebillon—Collect of Plays,³⁰ 10 Vol there are none of Shakespear, because you had better have all his Works together—they come to about £7 18s 6d the whole Cargo you will find among them 3 Parts of Marianne,³¹ for M^r Chute if he has them already, how can

(1520–98), Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth's famous Secretary of State, covering the period 1541–70, which was edited by Samuel Haynes (Lond, fol, 1740)

²¹ A *Collection of State Papers* of John Thurloe (1616–68), Cromwell's Secretary of State, edited, with Life, by Thomas Birch (Lond, 7 vols, fol, 1742)

²² See Letter 109, n 6

²³ A fourth edition of his *Letter from Rome, showing an Exact Conformity between Popery and Paganism*, first published in 1729 had been issued, with the addition of a Prefatory Discourse and Postscript, in 1741

²⁴ Philippe de Commines (c 1445–c 1511), author of *Mémoires*, in two parts, covering the years 1464–83, and 1494–5 Gray refers probably to the Brussels edition of 1723 in 5 vols, 8vo, comprising the additions

²⁵ Edited by Denys Godefroy, and printed at the Imprimerie Royale du Louvre, Paris, 1649, one vol, fol

²⁶ *Six Discourses on the Miracles, and two Defences of them*, by Thomas Woolston (Lond, 2 vols, 8vo, 1727–30) Each of the *Discourses* had a dedication, satirical or impudent, addressed to one of the Bishops the first *Defence of His Discourses* had a comic dedication to the Queen, the second, which was dedicated to the Lord Chief Justice, is not obviously satirical

²⁷ *Memoirs, with a Collection of original Papers* of Edmund Ludlow (c 1617–92), the regicide (Vevay, 3 vols, 8vo, 1698–9, and Lond, 1721–2)

²⁸ Mitford suggests that these may be Sir Anthony Weldon's *Court and Character of K James*, written and taken by Sir A W being an Eye and Eare Witnesse (Lond, 12mo, 1650), and Sir Wilham Sanderson's *Aulicus Cogitationes, or a Vindication in Answer to a Pamphlet entitled 'The Court and Character of King James'* (Lond, 12mo, 1650)

²⁹ See Letter 109, n 7

³⁰ Probably a miscellaneous assortment of plays

³¹ *La Vie de Marianne, ou les Aventures de Madame la Comtesse de * * ** Par Monsieur de Marivaux (see Letter 103, n 5), appeared in 12 *Parties* between 1731 and 1743

I help it? why would he make no mention of Mad ^{11e} de Thevire³² to me?

And now let me congratulate you, as no longer a Min ³³ but, far del Mondo³⁴ veramente un Ministrone,³⁵ & King of the Mediterranean pray your Majesty, give Orders to your Men of War, if they touch at Naples, to take care of the Parma Collection,³⁶ & be sure, don't let them bombard Genoa if you can bully the Pope out of the Apollo Belvedere, well & good. I'm not against it I'm enchanted with your good Sister, the Queen of Hungary,³⁷ as old as I am, I could almost fight for her myself see what it is to be happy, every body will fight for those, that have no occasion for them pray, take care to continue so, but whither you do, or not, I am truly

The Parliament's up, & all the World are Yours
made Lords, & Secretaries, & Commissioners ³⁸ T G

July London [1742] ³⁹

³² This should be Mlle de Tervire (the Religieuse, whose history occupies the last three sections of the book)

³³ Minister, perhaps with a glance at 'Mini', Walpole's pet name for Mann

³⁴ Gray's expression 'far del mondo' was no doubt an inexact reproduction (by a foreigner) of the familiar exclamation 'poffar (=può fare) il mondo', the equivalent of the literary 'potenza del mondo', 'by all the powers' (Information from Professor Cesare Foligno)

³⁵ 'A great minister' English ships were now in command of the Mediterranean

³⁶ In his letter to his mother of 9 Dec. 1739, from Bologna (Letter 76), Gray writes 'The fine Gallery of Pictures that once belonged to the Dukes of Parma, is no more here, the King of Naples has carried it all thither'

³⁷ The French under Marshal Belleisle in Prague, which they had taken in the previous year, were at this time besieged and hard pressed by the Austrians Walpole wrote to Mann on 24 June 'They say there came an express last night, of the taking of Prague and the destruction of some thousand French It is really amazing, the fortune of the Queen' But the news was premature, the French held out till December, when they evacuated the city with disastrous losses

³⁸ Parliament was prorogued in the second week of July—on the 13th Pulteney became Earl of Bath, the next day Walpole sent Mann a list of the preferments

³⁹ From the allusions to public events and to Gray's intended return to Cambridge, the year is obviously 1742

113 GRAY TO CHUTE

My dear S^r

WHAT do You chuse I should think of a whole Year's Silence? Have you absolutely forgot me, or do you not reflect, that it is from yourself alone I can have any Information concerning You? I do not find myself inclined to forget you the same Regard for your Person, the same Desire of seeing you again I felt when we parted still continues with me as fresh as ever. don't wonder then if in spite of Appearances I try to flatter myself with the Hopes of finding Sentiments something of the same kind however buried in some dark Corner of your Heart, & perhaps more than half extinguish'd by long Absence, & various Cares of a different Nature I will not alarm your Indolence with a long Letter my Demands are only three, & may be answer'd in as many Words how You do? where You are? & When You return? if you chuse to add anything further it will be a Work of Superer—I will not write so long a Word entire, least I fatigue your Delicacy, & you may think it incumbent on you to answer it by another of equal Dimensions You believe me, I hope, with great Sincerity Yours

T G

PS For ought I know You may be in England my very true Compliments (not such as People make to one another) wait upon M^r Whithed¹ he will be the most travel'd Gentleman in Hampshire

Oct 25 Cambridge [1743 or 1744]²

114 GRAY TO WHARTON

My dear Wharton

IT is a long Time, since I ought to have return'd you my Thanks for the Pleasure of your Letter, I should say, the

LETTER 113—First printed by Mitford in *Works of Gray* (1835-43), vol 11, pp 188-9, now reprinted from original¹ See Letter 109, n 36

² The date is conjectural it is after Gray's return to Cambridge in 1742, when he returned to Peterhouse as a Fellow-commoner, and might be 1743 or 1744

LETTER 114—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 173-5, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol 11, pp 141-3, now reprinted from original

This letter was dated 1742 by Mason, that the correct date is 1743 is proved by the references to Gray's degree, and to the Pembroke Jubilee (see notes 3 and 13)

Prodigy of your Letter, for such a Thing has not happen'd above twice within this last Age to mortal Man, & no one here can conceive what it may portend. M^r Trollope,¹ I suppose, has told you, how I was employed a part of the Time, how by my own indefatigable Application for these ten Years past, & by the Care & Vigilance of that worthy Magistrate, the Man-in-Blew² (who, I'll assure you, has not spared his Labour, nor could have done more for his own Son) I am got half way to the Top of Jurisprudence,³ & bid as fair as another Body to open a case of Impotency⁴ with all Decency & Circumspection you see my Ambition I do not doubt, but some 30 Years hence I shall convince the World & You, that I am a very pretty young Fellow, & may come to shine in a Profession perhaps the noblest in the World next to Man-Midwifery as for yours if your Distemper & You can but agree about going to London, I may reasonably expect in a much shorter Time to see you in your three-corner'd Villa, doing the honours of a well-furnish'd Table with as much Dignity, as rich a Mien, & as capacious a

¹ William Trollope, of Pembroke, B A, 1727, M A, 1730, Fellow, 1731. From several of Gray's references to him he appears to have been more or less of an invalid. Gray after his return to Peterhouse in 1742 was on terms of intimate friendship with him, and under his sponsorship borrowed books from the Pembroke Library. He went out of residence in 1746, but resided for a few weeks in the next year, when he was appointed President, after which he ceased to reside. He died 3 May 1749. Trollope has been credited with the authorship of the poem on 'The Characters of the Christ-Cross Row', believed by Walpole to be Gray's (see Letter 139, n. 12).

² A Servant of the Vice-Chancellor's for the time being, usually known by the name of Blue Coat, whose business it is to attend Acts for Degrees, &c. *Mason*—Gray refers to him again in his account to Wharton (in Letter 150) of the installation of the Duke of Newcastle as Chancellor. This official was the University Marshal, who was appointed by the Vice-Chancellor. The Marshal in 1743 was Robert Hibble, the vouchers for whose new blue (or purple) coat in June 1744, amounting to £3 18s. 0d., for materials and making, are preserved in the Cambridge Registry. It appears that his salary as Marshal was paid quarterly at £13 15s. 0d. (See 'The Man-in-Blew', by Dr H. P. Stokes, in *Cambridge Review*, 6 May 1927.)

³ That is to say, he had qualified for the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law. He had been admitted LL B designate on 16 Dec. of this year (1743), and became full LL B in 1744. See Appendix F.

⁴ Such a case would be tried in the Ecclesiastical Court, which was open only to Advocates who had taken the degree of Doctor of Civil Law at Oxford or Cambridge. Gray, as a Bachelor, would be half-way to the Doctorate. (See Appendix F.)

Belly as D^r Mead⁵ methinks I see D^r Askew⁶ at the lower End of it, lost in Admiration of your goodly Person & Parts, cramming down his Envy (for it will rise) with the Wing of a Pheasant, & drowning it in neat Burgundy but not to tempt your Asthma too much with such a Prospect, I should think you might be almost as happy, & as great as this, even in the Country but you know best, & I should be sorry to say anything, that might stop you in the Career of Glory far be it from me to hamper the Wheels of your gilded Chariot go on, S^r Thomas, & when you die (for even Physicians must die) may the Faculty in Warwick Lane⁷ erect your statue in S^r John Cutler's⁸ own Niche

As to Cambridge it is, as it was, for all the World, & the People are, as they were, & M^r Trollope is as he was, that is, half ill, half well I wish with all my Heart they were all better, but what can one do? there is no News, only I think I heard a Whisper, as if the Vice-Chancellour⁹ should be with Child (but I beg you not to mention this, for I may come into trouble

⁵ Richard Mead (1673-1754), the leading English physician of his day who, as Johnson said, 'lived more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man' (Boswell, *Life*, vol. III, p. 355)

⁶ This no doubt was Anthony Askew (1722-72), son of a well-known physician of Newcastle, Dr Adam Askew (1697-1773), he was at this time studying for the medical profession at Emmanuel College, and did not take his M.D. degree till 1750, but Gray, who is forecasting the future, calls him 'D^r Askew' by anticipation, just as below he bestows on Wharton himself the prospective title (which he never attained) of 'Sir Thomas' Anthony Askew, who was elected F.R.S. in 1749, and Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1753, became eventually better known as a classical scholar and book-collector than as a physician. As north-countrymen, and both studying for the same profession, he and Wharton (whose junior he was by five years) were probably friends, which would account for Gray's mention of him as likely to envy Wharton's (expected) success

⁷ In Warwick Lane (leading from Newgate Street to Paternoster Row) from 1674 to 1825 was the old College of Physicians built by Wren

⁸ Sir John Cutler (c. 1608-93), a wealthy London merchant, notorious for his avarice, which has been immortalized by Pope in *Moral Essays* (III 315-34). He was none the less a liberal benefactor of the College of Physicians, the anatomical theatre of which, named after him 'Theatrum Cutlerianum', was erected at his expense. In a niche on the outside of the building was placed a full-length statue of him, with a eulogistic inscription beneath, but after his death the College obliterated the inscription and removed the statue, in consequence, it is said, of an exorbitant demand on the College made by his executors—hence Gray's allusion to Cutler's empty niche

⁹ William George, D.D. (d. 1756), Provost of King's, 1743-56, he had been head master of Eton while Gray and Horace Walpole were there, in 1748 he was appointed Dean of Lincoln

about it) there is some Suspicion, that the Profeflor of Mathe-
matics¹⁰ had a Hand in the thing Dr Dickens¹¹ says the
University will be obliged to keep it, as it was got, in Magistratu

I was going to tell you, how sorry I am for your Illness but,
I hope, it is too late to be sorry now I can only say, that I
really w a s very sorry may you live a hundred Christmases, &
eat as many Collars of Brawn stuck with Rosemary Adieu, I
am sincerely Yours

T G

Dec 27 [1743] Cambridge Won't You come to the
Jubilee?¹² Dr Long¹³ is to dance a Saraband & Hornpipe of his
own Invention without lifting either Foot once from the Ground

Addressed To Thomas Wharton, Esq, at Alderman Wharton's on the
Market-Place in the City of Durham *Postmark* CAMBRIDGE

115 GRAY TO WHARTON

You write so feelingly to little Mr Brown,¹ & represent your
abandon'd Condition in Terms so touching, that, what

¹⁰ John Colson (1680-1760), F R S, 1713, Lucasian Professor of Mathe-
matics (1739-60), in succession to Saunderson, the blind professor Cole
describes him as 'an old bachelor an humourist and peevish'

¹¹ Francis Dickens, LL.D Fellow of Trinity Hall, Regius Professor of
Civil Law, 1714-55 Horace Walpole records in his *Short Notes of my Life*
'I went to lectures in civil law to Dr Dickens, of Trinity Hall'

¹² The Jubilee was the celebration of what was thought to be the four-
hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Pembroke Hall by Marie de
Châtillon, daughter of Guy de Châtillon, Comte de Saint Pol, widow of
Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke The date of foundation accepted at the
present day is 1347, but during Gray's lifetime it was held to have been 1343.
This appears, not only from the statement in 'the case of the Fellows of
Pembroke' in their dispute in 1747 with Dr Long that 'the College was
founded in the year 1343' (see Appendix F), but also from the title of a poem
by Christopher Smart, a member of the College, which has recently come to
light, 'A Secular Ode on the Jubilee at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in
1743' It appears from the College records that Wharton did not attend the
Jubilee celebration, which no doubt was held on the following New Year's
Day, on the occasion of the Foundress's Feast, that date for the Feast being
prescribed by the ancient statutes of the College (See 'The Jubilee at Pem-
broke Hall in 1743', by Leonard Whibley, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, Jan
1927)

¹³ See Letter 39, n 2

LETTER 115—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's
Memoirs pp 177-9, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 148-50,
now reprinted from original

¹ James Brown (1709-84), son of James Brown, citizen and goldsmith of

Gratitude could not effect in several Months, Compassion has brought about in a few Days, & broke that strong Attachment, or rather Allegiance, w^{ch} I & all here owe to our sovereign Lady & Mistrefs, the President of Presidents, & Head of Heads (if I may be permitted to pronounce her Name, that ineffable Octogrammaton) the Power of LAZINESS ^{1a} you must know she had been pleased to appoint me (in Preference to so many old Servants of hers, who had spent their whole Lives in qualifying themselves for the Office) Grand Picker of Straws, & Push-Pin-Player in ordinary to her Supinity (for that is her Title) the first is much in the Nature of L^d President of the Council, & the other, like the Groom-Porter, only without the Profit but, as they are both Things of very great Honour in this Country, I consider'd with myself the Load of Envy attending such great Charges, & besides (between you & I) I found myself unable to support the Fatigue of keeping up the Appearance, that Persons of such Dignity must do, so I thought proper to decline it, & excused myself as well as I could however as you see such an Affair must take up a good deal of Time, & it has always been the Policy of this Court to proceed slowly, like the Imperial, & that of Spain, in the Dispatch of Businefs, so that you will the easier forgive me, if I have not answer'd your Letter before

You desire to know, it seems, what Character the Poem² of your young Friend bears here I wonder to hear you ask the

London, a Grecian from Christ's Hospital, was admitted as a Sizar at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1726, B A, 1730, M A, 1733, Fellow, 1735, ordained Priest 1735, Vicar of Shepreth, Cambs, 1737, President (i.e. Vice-Master) of Pembroke, 15 May 1749, Proctor, 1750-1, Master, 21 Dec 1770-84, D D, 1771, Vice-Chancellor, 1771-2, Vicar of Stretham in Isle of Ely, 1771 (see Letter 540) He was a small man, precise in manner, and of a resolute courage Gray writes in Letter 120 He 'wants nothing, but a Foot in height and his own Hair, to make him a little old Roman', and there are many other playful allusions to his diminutive stature Cole describes him as 'a very worthy man, a good scholar, small and short-sighted' He probably made Gray's acquaintance when an undergraduate (see Appendix B), and he was his sponsor when Gray was admitted as a Fellow-commoner at Pembroke (see Appendix E, n 7) He was a loyal friend and admirer of Gray throughout his life He was joint-executor with Mason of Gray's will, and was present at his burial at Stoke-Poges He was with him to the last during his brief illness (see his letters to Wharton and Nicholls in Appendix W)

^{1a} See Letter 149 'the Spirit of Lazyness (the Spirit of the Place)'.

² Pleasures of the Imagination *Mason*—The author Mark Akenside (1721-70) was the son of a butcher of Newcastle-upon-Tyne After studying

Opinion of a Nation, where those who pretend to judge, don't judge at all, & the rest (the wiser Part) wait to catch the Judgment of the World immediately above them, that is, Dick's Coffee-House,¹ & the Rainbow⁴ so that the readier Way would be to ask M^{rs} This & M^{rs} T'other, that keeps the Bar there. however to shew you I'm a Judge, as well as my Countrymen, tho' I have rather turn'd it over, than read it, (but no matter: no more have they) it seems to me above the middleing, & now & then (but for a little while) rises even to the best, particularly in Description it is often obscure, & even unintelligible, & too much infected with the Hutchinson-Jargon⁵ in short it's great fault is that it was publish'd at least 9 Years too early⁶ and so methinks in a few Words, a la Mode du Temple,⁷ I have very pertly dispatch'd what perhaps may for several Years have employ'd a very ingenious Man worth 50 of myself here is a small poem, call'd the Enthusiast,⁸ w^{ch} is all pure Description, & as they tell me by the same Hand is it so, or not? Item, a more bulky one upon Health, wrote by a Physician⁹ do you

first theology, and then medicine at Edinburgh, he returned to Newcastle for two years, and finished his poem on the *Pleasures of the Imagination*. This he took to Dodsley at the end of 1743, and it was published anonymously on 16 Jan 1744. He graduated in medicine at Leyden and having settled in London became a prosperous physician. Wharton had probably got to know him in Newcastle. In a letter to Mason, c. 28 Nov. 1758 (Letter 284*), Gray says of Wharton 'he pretends no friendship, & has but a slight acquaintance with the Doctor' (i.e. Akenside).

¹ See Letter 94, n. 16.

⁴ The Rainbow Coffee-House, in Fleet Street, near the Inner Temple Gate, originally established in 1657 by James Farr, a barber.

⁵ Gray means Francis Hutcheson (see Letter 103, n. 4), who in 1726 and 1728 published anonymously *Four Essays*, viz. 'Inquiry concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design', 'Inquiry concerning Moral Good and Evil', 'Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections', and 'Illustrations upon the Moral Sense', which led to his appointment in 1729 to the Professorship of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow. His best-known work, *A System of Moral Philosophy*, was not published till 1755, nine years after his death.

⁶ In defiance, that is, of the Horatian precept 'Si quid tamen olim Scripseris nonum prematur in annum' (*Art. Poet.* 386-8).

⁷ An allusion to the youthful lawyer-critics of the Inns of Court who frequented the coffee-houses near the Temple (see Letter 144, n. 22*).

⁸ *The Enthusiast, or the Lover of Nature*, a poem in blank verse, was published anonymously by Dodsley on 7 March, 1744. The author was Joseph Warton (1722-1800), at that date a young Oxford graduate (see Letter 129, n. 18).

⁹ John Armstrong, M.D. (1709-79), author of *The Art of Preserving Health*, a didactic poem in four books in blank verse, published in 1744.

Apr 1744

Gray to Wharton

Letter 115

know him? Master Tommy Lucretius¹⁰ (since you are so good to enquire after the Child) is but a puleing Chitt yet, not a bit grown to speak off, I believe, poor Thing! it has got the Worms, that will carry it off at last oh Lord! I forgot to tell you, that M^r Trollope¹¹ & I are in a course of Tar-Water,¹² he for his Present, and I for my future Distempers if you think it will kill me, send away a Man & Horse directly, for I drink like a Fish I should be glad to know how your []¹³ goes on, & give you Joy of it.

You are much in the Right to have a Taste for Socrates, he was a divine Man I must tell you by Way of the News of the Place, that the other Day M^r Fraigneau¹⁴ (entering upon his Profeforship) made an Apology for him an Hour long in the Schools, & all the World, except Trinity-College, brought in Socrates Guilty Adieu, D^r Sir, & believe me

Your Friend & Servant,

T G

Cambridge Thursday Ap 26 [1744]¹⁵

Addressed To Thomas Wharton Esq, at M^r Alderman Wharton's of Durham
By Caxton Bag¹⁶ Postmark CAMBRIDGE

¹⁰ His own poem *De Principis Cogitandi* (see Letter 97, n 6)

¹¹ See Letter 114, n 1

¹² George Berkeley (1685-1753), Bishop of Cloyne (1734), published in 1744 his *SIRIS*, containing 'Philosophical Reflections and Inquiries concerning the Virtues of Tar-water, and divers other subjects connected together and arising one from another' Walpole writes to Mann on 29 May 1744 'We are now mad about tar-water, on the publication of a book written by D^r Berkeley Bishop of Cloyne The book contains every subject from tar-water to the Trinity A man came into an apothecary's shop the other day, "Do you sell tar-water?"—"Tar-water!" replied the apothecary, "why, I sell nothing else!"'¹³ Word obliterated

¹⁴ William Fraigneau (1717-88), of Huguenot extraction, Fellow of Trinity, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge from 1744 to 1750

¹⁵ The letter is endorsed by Wharton, '26 April 1746', but it was written in 1744, as the references to Fraigneau's inaugural lecture and to Akenside show (see n 14)

¹⁶ *Cantabrigia Depicta*, in a list of the Posts from Cambridge, has 'North Post by Caxton, sets out every Night at Ten except Sunday, and returns every Forenoon, except Sunday' Caxton was a stage on the North Road not far from Cambridge (see Letter 117, n 8)

116 GRAY TO WHARTON

I AM not lost here am I at Stoke, whither I came on Tuesday,¹ & shall be again in Town on Saturday,² & at Cambridge on Wednesday or Thursday³ you may be curious to know what has past⁴ I wrote a Note the Night I came,⁵ & immediately received a very civil Answer I went the following Evening⁶ to see *the Party* (as Mrs Foible⁷ says) was something abash'd at his Confidence he came to meet me, kifs'd me on both Sides with all the Ease of one, who receives an Acquaintance just come out of the Country, squatted me into a Fauteuil, begun to talk of the Town & this & that & t'other, & continued with little Interruption for three Hours, when I took my Leave very indifferently pleased, but treated with wondrous Good-breeding I supped with him next night (as he desired) Ashton was there, whose Formalities tickled me inwardly, for he I found was to be angry about the Letter I had wrote him⁸ however in going home together our Hackney-Coach jumbled us into a Sort of Reconciliation⁹ he hammer'd out somewhat like an Excuse, &

LETTER 116—First printed by Milford (1816), vol 11, pp 144–6, now reprinted from original

This letter, which is dated by Gray (at the end) simply 'Stoke Thursday', has been endorsed by Wharton 'Mr Gray, 16 Nov 1744 or 1745', but 16 Nov (which is the date of the postmark) in 1744 was a Friday, and in 1745 it was a Saturday The correct date is certainly 14 Nov 1745, which was a Thursday this agrees with the other dates mentioned in the letter, and is confirmed by the Peterhouse records, which show that Gray was absent from Cambridge from 7 Nov to 21 Nov in 1745 That the year was 1745 is confirmed by Gray's letter to Chute of 12 Oct 1746 (Letter 124)

¹ 12 Nov

² 16 Nov

³ 20 or 21 Nov

⁴ That is, between himself and Walpole on the occasion of their first meeting and reconciliation after their quarrel See Appendix D

⁵ Thursday, 7 Nov, the date of his arrival in London from Cambridge

⁶ 8 Nov Walpole was in the house in Arlington Street, which had been left to him by his father

⁷ Congreve, *Way of the World*, III. 1 'Lady Wishfort O Foible, where hast thou been? what hast thou been doing?' Foible Madam, I have seen the Party'

⁸ Tovey plausibly suggests that the letter in question was one written by Gray to Ashton from abroad, which contained expressions reflecting upon Walpole, to whom they were communicated by Ashton, who was thus instrumental in bringing about the actual breach between Gray and Walpole (see *Gray and his Friends*, pp 6–12) See Appendix D

⁹ *Spectator*, No 132 'The coach jumbled us insensibly into some sort of familiarity'

I received it very readily, because I cared not two pence, whither it were true or not so we grew the best Acquaintance imaginable, & I set¹⁰ with him on Sunday some Hours alone, when he inform'd me of abundance of Anecdotes much to my Satisfaction, & in short open'd (I really believe) his Heart to me with that Sincerity, that I found I had still left Reason to have a good Opinion of him, than (if possible) I ever had before next Morning¹¹ I breakfasted alone with M^rW when we had all the Eclaircissement I ever expected, & I left him far better satisfied, than I had been hitherto when I return, I shall see him again such is the Epitome of my four Days ¹² M^r & M^{rs} Simms & Mad^{lle} Nanny¹³ have done the Honours of Leaden Hall¹⁴ to a Miracle, & all joyn in a Compliment to the Doctor your Brother¹⁵ is well, the Books are in good Condition Mad^{me} Chenevix¹⁶ has frightened me with Ecritoires she asks three

¹⁰ 'Set' (for 'sit' or 'sat') has instances quoted in the *OED* as late as the nineteenth century. It is described as now being 'dialect or vulgar'. Gray uses it also in Letters 135, 382.

¹¹ Monday, 11 Nov

¹² In London, 8-11 Nov

¹³ Probably, as Tovey suggests, the people at Wharton's lodgings in town, somewhere near the College of Physicians.

¹⁴ At that time 'a very large building of free-stone, containing within it three large courts or yards, all encompassed with buildings, which was pulled down c. 1880. Leadenhall, then as now, was the great market for all poultry brought into London for sale, besides being a general provision market.'

¹⁵ Wharton's youngest brother Jonathan, third son of Robert Wharton (1690-1752), of Old Park, Durham. Jonathan, who resided in Boswell Court, Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn (see Letter 353, and address of Letter 463), was presumably a solicitor. He married a Miss Mary Wilson, and died childless in 1768. (See Genealogical Table.)

¹⁶ 'The toy-woman à la mode,' as Walpole calls her in his letter to Mann of 5 June 1747, from whom he bought the remainder of her lease of the 'little rural bijou' at Twickenham, which by successive additions and reconstructions eventually developed into the famous 'Gothic Castle' of Strawberry Hill. Mrs Chenevix was sister of the no less noted toy-woman at Bath, Mrs Bertrand. Her shop, according to an advertisement in the *Daily Journal* for 24 May 1733, quoted by Austin Dobson, was at that time 'against Suffolk Street, Charing Cross'. In a paper contributed to the *World* of 19 Dec 1754, Walpole says 'M^{rs} Chenevix has not more insinuation when she sells a snuff-box of papier-maché, or a bergemot toothpick-case, than a highwayman when he begs to know if you have no rings nor bank-bills'. In a *Common Place Book of Verses, Stories, Characters, Letters, &c* (in the collection of Earl Waldegrave) Walpole describes her as 'a toywoman at Charing Cross, famous for her high prices and fine language'. Her shop was reckoned one of the sights of London (see Walpole's letter to Mann of 15 Sept 1746).

Guinea's for, that are not worth three half pence I have been in several Shops & found nothing pretty I fear it must be bespoken at last

the Day after I went you received a little Letter directed to me, that seems wrote with a Skewer please to open it, & you'll find a receipt of Dan Adcock for ten Pound, w^{ch} I will beg you to receive of Gillham¹⁷ for me. if the Letter miscarried, pray take care the Money is paid to no one else I expect to have a Letter from you when I come to Town, at your Lodgings¹⁸
Adieu, S^r, I am sincerely Yours

T G

Stoke Thursday [Nov 14, 1745]¹⁹

Addressed To Thomas Wharton Esq, Fellow of Pembroke College Cambridge
Postmark 16 NO

117 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Dear S^r

YOU are so good to enquire after my usual Time of coming to Town, it is at a Season, when even You, the perpetual Friend of London, will I fear hardly be in it, the Middle of June and I commonly return hither in September, a Month, when I may more probably find you at home¹ I do not imagine that any Thing farther can be done with M^r Turner,² but You only, who saw the Manner of his promising, can judge of that what he calls the College, is the Master³ & his Party of

¹⁷ Otherwise Gillam, the Cambridge-London carrier patronized by Gray (see Letter 347, n 1)

¹⁸ A whole line of the MS has here been obliterated

¹⁹ See initial note

LETTER 117 —First printed in part in *Works of Lord Orford*, 1798, vol v, pp 383-4, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 154

¹ Gray refers to the summer vacation, which he usually spent at Stoke

² Shallet Turner of Peterhouse, Regius Professor of Modern History (see Letter 39, n 4) What follows evidently refers to a Fellowship election at Peterhouse The Probationer Fellow elected on this occasion (probably in April) was Pveis Libanus, B A, 1744, M A, 1748 (grandson of John Libanus of Peterhouse, an exile from Bohemia 'religionis causa'), who, having completed the year of probation, was confirmed as Foundation Fellow on 14 April of the following year

³ John Whalley, Fellow of Pembroke, 1721, Master of Peterhouse, 1733-48, D D, 1737, Regius Professor of Divinity, 1742

Feb 1746

Gray to Walpole

Letter 117

Fellows, among w^{ch} he himself has been reckon'd latterly but, I know, it must be from some other Influence, than that of the Master merely, if he vote with them, w^{ch} if M^r Brudenel⁴ could stand, might very likely be made Use of (as he is nearly related to several People of Condition) but he is disqualified at present in every Sense 'tis likely indeed he is intended for next Year, & M^r Turner has had some Application made already, by his knowing anything about him, but he mistakes the Time

Our Defeat to be sure is a rueful Affair for the Honour of the Troops,⁵ but the Duke⁶ is gone, it seems, with the Rapidity of a Cannon-Bullet to undefeat us again the Common-People in Town at least know how to be afraid but We are such *uncommon* People here as to have no more Sense of Danger, then if the Battle had been fought when & where the Battle of Cannæ was the Perception of these Calamities and of their Consequences, that we are supposed to get from Books, is so faintly impress'd, that we talk of War, Famine, & Pestilence with no more Apprehension, than of a broken Head, or of a Coach overturn'd between York & Edinburgh I heard three People, sensible middle-aged Men (when the Scotch were said to be at Stamford, & actually were at Derby⁷) talking of hiring a Chaise to go to Caxton,⁸ (a Place in the high Road) to see the Pretender & the Highlanders, as they pass'd

I can say no more for M^r Pope, (for what You keep in Reserve may be worse than all the Rest) it is natural to wish the finest Writer, one of them, we ever had should be an honest Man it is for the Interest even of that Virtue, whose Friend he profess'd himself, & whose Beauties he sung, that he should

⁴ George Bridges Brudenell, admitted Pensioner of Peterhouse in April 1743 He was the eldest son of James Brudenell, the grandson of Robert, second Earl of Cardigan, and was thus cousin of George, fourth Earl (afterwards Duke of Montagu) He was not qualified for a Fellowship at this time, as he had not yet taken his degree He was subsequently for many years M P for Rutland

⁵ General Hawley was defeated at Falkirk on 17 Jan by the forces of the Young Pretender 'The very same dragoons ran away at Falkirk, that ran away at Preston Pans' (Walpole to Mann, 28 Jan 1746)

⁶ The Duke of Cumberland, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief to replace General Hawley, and had 'gone post to Edinburgh, where he hoped to arrive to-night' (Walpole, *loc cit*)

⁷ On 4 Dec 1745

⁸ About ten miles from Cambridge, on the road to Huntingdon and the north

not be found a dirty Animal⁹ but however this is M^r Warburton's¹⁰ Business, not mine, who may scribble his Pen to the Stumps & all in vain, if these Facts are so it is not from what he told me about himself¹¹ that I thought well of him, but from a Humanity & Goodness of Heart, ay, & Greatness of Mind, that runs thro his private Correspondence, not less apparent than are a thousand little Vanities & Weaknesses mixed with those good Qualities, for no body ever took him for a Philosopher

If you know anything of M^r Mann's State of Health & Happiness, or the Motions of M^r Chute¹² homewards, it will be a particular Favour to inform me of them, as I have not heard this half year from them

I am sincerely Yours

T GRAY

Cambr Feb 3-1746

118 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, March 28, 1746]¹

Dear S^r

I HAVE expected some time what You tell me if T² can be prevail'd upon to stay away it is all I desire for he is mistaken in imagining that will leave still an Equality among the Fellows it is all an idle Tale the Master for his own Interest would propagate about the Party of his Antagonists whatever

⁹ This no doubt refers to Pope's lines (in *Moral Essays*, II 115 ff) on 'Atossa' (the Duchess of Marlborough), which Bolingbroke published this year on a sheet with a note stating that the Duchess had paid Pope £1,000 for their suppression—'he took the money, yet the world sees the verses'

¹⁰ William Warburton (1698-1779), subsequently (1759) Bishop of Gloucester, Pope's literary executor (see Letter 272, n 15)

¹¹ Pope died 30 May 1744, there is nothing to fix the date of Gray's interview with him

¹² Chute returned to England in the following September (see Letter 122)

LETTER 118—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 155

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year is determined by the reference to the election at Peterhouse discussed in the previous letter

² Presumably Shallet Turner (see Letter 117, n 2)

Mar 1746

Gray to Walpole

Letter 118

some of the People who give us their Vote may have been I may confidently affirm no one so young as my Friend³ can be more rationally ⁴& zealously well-affected to the Government than he. the Hurry I write in does not permit to return you the Thanks I ought for your stedfastness & resolution in obliging me

I am Yours sincerely

T. GRAY

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq at his House in Arlington-Street Westminster *Postmark* ROYSTON⁵ 29 MR

119 GRAY TO WALPOLE

My dear S^r

I COULD make You abundance of Excuses, as indeed I have Reason but they would be bad & false ones, such as my Respect for you will not permit me to use attribute then this long Interval of Silence to whatever Motive you please besides, only don't imagine it Neglect, or Want of Sensibility to the many Expressions of Kindness you bestow'd upon me in your last Letter. my Sentiments are nothing alter'd since that Time, however tardy I may have been in telling you so I well remember how little you love Letters, where all the Materials are drawn out of oneself, yet such mine must have been from a Place, where nothing ever happens but Trifles, that it would be mere Impertinence to think of entertaining You with however I am apt to suspect you have been a little angry, for D^r Middleton tho' often with you in Town, did not bring me the least Compliment to shew you remember'd me do you mean to continue so, or shall You see me the lefs willingly next week, when I mean to call at your Door some Morning? I hope you are still in Town believe me D^r S^r very sincerely Yours

T GRAY

Cambridge—July 7 [1746]¹

³ This may have been Henry Tuthill, see Appendix G, n 5

⁴ From this point the writing shows signs of haste

⁵ The stamp was not inked, but the impress is legible The post to London went on three days a week by Royston and three days by Saffron Walden. The letters were sometimes stamped at these places and not at Cambridge.

LETTER 119—Now first printed from the original The last three lines were printed in facsimile in Pinkerton's *Walpoliana* The letter is endorsed, no doubt by Pinkerton 'Original letter from Mr. Gray the Poet to Mr Walpole, given me by Mr W'

¹ The date of the year is conjectural, but the College records show that Gray was in residence on 7 July 1746 and left Cambridge about 13 July. Walpole was in Arlington Street on 7 July 1746 The tone of the letter suggests that it was written not very long after Gray's reconciliation with Walpole

120 GRAY TO WHARTON

My Dear Wharton

I AM just returned hither¹ from Town, where I have past better than a Fortnight, (including an Excursion that I made to Hampton Court, Richmond, Greenwich & other Places) & am happily met by a letter from You, [one from Tuthill],² & another from Trollope³ as I only run over Dr Andrew's⁴ Answers hastily in a Coffee House, all I could judge was that they seem'd very unfavourable on the whole to our Cause,⁵ & threw every thing into the Hands of a Visitour, for w^{ch} Reason I thought they might have been conceal'd, till the Attorney-General's⁶ Opinion arrived, w^{ch} will perhaps raise the Spirits of such, as the other may have damp'd a little, or leave Room at least to doubt whether the Matter be so clear on the Master's

LETTER 120 —First printed by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 151–6, now reprinted from original

¹ Stoke

² The words, which have been obliterated in the original, were supplied by Mitford. Here and in the manuscripts of many letters of Gray to Wharton (Letter 148 is an exception) the name of Tuthill, or the abbreviation T, has been more or less completely obliterated. Mitford in all the passages restored the name without comment. From the context, or on other grounds, his restorations can generally be accepted, and they are inserted, within brackets, in the text of subsequent letters. In his preface to the *Correspondence of Gray and Norton Nicholls* (1843), Mitford remarks 'When Mason returned the Wharton Correspondence, it was found that he not only had taken the greatest liberties with the text, but had cut out the names of several persons mentioned, in that mutilated state the manuscript was lent to the present Editor. The name of Mr Tuthill was in almost all cases erased (p. viii, n.)'

The Tuthill here in question was Henry Tuthill, who had graduated B.A. from Peterhouse in 1743, and been ordained Deacon in 1744, and five weeks before the date of this letter (on 5 July 1746) had migrated to Pembroke Hall. He graduated M.A. from Pembroke in 1747, was ordained Priest, 1748, and was elected to a Fellowship on 2 March 1748/9, of which he was deprived on 2 Feb. 1757. (See Appendix G.)

³ See Letter 114, n. 1

⁴ John Andrew (d. 1747), of Trinity Hall, LL.D., 1711, Fellow, 1705–47, Judge of the Consistory Court of London, 1739–47 (see n. 5).

⁵ This was the case of the Fellows of Pembroke against the Master in the matter of the veto claimed and exercised by him in the election of Fellows (See Appendix H.) In referring to 'our cause' Gray regards himself as allied in interest with the Fellows of Pembroke. (Cf. Letters 121, 135, 143.)

⁶ Sir Dudley Ryder (1691–1756), Solicitor-General, 1733–7, Attorney-General, 1737–54, Chief Justice of King's Bench, 1754–6.

Aug 1746

Gray to Wharton

Letter 120

Side as Andrew would have it. You can't suppose, that I was in the least uneasy about M^r Brown's⁷ Fortitude, who wants nothing, but a Foot in height & his own Hair, to make him a little old Roman⁸ with two dozen such I should not hesitate to face an Army of Heads, tho' they were all as tall as D^r Adams⁹ I only wish every body may continue in as good a Disposition as they were, & imagine, if possible, Roger⁹ will be Fool enough to keep them so I saw Trollope for about an Hour in London; & imagineing he could not be left in the dark as to your Consultations, I mention'd, that I had cast an Eye over Andrew's Paper, & that it was not so favourable as we hoped. he spoke however with Horrour of going to Law, with great Pafsion of the Master, & with Pleasure of himself for quitting a Place, where he had not found a Minute's Ease in I know not how long yet I perceive his Thoughts run on nothing else, & he trembled while he spoke he writes to me here on the same Subject, & after abusing Roger, he adds, Wharton! rubro hæc subscribe libello¹⁰

My Evenings have been chiefly spent at Ranelagh & Vaux-Hall, several of my Mornings, or rather Noons, in Arlington-Street,¹¹ & the rest at the Tryal of the Lords¹² the first Day I was not there, & only saw the L^d High-Steward's Parade in going the second & third¹³ [* * * * * Peers were all in their Robes * * * * * by their wearing Bag-Wigs & Hats instead of Coronets¹⁴ My Lord H Steward¹⁵ was the least part]¹³ of the Shew, as he wore only his Baron's Robe, & was always asking the Heralds what he should do next, & bowing or smiling about to his Acquaintance as to his Speech you see it; People hold it very cheap, tho' several Incorrectnesses

⁷ See Letter 115, n 1

⁸ Dr John Adams, Master of Sidney-Sussex College, who died two days after the date of this letter

⁹ That is, Dr Roger Long, Master of Pembroke (see Letter 39, n 2).

¹⁰ Horace, 1 *Sat* x 92 (100) 'I, puer, atque meo citus hæc subscribe libello'

¹¹ At Walpole's house (see Letter 116, n 6)

¹² The trial of the rebel Lords in Westminster Hall, which began on 28 July and ended on 1 Aug —For a more detailed account see Walpole's letter to Mann of that day

¹³⁻¹³ MS torn—text partly restored in another hand

¹⁴ Peers wear their coronets at Coronations, never at State Trials

¹⁵ Philip Yorke (1690-1764), Baron Hardwicke (1733) (see Letter 25, n 5)

have been alter'd in the printed Copy ¹⁶ Kilmarnock¹⁷ spoke in Mitigation of his Crime near half an Hour with a decent Courage, & in a strong, but pathetic, Voice. his Figure would prejudice people in his Favour being tall & genteel- he is upwards of 40, but to the Eye not above 35 Years of Age what he said appears to less Advantage, when read Cromartie¹⁸ (who is about the same Age a Man of lower Stature, but much like a Gentleman) was sinking into the Earth with Grief & Dejection. with Eyes cast down & a Voice so low, that no one heard a Syllable, that did not sit close to the Bar, he made a short Speech to raise Compassion it is now, I see, printed, & is reckon'd extremely fine. I believe, you will think it touching & well-express'd if there be any Meanness in it, it is lost in that Sorrow he gives us for so numerous & helpless a Family Lady-Cromartie¹⁹ (who is said to have drawn her Husband into these Circumstances) was at Leicester-House²⁰ on Wednesday with four of her Children, the Princess saw her, & made no other answer than by bringing in her own Children & placing them by her, w^{ch} (if true) is one of the prettiest Things I ever heard she was also at the Duke's,²¹ who refused to admit her but she waited till he came to his Coach & threw herself at his Knees, while her Children hung upon him, till he promised her all his Interest could do, & before on several Occasions he has been heard to speak very mildly of Cromartie, & very severely of Kilmarnock so if any be spared, it will probably be the former, tho' he had a pension of 600£ a-Year from the Government, & the Order for giving Quarter to no Englishman was found in his Pocket ²² as to Balmerino²³ he never had any Hopes

¹⁶ The High Steward's speech, says Walpole, was 'very long and very poor, with only one or two good passages'

¹⁷ William Boyd (1704-56), fourth Earl of Kilmarnock (1717), he was beheaded on Tower Hill on 18 Aug following

¹⁸ George Mackenzie (1703-66), third Earl of Cromarty (1731), he was sentenced to death, but was reprieved, and received a conditional pardon in 1749

¹⁹ Isabel (d 1769), daughter of Sir William Gordon, Bart, of Invergordon

²⁰ The residence of Frederick, Prince of Wales

²¹ The Duke of Cumberland

²² Walpole says 'If Lord Cromartie had pleaded *not guilty*, there was ready to be produced against him a paper signed with his own hand, for putting the English prisoners to death'

²³ Arthur Elphinstone (1688-1746), sixth Lord Balmerino (or Balmerinoch) (1746), he pleaded not guilty, but was sentenced to death, and beheaded with Lord Kilmarnock on Tower Hill on 18 Aug.

from the Beginning he is an old soldier-like Man of a vulgar Manner & Aspect, speaks the broadest Scotch, & shews an Intrepidity, that some ascribe to real Courage, & some to Brandy You have heard perhaps, that the first Day (while the Peers were adjourned to consider of his Plea, & he left alone for an Hour & half in the Bar) he diverted himself with the Ax, that stood by him, played with its Tafsels & tryed the Edge with his Finger & some Lord, as he pass'd by him, saying he was surprised to hear him alledge anything so frivolous, & that could not possibly do him the least Service he answer'd, that as there were so many Ladies present, he thought it would be uncivil to give them no Amusement the D of Argyle²⁴ telling him how sorry & how astonish'd he was to see him engaged in such a Cause My Lord (says he) for the two Kings & their Rights I cared not a Farthing, w^{ch} prevail'd but I was starveing, & by God if Mahomet had set up his Standard in the Highlands, I had been a good Muselman for Bread, & stuck close to the Party, for I must eat the Solicitor-General²⁵ came up to speak to him too, & he turns about to old Williamson²⁶ Who is that Lawyer, that talks to me? My L^d, it is Mr Murray Ha! Mr Murray, my good Friend (says he, & shook him by the Hand) & how does your good Mother²⁷ oh, she was of admirable Service to us, we should have done nothing without her in Perthshire. he recommends (he says) his Peggy²⁸ ('tis uncertain * * * * the Favour of the Government, for she has * * * *²⁹

²⁴ Archibald Campbell (1682-1761), third Duke of Argyll (1743), he was a staunch Hanoverian

²⁵ Hon William Murray (1705-93), fourth son of fifth Viscount Stormont, afterwards (1756) Baron Mansfield, and (1776) Earl of Mansfield, he was Solicitor-General, 1742-54, Attorney-General, 1754-6, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1756-88 His elder brother, James, a well-known Jacobite, who had been created Earl of Dunbar by the Old Pretender in 1721, was in Rome when Walpole and Gray were there in 1740 (see Letter 85, n. 13)

²⁶ Colonel Williamson, Lieutenant of the Tower, who had charge of the prisoners Balmerino complained of his brutality (see Walpole to Mann, 16 and 21 Aug 1746)

²⁷ Margery Scott, only child of David Scott, of Scotstarvet, co Fife, she was no longer alive at this time, having died at Scone on 8 April of this year, a fact of which Balmerino must have been ignorant

²⁸ Margaret, daughter of Captain John Chalmers, she was in the Tower with her husband (Walpole to Mann, 1 and 12 Aug 1746) In response to a letter written on her behalf by Balmerino the day before his execution the Old Pretender sent her £60 in 1747, she died in 1765

²⁹ Piece cut out of MS

³⁰[I have been diverted with an Account of old Lovat³¹ in his Confinement at]³⁰ Edinburgh there was a Captain Maggett, that is obliged to lie in the Room every Night with him when first he was introduced to him, he made him come to his Bedside where he lay in a hundred flannel Wastcoats and a furr'd Night-gown, took him in his Arms, & gave him a long Embrace, that absolutely suffocated him he will speak nothing but French, insists upon it, that Maggett is a Frenchman & calls him, *Mon cher Capitaine Magot* (You know *Magot* is a Monkey) at his Head he two Highland Women & at his feet two Highland Men. by his Bedside is a Close-Stool to w^{ch} he rises two or three times in a Night, & always says, *Ah, mon cher Capitaine Magot! vous m'excuserez, mais la Nature demande que je chie!* he is to be impeached by the House of Commons, because not being actually in Arms, it would otherwise be necessary, that the Jury of Inverness should find a Bill of Indictment against him, w^{ch} it is very sure they would not do when the Duke return'd to Edinburgh they refused to admit Kingston's light Horse & talked of their Privileges but they came in Sword in Hand, & replied, that when the Pretender was at their Gates, they had said nothing of their Privileges the Duke rested some Hours there, but refused to see the Magistracy

I believe you may think it full Time, that I close my Budget of Stories Mr W I have seen a good deal, & shall do a good deal more, I suppose, for he is looking for a House somewhere about Windsor³² during the Summer all is mighty free, &

³⁰⁻³⁰ Text inserted by another hand from mutilated page of MS

³¹ Simon Fraser (c 1667-1747), eleventh Baron Lovat, he intrigued with both sides, and was induced to join the Jacobites in '45 by the promise from the Old Pretender of the Dukedom of Fraser, though he was nearly 80. He escaped from Culloden but was captured some weeks later and brought to London and imprisoned in the Tower. He was taken to the House of Lords on 18 Dec to hear the articles of impeachment, and was then allowed till 13 Jan to prepare for trial. He was found guilty of high treason on 18 March, sentence of death was passed on the following day, and he was beheaded on Tower Hill on 9 April 1747. His confinement at Edinburgh must have been while he was on his way as a prisoner from Fort William to London. His trial and execution are described by Walpole in his letters to Mann of 20 March and 10 April 1747.

³² Walpole writes to George Montagu on 5 Aug 1746 'If you can find me out any clean, little house in Windsor, ready furnished I shall be glad to take it for three or four months', on 11 Aug he announces that he has taken the house of one Mr Jordan, 'within the precincts of the Castle at Windsor' (*Short Notes*) (see also letter to Mann of 21 Aug 1746)

even friendly more than one could expect you remember a Paper in the Museum on Meflage-Cards³³ w^{ch} he told me was Fielding's, & asked my Opinion about it was his own, & so was the Advertisement on Good-Breeding,³⁴ that made us laugh so Mr A³⁵ I have had several Conversations with, & do really believe he shews himself to me such as he really is I don't tell you, I like him ever the better for it, but that may be my Fault, not his the Pelhams³⁶ lie very hard at his Stomach he is not 40 yet, but he is 31, he says, & thinks it his Duty to be married³⁷ one Thing of that Kind is just broke off, she had 12000[£ in]^{37a} her own Hands this a profound Secret, but I not conceiving that he told it m[e as] such, happen'd to tell it to Stonhewer,³⁸

³³ 'A SCHEME for Raising a Large Sum of Money' for the Use of the Government, By laying a TAX ON MESSAGE-CARDS AND NOTES', first published in No 11 of the *Museum*, where it is signed 'Descartes', reprinted in *Works of Lord Orford*, 1798, vol 1 pp 132-9

³⁴ 'ADVERTISEMENT This Day is published, in Ten Volumes in Folio, THE HISTORY OF GOOD-BREEDING, From the Creation of the World, To the Present Times As set forth in FORMS AND CEREMONIES And appointed to be used in CHURCHES, VISITS CORONATIONS, &c Collected from the best Authors, As *Baker's Chronicle*, the *Compleat Dancing-Master*, the *Law of Nations*, the *Margrave's Monitor*, the *Constable's Guide*, *Picart's Religious Ceremonies*, &c The Whole adapted to the meanest Capacities, Whether Peeresses, Lords, Chamberlains, Embassadors, Bishops, Justices of the Peace, Gentlemen Ushers, Barbers, or Chamber-Maids In this Great Print, PRAY LET US By the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man*', first published in No v of the *Museum*, May 1746, reprinted in *Works of Lord Orford*, 1798, vol 1, pp 141-5

³⁵ Ashton

³⁶ Henry Pelham, Prime Minister, and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the South Ashton no doubt had been hoping for further preferment After his nomination by Pelham to the Crown living of Aldingham in 1742 (see Letter 111, n 3) he did not receive another living until 1749 (see Letter 14, n 3)

³⁷ He did not marry till 1760 (see Letter 14, n 3)

^{37a} MS torn, text here and below restored conjecturally

³⁸ Richard Stonhewer (for so, and not Stonehewer, his name is spelt by Stonhewer himself in letters and in his will, and by Gray) (c 1728-1809), son of Rev Richard Stonehewer (d 29 Oct 1769), Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, Durham, he was educated at Kepyer in that parish, and at Trinity College, Cambridge (his father's College), where he was admitted Pensioner on 4 Nov 1745, he matriculated 1745-6, and graduated B A in 1749-50, being eighth in the Tripos list, in Oct 1751 he was elected Fellow of Peterhouse, and proceeded M A in 1753, in the same year as his pupil, the Earl of Euston, afterwards (1757) third Duke of Grafton, also a member of Peterhouse, whose intimate friend he subsequently became In 1755 he was appointed Historiographer to his Majesty (see Letter 196, n 3), and in 1756 Knight Harbinger (he is entered in the *Court and*

who told it Lyne,³⁹ who told it Asht. again, all i[n the] Space of three Hours whereby I incurr'd a Scolding; so pray don't let me fall under [a] second, & lose all my Hopes of rising in the Church he is still, as I said, resolute to m[arry] out of Hand, only two things he is terrified at, lest she should not breed, & lest she should love him I comforted him by saying, there was no Danger of either

the Muse, I doubt, is gone,^{39a} & has left me in far worse Company if she returns, you will hear of her You see I have left no Room for a Catalogue,⁴⁰ w^{ch} is a Sort of Policy, for its hardly possible my Memory should supply one I will try by next Time, w^{ch} will be soon, if I hear from you if your Curiosity require any more Circumstances of these Trvls * * * will see * * * find some gr * * * *⁴¹ my best Compliments to the Little

City Register for 1757, as holding this office) He seems to have received some further preferment in 1759, possibly the post of interpreter of Oriental Languages, which he is known to have held a year or two later (see Letter 294, n 19) When Grafton in 1765 became Secretary of State for the North he appointed Stonhewer under-secretary On 15 Aug 1766 he was appointed private secretary to the Duke of Grafton, then First Lord of the Treasury, and in January 1767 Commissioner of Excise It was due to his influence with Grafton, then Prime Minister, that Gray was appointed in July 1768 to the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge

Gray must have become acquainted with Stonhewer sometime before this date, probably soon after he came into residence at Trinity, through the introduction of Wharton Their relations became intimate—in his letter to Stonhewer on the death of his father (see Letter 507) Gray calls him 'my best friend', and by his will he left him £500 stock and one of his diamond rings, a similar bequest being made to Wharton

Stonhewer was also intimate with Mason (see Letter 144, n 33), who left to Stonhewer Gray's manuscripts and books The three volumes of Gray's Commonplace-book as well as portraits of Gray and Mason, Stonhewer bequeathed to Pembroke College Cole says of Stonhewer. 'He was one of the prettiest Figures of a Man I ever saw & was as pretty a scholar'

³⁹ Richard Lyne (1715-67), Gray's senior at Eton by a year, was admitted at King's, as a Scholar, in 1733 graduated B A, 1737-8, M A, 1741, D D, 1764, elected Fellow, 1737 He was for a time Assistant Master at Eton, and Fellow, in 1752, Rector of Abbot's Ripton, Hunts, 1744-67, Chaplain to the King, 1744-67, Rector of Eynesbury, Hunts, 1750-67

^{39a} Gray had presumably told Wharton of some poem that he had begun (see Letter 121 n 11)

⁴⁰ That is, of books for the Pembroke College Library, he sent a list with the next letter

⁴¹ Strip torn out of MS

Aug. 1746

Gray to Wharton.

Letter 120

Man of the World ⁴² Adieu, my dear Wharton; believe me very truly Yours

T GRAY

Stoke Sunday [Aug 10, 1746] ⁴³

Addressed [To] [Th]omas Wharton Esq, Fellow of [Pem]broke Hall Cambridge Postmark 13 AV

121 GRAY TO WHARTON

My Dear Wharton

WHAT can one say to these Things² if it had been in the Power of Lawyers to interpret into Common-Sense Statutes made by old Monks, or Monk-directed old Women, we might have hoped for a more favourable Answer to our Queries³ as it is, I fear they may have done more Hurt than Good all I know, is this, that I should rejoyce poor [T] had some Place to rest the Sole of his Foot in, & I flatter myself You will never omitt anything in your Power to support his little Interest among a People, with whom You first raised it I would gladly know the Time of your Audit, for I would be at Cambridge by that Time, if I could Mr W¹ has taken a House in Windsor & I see him usually once a Week, but I think, that will hardly detain me beyond the Time I proposed to myself he is at present gone to Town to perform the disagreeable Task of presenting & introducing about a young Florentine, the Marquis Rinuccini,⁴ who comes recommended to him the D^{is} here at his Lodge⁵ with three Whores & three Aid-de Camps, & the Country swarms with People he goes to Races,

⁴² James Brown (see Letter 115, n 1)

⁴³ The year is obviously 1746, as the postmark is 13 August (Wednesday), and the letter is dated Sunday, no doubt it was written on 10 August

LETTER 121 —First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 181–2, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol 11, pp 156–64, now reprinted from original

¹ See Letter 120, n 5, and Appendix H

² T has been scored through, but is still legible (see Letter 120, n 2)

³ Walpole (see Letter 120, n 32)

⁴ The Marquis Folco Rinuccini, whose father 'had been envoy in England, and Prime Minister to John Gaston, the last Great Duke [of Tuscany]', he had come with a letter of introduction from Mann (see Walpole to Mann, 15 Sept 1746)

⁵ The Duke of Cumberland, as Ranger of Windsor Forest and Great Park, had a lodge in the Park (see Walpole to Conway, 3 Oct 1746)

& they make a Ring about him, as at a Bear-baiting, and no Wonder, for they do the same at Vaux-hall and Ranelagh at this last, somebody was telling me they heard a Man lamenting to some Women of his Acquaintance, & saying, how he had been up close to him, & he never repented of anything so much in his Life, as that he did not touch him

I am not altogether of your Opinion, as to your Historical Consolation in time of Trouble a calm Melancholy it may produce, a stiller Sort of Despair (& that only in some Circumstances & on some Constitutions) but I doubt no real Content or Comfort can ever arise in the human Mind, but from Hope Old Balmerino when he had read his Paper to the People, pull'd off his Spectacles, spit upon his Handkerchief, & wiped them clean for the Use of his Posterity, & that is the last Page of his History have you seen Hogarth's Print of L^d Lovat?⁶ it is admirable

I can not help thinking if I had been near you, I should have represented the Horror of the Thing in such a Light, as that you should never have become a Prey to M^r Davie⁷ I know, that he'll get you up in a Corner some Day, & pick your bones & John^{7a} will find nothing of you, but such a little Heap, as a Cat that is a good Mouser leaves, the Head & the Tail piled together my Concern for you produced a Vision, not such a one as you read in the Spectators, but actually a Dream I thought I was in t'other World and confined in a little Apartment much like a Cellar, enlighten'd by one Rush-Candle that burn'd blue on each Side of me sate (for my Sins) M^r Davie & my friend M^r A,⁸ they bow'd continually & smil'd in my

⁶ Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England* describes this as 'Simon lord Lovat, drawn from the life and etched in aquafortis by William Hogarth, 1746' Milford quotes the following from Nichols's *Life of Hogarth* (1781) 'M^r Walpole once invited Gray the Poet, and Hogarth to dine with him, but what with the reserve of the one, and a want of colloquial talents in the other, he never passed a duller time than between those representations of Tragedy and Comedy, being obliged to rely entirely on his own efforts to support conversation (p. 97)'

⁷ This was probably Alexander Davie, of Sidney Sussex, M A, 1717, who is mentioned in Wordsworth's *Social Life at the Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (p. 619) as one of the reputed authors of *The Academic*, a pamphlet on the Regulations of 1750 (see Letter 143, n. 3)

^{7a} Presumably Wharton's servant in college, and perhaps the same man as 'your John' in Gray's letter to Wharton of 12 Dec. 1757 (Letter 258)

⁸ Ashton

Face, and while one fill'd me out very bitter Tea, the other sweetened it with a vast deal of brown Sugar altogether it much resembled Syrup of Buckthorn in the corner sat [Tuthill]⁹ very melancholy, in Expectation of the Tea-Leaves

I take it very ill you should have been in the twentieth Year of the War, & yet say nothing of the Retreat from before Syracuse¹⁰ is it, or is it not the finest Thing you ever read in your Life? and how does Xenophon, or Plutarch agree with you? for my Part I read Aristotle, his Poeticks, Politicks, and Morals, tho' I don't well know, w^{ch} is which in the first Place he is the hardest Author by far I ever meddled with (then he has a dry Concisenefs, that makes one imagine one is perusing a Table of Contents rather than a Book it tasts for all the World like chop'd Hay, or rather like chop'd Logick, for he has a violent Affection to that Art, being in some Sort his own Invention, so that he often loses himself in little trifling Distinctions & verbal Niceties, & what is worse leaves you to extricate yourself as you can) thirdly he has suffer'd vastly by the Transcribblers, as all Authors of great Brevity necessarily must fourthly and lastly he has abundance of fine uncommon Things, w^{ch} make him well worth the Pains he gives one you see what you have to expect this & a few autumnal Verses¹¹ are my Entertainments during the Fall of the Leaf notwithstanding w^{ch} my Time lies heavy on my Hands, & I want to be at home again

I have just received a Visit from A,¹² he tells me we have certainly [a Peace]¹³ with Spain very far advanced, w^{ch} 'tis likely will produce a general one¹⁴ & that the King, when he has finish'd it, is determined to pass the rest of his Days at Windsor w^{ch} to me is strange, however it comes from the Pelhamites I send you here a Page of Books¹⁵ enough I

⁹ See Letter 120, n. 2

¹⁰ At the end of the seventh book of Thucydides

¹¹ Tovey (*Gray's English Poems*, pp. 128 ff.) doubts Mason's statement (*Memoirs*, p. 157) that 'the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* was begun if not concluded in 1742', and taking this passage in connexion with Gray's reference to 'the Muse' (see Letter 120, n. 39^a) thinks that the 'autumnal Verses' can only belong to the *Elegy*, which, he supposes, was now being begun (See Appendix I)

¹² Ashton (see Letter 120, n. 36)

¹³ MS torn

¹⁴ Negotiations for peace had been opened at Breda, but proved abortive, peace was at length concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, 18 Oct. 1748

¹⁵ The lists were apparently extracted by Gray from an 'Alphabetical Catalogue' of some 900 books compiled by him, which is in one of his notebooks now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. The College does

imagine to chuse out of, considering the State of your Coll Finances. the best Editions of ancient Authors should be the first Things, I reckon, in a Library. but if you think otherwise, I will send a Page of a different Kind. pray write soon, & think me very faithfully

Yours T G

Sept 11 1746 Stoke Say many good Things to M^r Brown from me

ANCIENTS

- 1 Aristophanes, Kusteri Amst Fol 1710.
- 2 Aristotelis Opera, ed Du-Val 4v Fol Paris, 1654.
Gr Lat (Fabricius likewise recommends the Edⁿ of Sylburgius, all Greek, 1587 5 V 4^{to} apud Wechelios)
- 3 Arrian Jac Gronovii Lugd Bat 1704
- 4 Apollonius Rhodius Hoelzlini Elzev 1641 8^{vo}
- 5 Arati, atq Eratosthenis Fragmenta Oxon 8^{vo} 1672
- 6 Aristidis Opera, ed S Jebb 2 V 4^{to} Oxon 1722-30
- 7 M Aurelius, Gatakeri Ultraject Fol 1698
- 8 Ammianus Marcellinus, H Valesii Par 1681 Fol
- 9 Ausonius, Tollii Amst Blacu 1671 8^{vo}
- 10 Antonini Itinerarium Varior Wesselingii 4^{to} 1735
- 11 Bertii Theatr^m Geographicum Fol Amst 1618 Elzev
(it contains the best Edition of Ptolemy, by M Servetus)
- 12 Boethius Varior Basil 1650 Fol
- 13 Corpus Oratorum Græc, H Stephani Fol 1575
- 14 Q Curtius, Snakenburgi 1724 4^{to}
- 15 Cassiodori Opera Garretti Rothomagi, 1679 2 V Fol
- 16 Diodorus Siculus the last new Edⁿ in 2 V Fol^o
- 17 Dionysius Halicarn, Hudsoni 2 V Fol Oxon
1704
- 18 Dio Prusæensis Morelli Paris 1604 Fol^o
- 19 Dicæarchi Fragmenta H Steph Genevæ 1589 8^{vo}
- 20 Dio Cassius Hanovæ 1606 Fol
- 21 Epistolæ Græc antiquæ a Caldormia Societate Fol
Aurel Allobrogum 1606
- 22 Ennii Fragmenta Hesseli 4^{to} 1707 Amst
- 23 Festus, de Verborum Significatione, Dacerii, in Us Delphini 4^{to} Par 1618
- 24 Florus Varior 1692 8^{vo}

not seem to have acted on Gray's suggestion or to have made any large purchase of books at this time

- 25 Geoponica, Cassiani Bassi ed P Needham Cantab:
1704 8^{vo}
- 26 Aulus Gellius, Oiseli &c 1706 4^{to}
- 27 Gemistius Pletho Fol 1540 Basil
- 28 Himerius & Polemo H Stephani 4^{to} 1567
- 29 Hesiodus Grævii Amst 8^{vo}—1667
- 30 Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores Varior ap Hackios 2 V.
8^{vo} 1670—1
- 31 Hierocles Mer Casauboni 8^{vo} Lond 1665
- 32 Hist Byzantinæ Scriptores Par & Romæ from 1645 to
1702 (I think, including Banduri's Antiquities, there
are 30 vol Fol °)
- 33 Harpocraton, Jac Gronovii 1696 Lug Bat 4^{to}
- 34 Isocrates H Wolfii ap H Steph 1693 Fol °
- 35 Josephus, Hudsoni 2 V 1726 Amst Fol
- 36 Libanius Morelli 2 V Fol Paris 1606—27
- 37 Libani Epistolæ Fol 1738 Amst
- 38 Lycophron, Potteri Oxon Fol 1697
- 39 Livius, Creverii 6 V 4^{to} Par.
- 40 Lucanus, Oudendorpii 2 V 4^{to} 1728
- 41 Macrobius J F Gronovii 1670 8^{vo} Lug Bat (un-
finish'd)
- 42 Nicander G Morelli Par 4^{to} 1557
- 43 Oppian, Riterhusii Lug Bat 1597
- 44 Pausanias, Kuhnii Lipsiæ 1696 Fol
- 45 Pomponius Mela, Jac Gronovii 8^{vo} 1722
- 46 Plinii Hist Naturalis, Harduini Par 5 V 4^{to} 1685 &
republish'd ib 3 V Fol 1723
- 47 Polybius Varior 3 V 8^{vo} 1670 Amst
- 48 Philostratorum Opera, Olearii Lips Fol ° 1709
- 49 Philo Judæus, ed Mangey 2 V Fol 1742 Lond
- 50 Pollucis Onomasticon Varior Fol 2 V 1706
- 51 Prudentius N Heinsii Amst Elz 1667 12^{mo}
- 52 Palladius, de Brachmanibus Ed Bisse 4^{to} 1665 Lond
- 53 Plautus 2 V Gronovii &c 8^{vo} 1684 Amst
- 54 Panegyrici Veteres in Us Delphini 4^{to} 1677 Par
- 55 Poetæ Minores, ed P Burmanni 2 V 4^{to} 1731 Lug
Bat
- 56 Plinii Epistolæ, Cortii & Var 1734 4^{to} Amst
- 57 Excerpta ex Polybio &c H Valesii 4^{to} 1634 Par
- 58 Rutili Itinerarium, Grævii 1687 8^{vo} Amst
- 59 Sophocles, P Stephani 4^{to} 1603

60. Suetonius, Grævii 1691 4^{to} & 1703 Pitisci 2 V 4^{to}.
 Leov^{dise} 1714 (I don't know, w^{ch} is the best Edition)
- 61 Stephanus Byzantinus, Ab Berkehi 1688 Fol L. Bat —
 Lucæ Holstenii Notæ Amst Fol
- 62 Sidonius, Sirmondi 1652 Par 4^{to} & cum Oper^{bus}
 Sirmondi
- 63 Synesius, Petavii Par 1640 Fol
- 64 Symmachus J Parei Neap Nemetum 1617 8^{vo}
- 65 Silius Italicus, Drakenburgi Ultraj 1717 4^{to}
66. Senecæ Tragediæ, Schroderi 4^{to} Delf 1728
- 67 Themistius, Harduini Par Fol 1684
- 68 Theocritus Varior 1604 4^{to} ap Commelin
- 69 Thucydides, Dukeri Fol
- 70 Valerius Flaccus Burmanni L Bat 1724 4^{to}
- 71 Aurelius Victor, Arntzenii 1733 4^{to}
- 72 Valerius Maximus Torrentii 4^{to} L Bat 1726
- 73 Xenophon, Leunclavii Fol 1625 Pai & the three Vol
 that Hutchinson has publish'd 4^{to} Oxon

ANTIQUARIES GRAMMARIANS &C

- Bonanni, delle antiche Siracuse 2 V Palermo 1717
- Boissard, Antiquitates Urb Romanæ 3 V Fol Francof
- Bergier, Hist des Grands Chemins de l'Emp Romaine
 2 V 4^{to} Brux 1728
- Bellori, Vet Philosophorum &c Imagines 1685 Fol Romæ
- Du Cange, Glossarium Latinitatis mediæ vel infimæ 3 V Fol
 ————— Græcum, ejusd ætatis 3 V Fol 1678
 Par both republish'd in 1733
- Ang Caninius de Hellenismo, ed a T Crenio 1700 L
 Bat 8^{vo}
- Dodwell, de vet Græc & Rom Cyclo cum Annal Thucy-
 di[deis et] Xenophonteis Oxon 4^{to} 1701
- Annales Statiani, Velleiani, Quintilianei¹⁶
- Prælectiones, in Schol Camdenianâ Ox 1692 8¹⁶
- Exercitationes, de Ætate Phalaridis & Pythagoræ
 170[4]¹⁶
- Fabretti Inscriptiones 1691 Rom Fol
- Fabricii Bibl Græca, V 14 4^{to} 1708 (this I believe you have)
- ca Latina¹⁷ 3 V 8^{vo} 1721
- Antiquaria 4^{to} 1713

¹⁶ MS torn¹⁷ That is, Bibliotheca Latina

Sept 1746

Gray to Wharton

Letter 121

- Fabretti, de Aquæductibus Rom 4^{to} 1680 Romæ
 Fabretti, de Columnâ Trajanî, &c 1685. Fol Romæ
 Grueteri Inscriptiones, ed Grævii 4 V Fol 1708
 Salengre, Thesaurus Antiq Roman^{arum} 3 V 1716 Fol-
 Hagæ.
 Muratori, Thesaurus Antiq 2 V Fol 173 .
 Gyraldi (Lili) Opera, ed Jensi Fol 1696. L Bat
 Goldasti Epistolæ Philologicæ 8^{vo} Lipsiæ
 Heineccii Antiq^{um} Rom^a Jurisprudentiæ Syntagma 2 V
 8^{vo}. 1724
 Hankius, de Byzantin Scriptoribus 1677 Lips 4^{to}
 Heindreich, de Carthagin Republicâ Francof ad Oderum
 Loydii, Series Olympiadum &c Fol Oxon 1700
 Martini Lexicon Philologicum ed Grævii 2 V Fol 1701
 Amst
 Montfaucon, Palæographia Græca 1708 Fol Par
 Notitia Dignitatum utriusq Imperii, a P Labbæo 1651
 Par. 8^{vo} (this may perhaps be in the Byzant Collec-
 tion)
 Palmerii Græcia Antiqua 1678 4^{to} L Bat (unfinish'd)
 Petavius, de Doctrina Temporum 2 V 1703 Fol
 Streinnius, de Rom Familiarum Stemmatibus Fol 1659 Par
 Ursinus, Vet Imagines & Elogia 1570 Fol Romæ
 ——— de Familiis Romanis 1577 ibid
 Vaillant, Ptolemæorum Hist^a 1701 Fol Amst Seleuci-
 darum 4^{to} Par 1681 Arsacidarum—

Addressed To Thomas Wharton Esq, Fellow of Pembroke Hall Cambridge
Postmark 13 SE

122 GRAY TO CHUTE

My God! Mr Chute in England?¹ what & have you seen
 him? and did he say nothing to you? not a Word of
 me! such was my Conversation, when I first heard News so

LETTER 122 —First printed by Mitford in *Works of Gray* (1835-43),
 vol III, pp 19-20, now reprinted from original

¹ In his letter to Mann of 2 Oct 1746 from Windsor, Walpole writes 'By
 your own loss you may measure my joy at the receipt of the dear Chutes
 [meaning John Chute and Francis Whithed, whom he sometimes spoke of
 as the 'Chuteheds']. I strolled to town one day last week, and there I found
 them!' In the same letter he says they had gone 'chez eux', i e to Whithed's
 place at Southwick Park, near Fareham

surprising, with a Person,² that (when I reflect) it is indeed no great Wonder You did not much interrogate concerning me, as you knew nothing of what has past of late ³

But let me ask you yourself, have a few Years totally erased me from your Memory? You are generous enough perhaps to forget all the Obligations I have to you, but is it Generosity to forget the Person you have obliged too? while I remember myself, I can not but remember you, & consequently can not but wonder, when I find no where one Line, one Syllable, to tell me you are arrived I will venture to say, there is no body in England however nearly connected with you, that has seen you with more real Joy & Affection than I shall You are, it seems, gone into the Country whither (had I any Reason to think you wish'd to see me) I should immediately have follow'd you as it is, I am returning to Cambridge, but with Intention to come back to Town again, whenever you do, if you will let me know the Time, & Place

I readily set Mr Wh ⁴ free from all Imputations he is a fine young Personage in a Coat all over Spangles just come over from the Tour of Europe to take Possession, & be married ⁵ & consequently can't be supposed to think of any Thing, or remember any body but You — I however I don't altogether clear him he might have said something to one, who remembers him when he was but a Pout ⁶ nevertheless I desire my hearty Congratulations to him, & say I wish him more Spangles, & more Estates, & more Wives Adieu! my dear S^r, I am ever

Yours

T GRAY

London—Oct [c 6⁷ 1746] To T G of Peterhouse, Cambridge

² Walpole

³ Chute would have been chary of mentioning Gray to Walpole, knowing that they had quarrelled, and not yet having learned of their reconciliation (see Letter 116)

⁴ Whithed

⁵ Chaloner Chute (*History of the Vyne*, pp 100–1) notes 'A portrait of Francis Whithed at the Vyne by Rosalba shows him much as this letter describes him, "a fine young personage in a coat all over spangles" The picture is matched by a portrait, also by Rosalba, of Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Nichol, of Southgate, Middlesex Not long before Whithed's death Chute had arranged for him to marry Miss Nichol (see Walpole's letter to Mann of 1 April 1751, quoted in Letter 165, n 1)

⁶ See Letter 124, n 5

⁷ The letter must have been written in the first week of October, as Gray found Chute's reply on his return to Cambridge on 10 Oct (see Letter 125, *ad init*)

Oct 1746

Gray to Chute

Letter 122

P S My Compliments to M^{rs} Chute⁸ (who once did me the Honour to write to me) & say, I give her Joy very sincerely of your Return

Addressed To John Chute Esq at M^r Whithed's of Southwick near Fareham in Hampshire⁹

123 GRAY TO WHARTON

[8 Oct 1746]¹

My Dear Wharton,

THIS is only to entreat you would order mes Gens to clean out the Appartments, spread the Carpets, air the Beds, put up the Tapestry, unpaper the Frames, &c fit to receive a great Potentate, that comes down in the Flying Coach drawn by Green Dragons² on Friday the 10th Instant as the Ways are bad, & the Dragons a little out of Repair (for they don't actually fly; but only go, like a lame Ostrich, something between a Hop & a Trot) it will probably be late when he lands, so he would not chuse to be known, & desires there may be no Bells, nor Bonfires. but as Persons incog love to be seen, he will slip into the Coffee

⁸ A note on the margin of the original states this to be 'M^{rs} Francis Chute' This lady was the widow of John Chute's brother, Francis (see Walpole's note on his letter to Mann of 7 Aug 1745), who had died in the summer of 1745 She was probably the 'near relation' of John Chute mentioned by Gray in Letter 109 It has been conjectured that it was she who helped to bring about the reconciliation of Gray and Walpole (see Appendix D)

⁹ The address is no longer with the original

LETTER 123—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 173–5, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 143–4, now reprinted from original

¹ The letter is endorsed '8 Oct 44 or 45' But the Peterhouse books show that Gray was in residence there on 8 Oct both in 1744 and 1745, whereas in 1746 he commenced residence on 10 Oct, which was Friday, the day of his intended arrival, as announced in this letter

² This humorous description was no doubt prompted by the fact that the stage-coach in which Gray proposed to return to Cambridge started from the *Green Dragon* in Bishopsgate Street, as appears from the following announcement, under the head of *Coaches*, in *Cantabrigia Depicta*

'Stage-Coach for Four Passengers at 10s each, Sets out from the *Red-Lion* in the *Petty-Cury* at Seven in the Morning on *Tuesdays*, *Thursdays*, and *Saturdays*, from *Midsummer* to *Christmas*, to the *Green-Dragon* in *Bishopsgate-street*; from whence it returns at the same Hour on *Mondays*, *Wednesdays*, and *Fridays* The other half Year it sets out from the *Blue-Boar* in *Cambridge*, inns at the *Green-Dragon* aforesaid and returns to the *Blue-Boar*' The *Green Dragon* was No 86 Bishopsgate Street (see also Letter 46, n 16).

House is M^r Trollope⁴ among you? good lack! he will pull off my Head for never writeing to him oh Conscience! Conscience!⁵

Addressed To Thomas Wharton Esq, Fellow of Pembroke Hall Cambridge
Postmark [o]c 8

124 GRAY TO CHUTE

My Dear S^r

Y^{ou} have not then forgot me, & I shall see you again it suffices, & there needed no other Excuse I loved You too well not to forgive you without a Reason; but I could not but be sorry for myself

You are lazy (you say) & listless & gouty & old, & vex'd and perplex'd I am all that (the Gout excepted) & many Things more, that I hope you never will be so that what you tell me on that Head est trop flatoux¹ pour moi our Imperfections may at least excuse, & perhaps recommend us to one another methinks I can readily pardon Sicknefs & Age & Vexation for all the Depredations they make within & without, when I think they make us better Friends & better Men, w^{ch} I am persuaded is often the Case I am very sure, I have seen the best-temper'd generous tender young Creatures in the World, that would have been very glad to be sorry for People they liked, when under any Pain, and could not, merely for Want of knowing rightly, what it was, themselves

I find M^r Walpole then made some Mention of me to you yes, we are together again it is about a Year, I believe, since he wrote to me to offer it, & there has been (particularly of late) in Appearance the same Kindnefs & Confidence almost as of old what were his Motives I can not yet guess what were mine, you will imagine, & perhaps blame me² however as yet I neither repent, nor rejoice overmuch but I am pleased he is full, I assure you, of your Panegyric never any body had half so much Wit as M^r Chute³ (w^{ch} is saying every thing with him, you know) & M^r W^d is the finest young Man, that ever was

⁴ See Letter 114, n 1

⁵ The rest has been cut away

LETTER 124 —First printed by Mitford in *Works of Gray* (1835-43), vol iii pp 21-2, now reprinted from original

¹ *Sic*

² Gray seems to imply that Chute had thought Walpole so much in the wrong, when they quarrelled, that Gray ought not to have accepted his overtures

³ Walpole says of Chute in his letter to Mann of 2 Oct 1746 'I don't

Oct 1746

Gray to Chute

Letter 124

imported.⁴ I hope to embrace this fine Man (if I can) & thank him heartily for being my Advocate, tho' in vain he is a good Creature, & I am not sure but I shall be tempted to eat a Wing of him with Sellery-Sauce⁵—I am interrupted whenever I know of your Time, I will be in Town presently I can not but make M^r Chute⁶ my best Acknowledgements for takeing my Part Heaven keep you all¹ I am, my best M^r Chute, very faithfully Yours

T G.

Cambr ^{re} Oct 12 Sunday [1746]

Addressed To John Chute Esq at M^r Whithed's of Southwick near Farcham in Hampshire Postmark CAMBRIDGE 13 OCT

125 GRAY TO WALPOLE

My Dear S^r

I FOUND (as soon as I got hither) a very kind Letter from M^r Chute, from whence I have Reason to hope we may all meet in Town about a Week hence You have probably been there, since I left you, & consequently have seen the M^r Barry¹ you desired some Account of yet as I am not certain of this, & should be glad to know whether we agree about him. I will nevertheless tell you what he is, & the Impression he made upon me. He is upwards of six Foot in Height, well & proportionably

know how he will succeed here, but to me he has more wit than anybody I know', and again, on 4 Nov of the same year 'M^r Chute has absolutely more wit, knowledge, and good nature, than, to their great surprise, ever met together in one man', thirty years later (27 May 1776), a few days after Chute's death, he writes 'His wit and quickness illuminated everything . . . The vigour of his mind was strong as ever, his powers of reasoning clear as demonstration, his rapid wit astonishing as at forty, about which time you and I knew him first'

⁴ In the above-quoted letter to Mann of 2 Oct Walpole speaks of Whithed as 'a very pretty gentleman'

⁵ There must have been a jest on Whithed's name 'Whitehead' was a name given to partridges when newly hatched (*OED*), and partridge with celery sauce is a dish in Verrall's *Cookery* (see Letter 330, n 23) It is part of the same jest that Gray talks of Whithed 'when he was but a Pout' (Letter 122, and cf Letter 112)

⁶ See Letter 122, n 8

LETTER 125—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 157.

¹ Spranger Barry (1719–77), a Dublin silversmith, who had taken to the stage in Dublin two years before He made his first appearance in London as Othello at Drury Lane on 4 Oct of this year, and speedily became a formidable rival of Garrick Gray's account of his voice and person is borne out by other contemporary observers

made, treads well, & knows what to do with his Limbs, in short a noble graceful Figure I can say nothing of his Face, but that it was all Black, with a wide Mouth & good Eyes his Voice is of a clear & pleasing Tone, something like Delane's,² but not so deep-mouth'd, not so like a Palsing Bell when high strained, it is apt to crack a little, & be hoarse. but in its common Pitch, & when it sinks into any softer Pafsion, particularly exprefive & touching in the first Scenes, especially where he recounts to the Senate the Progreſs of his Love, & the Means he used to win Desdemona, he was quite mistaken, & I took a Pique against him. instead of a Cool Narration he flew into a Rant of Voice & Action, as tho' he were relating the Circumstances of a Battle that was fought yesterday I expected nothing more from him, but was deceived in the Scenes of Rage & Jealousy he was seldom inferior to Quin³ in the Parts of Tenderneſs & Sorrow far above him these latter seem to be his peculiarly his Action is not very various, but rarely improper, or without Dignity & some of his Attitudes are really fine he is not perfect to be sure, but I think may make a better Player than any now on the Stage in a little while however to see a Man in one Character, & but once, is not sufficient so I rather ask your Opinion by this, than give you mine

I annex (as you desired) another Ode⁴ all it pretends to with you is, that it is mine, & that you never saw it before, & that it is not so long as t'other

Lo, where the rosie-bosom'd Hours,
Fair Venus' Train, appear,
Disclose the long-expecting Flowers,
And wake the purple Year!
The Attic Warbler pours her Throat
Responsive to the Cuckow's Note,

² See Letter 20, n 7

³ See Letter 3, n 17

⁴ The *Ode on the Spring* ('the other' being no doubt that *On a Distant Prospect of Eton College*), originally called by Gray *Noontide, an Ode*. The poem was written in 1742, and was sent to West after his death (no doubt with Letter 110), as appears from a note appended by Gray to his transcript in the Pembroke MSS 'at Stoke, the beginning of June 1742 sent to Fav not knowing he was then Dead'. It was first printed (with the title *Ode*) in 1748 in Dodsley's *Collection of Poems by several Hands* (vol 11, pp 265 ff), in which were also included the *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* (vol 11, pp 261 ff) (see Letter 139, n 1) and the *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat* (vol 11, pp 267 ff) (see Letter 134, n 3). It is the first of the *Six Poems* with the designs of Bentley, published in 1753 (see Letter 161, n 2).

The untaught Harmony of Spring:
While whisp'ring Pleasure as they fly
Cool Zephyrs thro' the clear blue Sky
Their gather'd Fragrance fling

Where'er the Oak's thick Branches stretch
A broader browner Shade,
Where'er the rude & moss-grown Beech
O'ercanopies the Glade,
Beside some Water's rushy Brink
With me the Muse shall sit, & think
(At Ease reclined in rustic State)
How vain the Ardour of the Crowd,
How low, how indigent the Proud,
How little are the Great¹⁶

—a Bank
Oercanopied with luscious Woodbine
Shakesp *Mids Nighr's Dream*¹

Still is the toiling Hand of Care
The panting Herds repose
Yet hark, how thro' the peopled Air
The busy Murmur glows¹
The Insect-Youth are on the Wing
Eager to tast the honied Spring,
And float amid the liquid Noon
Some lightly o'er the Current skim,
Some shew their gayly-gilded Trim
Quick-glancing to the Sun

Nare per æstatem liqui-
dam Virg¹

To Contemplation's sober Eye
Such is the Race of Man
And they that creep, & they that fly,
Shall end where they began
Alike the Busy & the Gay
But flutter thro' Life's little Day,
In Fortune's varying Colours drest
Brush'd by the Hand of rough Mischance,
Or chill'd by Age, their airy Dance
They leave, in Dust to rest

⁵ Act II, Sc. 1.

⁶ These two lines were printed in this form in Dodsley's *Collection*, Gray afterwards altered them to

How low, how little are the Proud
How indigent the Great!

in which form they appear in the *Six Poems* Mason states that Gray made the correction 'on account of the point of *little* and *great*'

⁷ *Georg* iv 59

Methinks I hear in Accents low
 The sportive Kind reply,
 Poor Moralst¹ & what art Thou²
 A solitary Fly¹
 Thy Joys no glittering Female meets,
 No Hive hast thou of hoarded Sweets,
 No painted Plumage to display.
 On hasty Wings thy Youth is flown,
 Thy Sun is set, thy Spring is gone
 We frolick, while 'tis May

My Compliments to Ashton Adieu, I am sincerely
 Yours

T G

Camb Oct 20 [1746]³

126 GRAY TO CHUTE

Cambridge Sunday [Nov 23, 1746]¹

Lustrissimo

IT is doubtless highly reasonable, that two young Foreigners come into so distant a Country to acquaint themselves with strange Things should have some Time allowed them to take a View of the King (God blefs him) & the Ministry, & the Theatres, & Westminster Abbey & the Lyons,² & such other Curiosities of the Capital City you civilly call them Dissipations; but to me they appear Employments of a very serious Nature, as they enlarge the Mind, give a great Insight into the Nature & Genius of a People, keep the Spirits in an agreeable Agitation, and (like the True Artificial Spirit of Lavender) amazingly fortify & corroborate the whole nervous System but as all Things sooner or later must pass away, & there is a certain Period, when (by the Rules of Proportion) one is to grow weary of every Thing I may hope at length a Season will arrive, when you will be tired of forgetting me 'tis true you have a long

¹ The date of the year has been inserted in the original by Mason

LETTER 126 —First printed (in modified text) by Chaloner Chute in *History of the Lyne*, pp 102-4, now reprinted from original

² The date is determined by the postmark, 24 No (the day after the letter was written) 23 Nov was a Sunday in 1746, which is obviously the year

³ At the Tower of London

Journey to make first, a vast Series of Sights to pass thro' let me see! you are at Lady Brown's already I have set a Time, when I may say, oh! he is now got to the Waxwork in Fleet-street⁴ there is nothing more but Cupid's Paradise,⁵ & the Hermaphrodite from Guinea, & the Original Basilisk Dragon, & the Buffalo from Babylon, & the New Chimpanzee,⁶ & then I have a Care, you had best, that I come in my Turn you know in whose Hands I have deposited my little Interests I shall infallibly appeal to my *best invisible* Friend⁷ in the Country

I am glad Castaho⁸ has justified himself & me to You he seem'd to me more made for Tendernefs, than Horrour, & (I have Courage again to insist upon it) might make a better Player than any now on the Stage I have not alone received (thank you) but almost got thro' Louis Onze⁹ 'tis very well, methinks, but nothing particular what occasion'd his

³ Margaret, daughter of Hon Robert Cecil, second son of third Earl of Salisbury, she married Sir Robert Brown (d. 1760), first Baronet (1732), at one time Paymaster of the Works, and formerly a merchant at Venice and British Resident there Lady Brown, who died in 1782 at the age of 86, was a patroness of foreign singers She is stated by Dr Burney (*History of Music*, iv 671) to have been 'one of the first persons of fashion who had the courage at the risk of her windows to have concerts on a Sunday evening' Writing to Mann on 13 Feb 1743 Walpole says of one Ceretesi, a Florentine recently arrived in England 'I am literally waiting for him now, to introduce him to Lady Brown's Sunday night, it is the great mark for all travelling and travelled calves' Gray was acquainted with her (see Letter 154*)

⁴ Fleet Street was famous for its wax-work exhibitions, the most celebrated of which was that of the 'ingenious Mr Salmon', mentioned in Nos 28 and 31 of Addison's *Spectator*

⁵ No doubt the place of public resort at Bermondsey known as 'Cupid's Gardens'—'What is now a straw-yard skirting the river was once the City Ranelagh, called *Cupid's Gardens*, and the trees, now black with mud, were the bowers under which the citizens loved, on the summer evenings, to sit beside the stream, drinking their sack and ale' (Thornbury and Walford's *Old and New London*, vol vi, p 116)

⁶ In Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (1753), art 'Chimpanzee', it is stated 'In the year 1738 we had one of these creatures brought over into England by the captain of a ship in the Guinea trade'

⁷ Possibly Mrs Francis Chute (see Letter 122, n 8)

⁸ Character in Otway's *Orphan*, the part had been played at Drury Lane on 15, 17–20 Nov of this year by Spranger Barry (see Letter 125, n 1)

⁹ *Histoire de Louis Onze*, 2 vols, 1745, with *Pièces Justificatives*, 1746, by Charles Pinot Duclos (1704–72), subsequently (1750) Historiographer of France in succession to Voltaire

Castration¹⁰ at Paris, I imagine, were certain Strokes in Defence of the Gallican Church & its Liberties—a little Contempt cast upon the Popes, & something here & there on the Conduct of the great Princes there are a few Instances of Malice against our Nation, that are very foolish

My Companion,¹¹ whom you salute, is (much to my Sorrow) only so now & then he lives 20 Miles off at Nurse, & is not so meagre as when you first knew him, but of a reasonable Plumposity he shall not fail being here to do the Honours, when you make your publick Entry heigh-ho! when that will be, *chi sa?* but, *mi lusinga il dolce sogno!*—I love M^r Whithed, & wish him all Happiness Farewell, my dear S^r, I am ever Yours

T G

Commend me kindly to M^r Walpole

Addressed To John Chute Esq at the House of Francis Whithed Esq in New Bond Street Westminster Postmark CAMBRIDGE 24 NO

127 GRAY TO WHARTON

My Dear Wharton

I WOULD make you an Excuse (as indeed I ought) if they were a Sort of Thing I ever gave any Credit to myself in these Cases, but I know they are never true nothing so silly as

¹⁰ The book was censured by an Arrêt du Conseil, and its republication was prohibited until 'plusieurs endroits contraires, non seulement aux droits de la couronne sur différentes provinces du royaume, mais au respect avec lequel on doit parler de ce qui regarde la religion ou les règles des mœurs, et la conduite des principaux membres de l'église', had been excised

¹¹ This was probably Nicholas Bonfoy (d. 1775), of Abbott's Ripton (or Rippon), near Huntingdon, about twenty miles from Cambridge, whom Walpole and Gray met in Paris in 1739 (see Walpole's letter to West from Paris, 21 April 1739). In making the grand tour Bonfoy would naturally, like other English, visit Florence in due course, where he would have the opportunity of renewing relations with Walpole and Gray, and of making the acquaintance of Chute. After his return to Cambridge Gray, as may be gathered from his letters, became intimate with Bonfoy and his mother, and frequently visited them at Abbott's Ripton.

Bonfoy was admitted Pensioner at Pembroke in 1725, and was admitted at Gray's Inn in 1724, he was appointed Serjeant-at-Arms in the House of Commons, 1762 (see Letter 547, n. 7).

LETTER 127—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 180–1, first printed in full by Milford (1816), vol. II, pp. 164–7, now reprinted from original.

Indolence, when it hopes to disguise itself every one knows it by it's Saunter, as they do his Majesty (God blefs him) at a Masquerade by the Firmness of his Tread, & the Elevation of his Chin however somewhat I had to say, that has a little Shadow of Reason in it I have been in Town (I suppose you know) flaunting about at publick Places of all kinds with my two Italianized Friends¹ the World itself has some Attraction in it to a Solitary of six Years standing, & agreeable well-meaning People of Sense (thank Heaven there are so few of them) are my peculiar Magnet it is no Wonder then, if I felt some Reluctance at parting with them so soon, or if my Spirits, when I return'd back to my Cell, should sink for a time, not indeed to Storm & Tempest, but a good deal below Changeable. besides Seneca says (and my Pitch of Philosophy does not pretend to be much above Seneca)² *Nunquam mores, quos extuli, refero aliquid ex eo, quod composui, turbatur aliquid ex his, quæ fugavi, redit* and it will happen to such as we, mere Imps of Science well it may, when Wisdom herself is forced often—in sweet retired Solitude

To plume her Feathers, & let grow her Wings,
That in the various Bustle of Resort
Were all too ruffled & sometimes impair'd³

It is a foolish Thing, that one can't only not live as one pleases, but where & with whom one pleases, without Money Swift somewhere says, that Money is Liberty,⁴ & I fear money is Friendship too & Society, & almost every external Blessing. it is a great tho' ill-natured, Comfort to see most of those, who have it in Plenty, without Pleasure, without Liberty, & without Friends

M^r Brown (who I assure you holds up his Head & his Spirits very notably) will give you an Account of your College Proceedings, if they may be so call'd, where nothing proceeds at all

¹ Chute and Whithed, Walpole had been with them for he wrote to Mann a few days before, on 5 Dec, 'the Chutes and I deal extremely together' The College books show that Gray was absent from Cambridge from c. 30 Oct to c. 15 Nov, in his letter to Wharton of 27 Dec (Letter 129) he refers to this visit to London as 'my Dissipation de quinze jours'

² Seneca, *Epist* vii, *ad mī!*

³ Milton, *Comus*, 378–80 (adapted)

⁴ See Swift's letter to Pope of 16 July 1728, quoted by Mitford 1835–43, vol iii, p 24, n

only the last Week Roger⁵ was so wise to declare *ex motu proprio*, that he took M^r Delaval⁶ (who is now a Fell Commoner) into his own Tuition this raised the dirty Spirit of his Friend, M^r May⁷ (now Tutor in Francis's⁸ Room) against him, & even gentle M^r Peele,⁹ (who never acts but in Conjunction) together with M^r Brown (who pretended to be mighty angry, tho' in reality heartily glad) and they all came to an *Eclaircissement* in the Parlour they abused him pretty reasonably, & it ended in threatening them as usual with a Visitor in short they are all as rude as may be, leave him at Table by himself, never go into the Parlour, till he comes out, or if he enters, when they are there, continue sitting even in his own Magisterial Chair May bickers with him publicly about twenty paltry Matters, & Roger t'other Day told him he was impertinent what would you have more? you see they do as one would wish if you were here all would be right I am surprised not to hear you mention, when that will be, pray give an Account of yourself I am very sincerely Yours

T G

P S When I went to Town Part of my Errand was to sell^a a little Stock I had, to pay off Birkett's¹⁰ old Debt now at Xmas, but it was so low, I should have lost near 12 per Cent, & so it

⁵ Dr Roger Long, Master of Pembroke

⁶ This was John Blake (afterwards Hussey) Delaval (1728-1808), second son of Francis Blake Delaval, of Staton Delaval and Ford, co Northumberland, and elder brother of Edward Hussey Delaval (see Letter 163, n 12) He was created a Baronet in 1761, an Irish Peer as Baron Delaval, in 1783, and a Peer of Great Britain in 1786 He was M P for Berwick, 1765-74, 1780-6 On the death of his eldest brother Sir Francis Blake Delaval, K B, in 1771 he succeeded to the family estates During his brief residence at Pembroke (for the abrupt termination of which see Gray's letter to Wharton of 27 Dec 1746- Letter 129) Christopher Smart (see Letter 135, n 8) was his private tutor In 1751 Smart at the request of his former pupil wrote a prologue and epilogue for a performance 'by several persons of quality' of *Othello* at Drury Lane, the parts of Othello and Iago being played by Francis Blake Delaval and John Blake Hussey Delaval (See *Poems of C Smart*, 1791, vol 1, p xx)

⁷ Samuel May, of Pembroke, B A, 1737, M A, 1740, Fellow, 1740, Proctor, 1759-60, Vicar of Waresley, Hunts, 1746-72, d 1787

⁸ John Francis, of Pembroke B A, 1729, M A, 1732, Fellow, 1733, President, 1746, Vicar of Waresley, Hunts, 1745-6, of Soham, Cambs, 1746-82

⁹ John Peele, of Pembroke, B A, 1741, M A, 1744, Fellow, 1743, Vicar of Tilney All Saints, Norfolk, 1749-1805

¹⁰ Gray, as an undergraduate, was under Birkett's tutorship (see Letter 29 n 1) Gray had probably let some of his bills run on since he

Dec 1746

Gray to Wharton

Letter 127

continues. if you think of being here near that Time, & find it not inconvenient to you to lend me 40£, you will save me the Money I mention (as I remember you once offer'd) but if any Inconvenience attend it, you must imagine I don't by any Means desire it, & you need not be at the Trouble of any Excuse, as I well know, nothing but the not being able would hinder your doing it immediately let me know, because otherwise I have another Journey to make to Town

Dec. 11 Cambridge

Addressed To Dr Thomas Wharton at Durham By Caxton Bag Postmark
CAMBRIDGE

128 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Cambridge, Dec [22] Monday [1746] ¹

THIS comes du fond de ma cellule to salute Mr H W not so much him that visits and votes, and goes to White's and to court, as the H W in his rural capacity, snug in his tub on Windsor-hill,² and brooding over folios of his own creation ³ him that can slip away, like a pregnant beauty (but a little oftener), into the country, be brought to bed perhaps of twins, and whisk to town again the week after with a face as if nothing had happened Among the little folks, my godsons and daughters, I can not choose but enquire more particularly after the health of one, I mean (without a figure) the Memoires ⁴ Do they grow? Do they unite, and hold up their heads, and dress

returned to Cambridge in 1742. He was now a graduate Fellow-commoner, but a Fellow-commoner of whatever standing did not pay cook's and butler's charges &c directly, these would be collected by the tutor (see Appendix E)

LETTER 128 — First printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol v, pp 389-90

¹ The date of the year is determined by the references to Lord Lovat, to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, and to the opera *Mitridate* (see nn 5, 7, 8) From the allusion to the impeachment of Lord Lovat (see n 5) it seems probable that the date of the month was Monday, 22 Dec

² In the previous August Walpole had taken a house at Windsor (see Letter 120, n 32) In a letter to Conway of 3 Oct he refers to it as 'my little tub of forty pounds a year'

³ At the beginning of November Walpole had written 'an Epilogue to *Tamerlane* on the suppression of the Rebellion', which was spoken by Mrs Pritchard in the character of the Comic Muse at Covent Garden Theatre on 4 and 5 Nov, and was printed by Dodsley the next day (*Short Notes*)

⁴ In his *Short Notes* Walpole records, under the year 1751, 'About this time I began to write my *Memoirs*', but it is evident from this and a subsequent remark of Gray's (see Letter 130, n 9) that he must have planned them some years before

themselves? Do they begin to think of making their appearance in the world, that is to say, fifty years hence, to make posterity stare, and all good people cross themselves? Has Asheton (who will then be lord bishop of Killaloe, and is to publish them) thought of an *aviso al lettore* to prefix to them yet, importing, that if the words church, king, religion, ministry, &c be found often repeated in this book, they are not to be taken literally, but poetically, and as may be most strictly reconcilable to the faith then established,—that he knew the author well when he was a young man, and can testify upon the honour of his function, that he said his prayers regularly and devoutly, had a profound reverence for the clergy, and firmly believed everything that was the fashion in those days?

When you have done impeaching my lord Lovat,⁵ I hope to hear *de vos nouvelles*, and moreover, whether you have got colonel Conway⁶ yet? Whether sir C. Williams⁷ is to go to Berlin? What sort of a prince Mitridate⁸ may be?⁹—and whatever other tidings you choose to refresh an anchorite with. *Frattanto* I send you a scene in a tragedy,⁹ if it don't make you cry, it will make you laugh, and so it moves some passion, that I take to be enough. Adieu, dear sir! I am

Sincerely yours,
T. GRAY

⁵ See Letter 120, n. 31. On 18 Dec. he appeared in the House of Lords to hear the articles of impeachment.

⁶ He was in Scotland, where he had been acting as Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Cumberland. The Duke had come south in July, and had left for The Hague on 30 Nov. but Conway had found an attraction in the person of Lady Ailesbury (the 'Scotchwoman' of Walpole's letter to Conway of 24 Oct.), whom he married in the following year.

⁷ Sir Charles Hanbury Williams (1708–59), at this time M.P. for Monmouthshire. Walpole writes to Mann on 5 Dec., 'Sir Charles Williams is talked of for going to Berlin, but it is not yet done' and on 25 Dec., 'Sir Charles Williams has kissed hands, and sets out for Dresden in a month'. He was not appointed to Berlin till 1749.

⁸ '1746 *Mitridate*, an opera entirely by the new composer Terradellas, was brought out, 2 Dec. and had a run of ten nights' (Burney, *Hist. of Music*, iv. 455). The Prince of Wales was a patron of the opera at this time. 'We have operas, but no company at them, the Prince and Lord Middlesex, *impresari*' (Walpole to Mann, 5 Dec.).

⁹ The first scene in Mr. Gray's unfinished tragedy of *Agrippina*, published in Mr. Mason's edition of his works. *Berry*—Gray had sent a speech from this scene to West in April 1742 (see Letter 101, n. 8).

129 GRAY TO WHARTON

My Dear Wharton

I HAVE received your Bill, & am in Confusion to hear, you have got in Debt yourself in Order to bring me out of it I did not think to be obliged to you so much, nor on such Terms but imagined you would be here, & might easily spare it ¹ the Money shall be repaid as soon as ever it is wanted, & sooner if the Stocks rise a little higher my Note you will find at the End of my Letter, w^{ch} you ought to have, *εάν τι κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον συμβαίῃ* ² the rest of my Acknowledgements are upon Record, where they ought to be, with the rest of your Kindnesses the Bill was paid me here, I suppose there is no Likelihood of its being stop'd in Town

It surprises me to hear you talk of so much Business, & the Uncertainty of your Return, & what not? sure you will find Time to give me an Account of your Transactions, & your Intentions for your Ears, don't let 'em think of marrying you! for I know if you marry at all, you will *be married* I mean, p^{as}sively & then (besides repenting of what you were not guilty of) you will never go abroad, never read any thing more, but Farriery-Books, and Justice-Books, & so either die of a Consumption, or live on, & grow fat, w^{ch} is worse for me & my Retirement (for you are in the Right to despise my Disipation de quinze Jours)³ we are in the midst of Diog Laertius & his Philosophers, as a Proœmium to the Series of their Works, & those of all the Poets & Orators, that lived before Philip of Macedon's Death & we have made a great Chronological Table⁴ with our own Hands, the Wonder & Amazement of

LETTER 129—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, p. 205, first printed in full by Milford (1816), vol. II, pp. 167–9, now reprinted from original

¹ Gray had asked for a loan of £40 (see Letter 127, *ad fin*), supposing that Wharton would be returning into residence at Pembroke, where his expenses would be small. Wharton went out of residence in the previous October, and did not return

² 'Should that befall which is the lot of man', otherwise, 'in the event of my decease', perhaps a reminiscence of Polybius, *ἀν τι συμβῇ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπων* (III 5, 8)

³ His visit to London to see Chute and Whithed (see Letter 127, n. 1)

⁴ This laborious work was formed much in the manner of the President Henault's 'Histoire de France'. Every page consisted of nine columns, one for the Olympiad, the next for the Archons, the third for the public affairs of Greece, the three next for the Philosophers, and the three last for Poets,

M^r Brown; not so much for Publick Events, tho' these too have a Column assign'd them, but rather in a literary Way, to compare the Times of all great Men, their Writings & Transactions it begins at the 30th Olympiad, & is already brought down to the 113th, that is, 332 Years our only Modern Assistants, are Marsham,⁵ Dodwell,⁶ & Bentley⁷ [Tutthill]⁸ continues quiet in his *Læta Paupertas*, & by this Time (were not his Friends of it) would have forgot there was any such Place as Pembroke in the World All Things there are just in Statu quo, only the Fellows, as I told you, are grown pretty rudish to their Sovereign in general,⁹ for Francis is now departed poor dear M^r Delaval¹⁰ indeed has had a little Misfortune Intelligence was brought, that he had with him a certain Gentlewoman properly call'd Nell Burnet, (but whose Nom de Guerre was Captⁿ Hargraves) in an Officer's Habit, whom he had carried all about to see Chappels & Libraries, & make Visits in the Face of Day the Master raised his *Posse-Comitatus* in Order to search his Chambers, & after long Feeling & Snuffling about the Bed, he declared they had certainly been there w^{ch} was very true, & the Captain was then locked up in a Cupboard there, while his Lover stood below in Order to convey him out at Window, when all was over, however they took Care not to discover her, tho' the Master affirm'd, had he but caught her, he would soon have known, whether it was a Man, or a Woman upon this M^r Del was desired to cut out his Name, & did so

Historians, and Orators I do not find it carried further than the date above-mentioned *Mason*—Charles Jean François Hénault (1685–1770), had published in this year (1746) a second edition of his *Nouvel Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France* (first published in 1744), it is not improbable that Gray took the idea of his Chronological Table from it He commends it in Letter 154. Some of Gray's notes for this Table are preserved in the Pembroke library

⁵ Sir John Marsham (1602–5), author of *Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus, Ebraicus, Græcus, cum Disquisitionibus historicis et criticis* Lond 1672, fol

⁶ Henry Dodwell, the elder (1641–1711), published *De Veteribus Græcorum Romanorumque Cyclis Dissertationes* in 1701, and *Annales Thucydides et Xenophonis* in 1702

⁷ Richard Bentley (1662–1742), D D, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, his famous *Epistola de Johanne Malela Antiocheno*, pointing out the errors in the Greek chronicle of John Malelas of Antioch, addressed to Dr John Mill, Principal of St Edmund Hall, was first printed as an appendix to Mill's edition of the chronicle published at Oxford in 1691, and was reprinted at Cambridge in 1713

⁸ See Letter 120, n 2.

⁹ See Letter 127

¹⁰ See Letter 127, n 6

Dec 1746

Gray to Wharton

Letter 129

next Day D^r L: repented, & wrote a Paper to testify he never knew any Hurt of him, w^{ch} he brought to D^r Whaley,¹¹ who would have directly admitted him here, if Stuart¹² had not absolutely refused he was offer'd about at several Colleges, but in vain then D^r L call[ed]¹³ two Meetings to get him re-admitted there, but every one was inexorable & so he has lost his Pupil,¹⁴ who is gone, I suppose, to lie with his Aunt Price¹⁵ Trollope continues in Dev'reux-Court¹⁶ all our Hopes are now in the Commencement¹⁷

(Have you seen the Works of two young Authors, a M^r Warton¹⁸ & a M^r Collins,¹⁹ both Writers of Odes? it is odd enough, but each is the half of a considerable Man, & one the Counter-Part of the other the first has but little Invention, very poetical choice of Expression, & a good Ear the second, a fine Fancy, model'd upon the Antique, a bad Ear, great Variety of Words, & Images with no Choice at all they both deserve to last some Years, but will not) Adieu! dear S^r I am very sincerely Yours

T G

Dec 27 [1746]²⁰ I was 30 Year old yesterday what is it o'clock by you?

¹¹ John Whalley, Master of Peterhouse (see Letter 117, n. 3)

¹² Charles Stuart, Fellow of Peterhouse, B A 1738, M A, 1742

¹³ MS frayed

¹⁴ See Letter 127

¹⁵ As his mother's maiden name was Aprccc (see Letter 163, n. 19), this was presumably either a sister-in-law, or an unmarried sister of hers

¹⁶ Devereux Court, Strand, leading into Essex Street, here was Tom's Coffee-house, a well-known resort of men of letters

¹⁷ Commencement was the great ceremony when the full degrees of Master or Doctor were conferred, at the end of the academical year. The first Tuesday in July was Commencement Day. Gray apparently hoped that most of the Fellows would be in Cambridge for the occasion, and that a fresh effort on behalf of Tuthill might then be made

¹⁸ Joseph Warton (1722-1800), of Oriel College, Oxford, B A, 1744, subsequently head master of Winchester, 1766-93, and editor of Pope's works. His *Odes on Several Occasions* was published by Dodsley on 4 Dec 1746, and a second edition on 9 Jan 1747

¹⁹ William Collins (1721-59), of Magdalen College, Oxford, B A, 1743, he was a friend and school-fellow of Joseph Warton at Winchester, and proposed to bring out a joint volume of odes with him, but the project fell through. His own volume, *Odes on Several Descriptive and Allegoric Subjects*, which included the *Ode to Evening*, was published in December 1746 by Millar, with the date 1747 on the title-page. It met with little success, and Collins is said to have burnt the unsold copies in disgust

²⁰ Date of year supplied by Wharton

130 GRAY TO WALPOLE

January, 1747.

IT is doubtless an encouragement to continue writing to you, when you tell me you answer me with pleasure¹ I have another reason which would make me very copious, had I anything to say, it is, that I write to you with equal pleasure, though not with equal spirits, nor with like plenty of materials please to subtract then so much for spirit, and so much for matter, and you will find me, I hope, neither so slow, nor so short, as I might otherwise seem Besides, I had a mind to send you the remainder of Agrippina, that was lost in a wilderness of papers (Certainly you do her too much honour she seemed to me to talk like an *Oldboy*,^{1a} all in figures and mere poetry, instead of nature and the language of real passion Do you remember *Approchez-vous, Neron*?—Who would not rather have thought of that half line than all Mr Rowe's³ flowers of eloquence?) However, you will find the remainder here at the end in an outrageous long speech it was begun above four years ago (it is a misfortune you know my age, else I might have added), when I was very young Poor West put a stop to that tragic torrent⁴ he saw breaking in upon him—have a care, I warn you, not to set open the flood-gate again, lest it should drown you and me and the bishop⁵ and all

I am very sorry to hear you treat philosophy and her followers like a parcel of monks and hermits, and think myself obliged to vindicate a profession I honour, bien que je n'en tiennne pas boutique (as mad Sevigné says)⁶ The first man that ever bore the name, if you remember, used to say, that life was like the

LETTER 130—First printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol v, pp 384–6

¹ Walpole had obviously replied to Gray's letter of 22 Dec 1764 (Letter 128)

^{1a} Colonel Oldboy is a character in the comic opera *Lionel and Clarissa*, which was being performed at Covent Garden about this time

² 'Approchez-vous, Neron, et prenez votre place'—words spoken by Agrippina to her son at the commencement of the second scene of the fourth act of Racine's *Britannicus* Gray and Walpole had seen *Britannicus* acted in Paris in May 1739 (see Letter 62 *ad fin*)

³ Nicholas Rowe (1674–1718), Poet Laureate and dramatist, whose best-known tragedy, *The Fair Penitent*, was first produced in 1703

⁴ See Letter 105, n 2

⁵ No doubt, Ashton, the prospective 'Lord Bishop of Killaloe' (see Letter 128)

⁶ 'Il se trouvera à la fin que moi, qui ne lève point boutique de philosophie, je l'exercerai plus qu'eux tous' (*a Mad de Grignan*, 21 Sept 1689)

Jan. 1747

Gray to Walpole

Letter 130

Olympic games⁷ (the greatest public assembly of his age and country), where some came to show their strength and agility of body, as the champions, others, as the musicians, orators, poets, and historians, to show their excellence in those arts, the traders, to get money, and the better sort, to enjoy the spectacle, and judge of all these. They did not then run away from society for fear of its temptations: they passed their days in the midst of it: conversation was their business: they cultivated the arts of persuasion, on purpose to show men it was their interest, as well as their duty, not to be foolish, and false, and unjust, and that too in many instances with success: which is not very strange, for they showed by their life that their lessons were not impracticable, and that pleasures were no temptations, but to such as wanted a clear perception of the pains annexed to them. But I have done preaching à la Grecque. Mr Ratchiffe⁸ made a shift to behave very rationally without their instructions, at a season which they took a great deal of pains to fortify themselves and others against: one would not desire to lose one's head with a better grace. I am particularly satisfied with the humanity of that last embrace to all the people about him. Sure it must be somewhat embarrassing to die before so much good company!

You need not fear but posterity will be ever glad to know the absurdity of their ancestors: the foolish will be glad to know they were as foolish as they, and the wise will be glad to find

⁷ The reference is to the saying of Pythagoras, as quoted by Cicero (*Tusc. Quæst.* v. 3) 'similem sibi videri vitam hominum, et mercatum eum, qui haberetur maximo ludorum apparatu totius Græciæ celebritate, nam ut illic alii corporibus exercitatis gloriam et nobilitatem coronæ peterent alii emendi, aut vendendi quæstu et lucro ducerentur: esset autem quoddam genus eorum, idque vel maxime ingenuum, qui nec plausum, nec lucrum quærerent, sed visendi causa venirent, studiosque perspicerent, quid ageretur, et quo modo'. The saying is also recorded by Diogenes Laërtius in his life of Pythagoras.

⁸ Charles Radcliffe (1693-1746), brother of the third Earl of Derwentwater (beheaded in 1716), who but for the attainer would have been fifth Earl of Derwentwater. He had been sentenced to death after the rebellion of 1715, but escaped from Newgate. In Nov. 1745 he was captured on board the *Soleil* privateer, and sent to the Tower, he was tried and condemned to death (21 Nov. 1746) under his former sentence, and beheaded on Tower Hill (8 Dec.). 'Mr Ratchiffe, preceded by the sheriffs, the divine, and some friends, ascended the scaffold, after having taken leave of them with great serenity and calmness of mind. . . He behaved with the greatest fortitude and coolness of temper, and was by no means terrified at the approach of death' (*Univ. Chron.*)

themselves wiser. You will please all the world then, and if you recount miracles you will be believed so much the sooner⁹ We are pleased when we wonder, and we believe because we are pleased Folly and wisdom, and wonder and pleasure, join with me in desiring you would continue to entertain them^r refuse us if you can Adieu, dear sir!

T GRAY.

131 GRAY TO WALPOLE

I HAD been absent from this Place a few Days, & at my Return found Cibber's Book¹ upon my Table I return you my Thanks for it, & have already run over a considerable Part, for who could resist M^{rs} Lætitia Pilkington's² Recommendation? (by the Way is there any such Gentlewoman, or has somebody put on the Style of a scribbleing Woman's Panegyric to deceive & laugh at Colley?) he seems to me full as pert & as dull as usual there are whole Pages of Common-Place Stuff, that for Stupidity might have been wrote by D^r Waterland³ or any other grave Divine, did not the flirting saucy Phrase give them at a Distance an Air of Youth & Gayety it is very true, he is often in the right with regard to Tully's Weaknesses, but was there any one that did not see them? those, I imagine, that would find a Man after God's own Heart, are no more likely to trust the Doctor's Recommendation, than the Plaver's & as to Reason & Truth would they know their own Faces, do you think? if they look'd in the Glafs, & saw themselves so bedizen'd

⁹ An allusion to Walpole's *Memoirs* (see Letter 128, n. 4)

LETTER 131 — First printed in part by Mason in *Memoirs*, pp. 182–5, first printed in full by Townbee (1915), No. 162

¹ Colley Cibber (see Letter 20, n. 10), his book *The Character and Conduct of Cicero considered from the History of his Life*, by the Rev. Dr. Middleton, was published in January of this year

² An Irish adventuress (1712–50), in whom Cibber interested himself In her *Memoirs*, published in 1748, she writes 'Mr. Cibber was writing the Character and Conduct of Cicero consider'd and did me the Honour to read it to me This gave me an opportunity of writing a poem to him' (ed. 1754, vol. III, p. 82—quoted by Tovey) Her commendatory verses were on a loose sheet, inserted at the beginning of Cibber's book (see Letter 132 *ad fin.*)

³ Daniel Waterland (1683–1740), Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge (1713), who had been engaged in a controversy with Conyers Middleton over Matthew Tindal's *Christianity as old as the Creation* (1730), which he attacked in *Scripture Vindicated* (1730–2)

Feb. 1747

Gray to Walpole

Lettre 131

in tatter'd Fringe & tarnish'd Lace, in French Jewels, & dirty Furbelows, the frippery of a Stroller's Wardrobe?

{Litterature (to take it in its most comprehensive Sense, & include every Thing, that requires Invention, or Judgement, or barely Application & Industry) seems indeed drawing apace to its Dissolution, & remarkably since the Beginning of the War} I should be glad to know why, if any one will tell me. for I believe there may be natural Reasons discoverable enough without having Recourse to S^t John, or S^t Alexander's⁴ Revelations I remember to have read M^r Spence's pretty Book,⁵ tho' (as he then had not been at Rome for the last Time) it must have increased greatly since that in Bulk if you ask me what I read, I protest I don't remember one Syllable, but only in general, that they were the best-bred Sort of Men in the World, just the Kind of *Frinds* one would wish to meet in a fine Summer's Evening, if one wish'd to meet any at all the Heads & Tails of the Dialogues, publish'd separate in 16^{mo}, would make the sweetest Reading in Nature for young Gentlemen of Family & Fortune, that are learning to dance I am told, he has put his little Picture before it ⁶ I rejoyce to hear, there is such a Crowd of dramatical Performances coming upon the Stage Agrippa^{na 7} can stay very well, she thanks you, & be damn'd at Leisure I hope in God you have not mention'd, or shew'd to any Body that Scene (for trusting in it's Badness, I forgot to caution you concerning it) but I heard the other Day, that I was writing a Play, & was told the Name of it, w^{ch} no body here could know, I'm sure. the Employment you propose to me, much better

⁴ Gray's allusion is ironical, but no satisfactory explanation has been suggested to identify St. Alexander and his Revelations

⁵ Dodsley on 5 Feb. published Spence's *Polymetus or an Enquiry concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Antient Artists*, his collections for which had been commenced in 1732 under the title of *Noctes Florentinae*. Gray, as appears from Letter 132 *ad in*, had seen a portion of the work in manuscript. Joseph Spence (1699–1768), Fellow of New College, Oxford, 1720, B.A. 1724, ordained, 1724, M.A. 1727, Professor of Poetry, in succession to Thomas Warton, 1728–38, Regius Professor of Modern History, 1742–68. Besides his *Polymetus*, his best-known work is his collection of literary *Anecdotes*, published after his death. Spence was travelling in Italy with Lord Lincoln (afterwards Duke of Newcastle) at the same time as Walpole and Gray, and Gray must have seen him in Venice (see Appendix D).

⁶ Spence's portrait, engraved by G. Vertue from a painting by Isaac Whood, is prefixed to the first edition (1747) of *Polymetus*.

⁷ See Letter 130

suits my Inclination. but I much fear our Joynt-Stock would hardly compose a small Volume ⁸ what I have, is less considerable than you would imagine, & of that little we should not be willing to publish all there is an Epistle, ad Amicos⁹ (that is, to us all at Cambridge) in English, of above fourscore Lines the Thoughts are taken from Tibullus, & from a Letter of Mr Pope's in Prose it begins

While You, where Camus rolls his sedgy Tide &c

2 An Imitation of Horace, Trojan! belli scriptorem &c ¹⁰
about 120 Lines, wrote to me begins

While haply You (or haply not at all)

Hear the grave Pleadings in the Lawyer's Hall &c

3 A Translation from Propertius ¹¹ L 3 El 15 50
Lines begins (sent to me at Rheims)

Now prostrate, Bacchus, at thy Shrine I bend &c

4 An Elegy, Latin 34 Lines ¹² begins, Quod mihi tam
gratæ &c

5 Another, sent to Florence 36 Lines ¹³—Ergo desidia
videor &c

6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 Translation from Posidippus, an Epigram¹⁴

Some Lines, on the hard Winter ¹⁵ long Verse on himself,
a little before his Death ¹⁶ long Verse 2 Imitations of Catul-
lus' Basia English ¹⁷ a little Ode of 5 Stanza's, to the Spring.¹⁸

This is all I can any where find You, I imagine, may have a
good deal more ¹⁹ I should not care, how unwise the ordinary
Sort of Readers might think my Affection for him provided
those few, that ever loved any Body, or judged of any thing
rightly, might from such little Remains be moved to consider,
what he would have been, & to wish, that Heaven had granted
him a longer Life, & a Mind more at Ease I can't help fancy-

⁸ The task which Mr Walpole had recommended to him, was that of
printing his own and Mr West's Poems in the same volume *Mason*—See
Appendix C

⁹ See Letter 38

¹⁰ See Letter 58**

¹¹ See Letter 63*

¹² See Letter 57

¹³ See Letter 84

¹⁴ See Letter 43

¹⁵ Printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, p 137

¹⁶ This poem may have been in one or other of West's letters written in
May 1742 and is no longer extant See Letter 108, n 3

¹⁷ See Letter 108 n 3

¹⁸ See Letter 106

¹⁹ For other pieces by West, not included in Gray's list, see *Gray-Walpole
Correspondence*, vol II, pp 301-22 A complete list of West's poems and
translations so far as they have been preserved, is given in *Gray-Walpole
Correspondence*, vol II, pp 323-6

Feb 1747

Gray to Walpole

Letter 131

ing, that if you could find out M^{rs} West, & ask her for his Papers of that kind (Ashton might do it in your Name) she would be ready enough to part with them, & we might find something more at least it would be worth while to try, for she had 'em in a great Box altogether, I well know.

I send you a few Lines, tho' Latin (w^{ch} you don't like) for the sake of the Subject it makes Part of a large Design,²⁰ & is the Beginning of the fourth Book, w^{ch} was intended to treat of the Passions excuse the 3 first Verses you know Vanity (with the Romans) is a poetical License

Hactenus haud segnis Naturæ arcana retexi
Musarum interpres, primusq; Britannia per arva
Romano liquidum deduxi flumine rivum
Cum Tu opere in medio, spes tanti & causa laboris,
Linquis, & æternam fati te condis in umbram!
Vidi egomet duro graviter concussa dolore
Pectora, in alterius non unquàm lenta dolorem;
Et languere oculos vidi & pallescere amantem
Vultum, quo nunquam Pietas nisi rara, Fidesq;
Altus amor Veri, & purum spirabat Honestum
Visa tamen tardi demùm inclementia morbi
Celsare est, reducemq; iterùm roseo ore Salutem
Speravi, atq; unâ tecum, dilecte Favonî,
Credulus heu longos, ut quondam, fallere Soles
Heu spes nequicquam dulces, atq; irrita vota,
Heu mæstos Soles, sine te quos ducere flendo
Per desideria, & questus jam cogor inanes!

At tu, sancta anima, & nostri non indiga luctûs
Stellanti templo, sinceriq; ætheris igne
Unde orta es, fruiere atq; oh si segura, nec ultrâ
Mortalis, notos olim miserata labores
Respectes, tenuesq; vacet cognoscere curas
Humanam si fortê altâ de sede proccllam
Contemplere, metus, stimulosq; cupidinis acres,
Gaudiaq; & gemitus, parvoq; in corde tumultum
Irarum ingentem, & sævos sub pectore fluctus
Respice & has lachrymas, memori quas ictus amore
Fundo, quod possum, proptér lugere sepulchrum
Dum juvat, & mutæ vana hæc jactare favillæ

²⁰ The *De Principiis Cogitandi*, of which he had sent the commencement to West in 1741 (see Letter 97, n 6)

Letter 131

Gray to Walpole

Feb. 1747

P: S: My Love to the Chutheds.²¹ pray tell 'em I am learning Whisk,²² & have sent one of my old Gowns to be made up into full-bottom'd Hoods . Compliments to M^{rs} Tr—cy²³ . . . Adieu, S^r, I am

Yours ever
T G:

Cambr Sunday—[Feb 8, 1747]²⁴

132 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[c Feb 15, 1747]¹

I HAVE abundance of Thanks to return You for the Entertainment M^r Spence's Book has given me, w^{ch} I have almost run over already, & I much fear (see what it is to make a Figure) the Breadth of the Margin, & the Neatness of the Prints, w^{ch} are better done than one could expect, have prevail'd upon me to like it far better, than I did in Manuscript for I think, it is not the very genteel Department of Polymetis, nor the lively Wit of Mysagetes, that have at all corrupted me

There is one fundamental Fault, from whence most of the little Faults throughout the whole arise he professes to neglect the Greek Writers, who could have given him more Instruction on the very Heads he professes to treat, than all the others put together who does not know, that upon the Latine, the Sabine, & Hetruscan Mythology (w^{ch} probably might themselves at a remoter Period of Time owe their Origin to Greece too) the

²¹ Familiar name used by Gray and Walpole for John Chute (see Letter 99, n 1) and his friend Francis Whithed (see Letter 109, n 36)

²² Whisk had become the rage a few years before Walpole, writing to Mann on 9 Dec 1742 (the year in which Hoyle's *Short Treatise on Whisk* was first printed), says 'Whisk has spread an universal opium over the whole nation, it makes courtiers and Patriots sit down to the same pack of cards' A seventh edition of Hoyle's book was published this year (1747)

²³ No doubt Mrs Tracy, a connexion of John Chute, whose father had married (1686) Katherine Keck, widow of Ferdinand Tracy (see Letter 225, n 3)

²⁴ The date of the year (which has been inserted in the original by Mason) and that of the month are determined by the references to Cibber's book and to Spence's *Polymetis* (see nn 1, 5) 8 February was Sunday in 1747

LETTER 132 —First printed in part (in a garbled text) by Mason in *Memoirs*, pp 185–7, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 163

¹ Mason dated 'Cambridge, 1747' From the reference to Spence's *Polymetis* (see Letter 131, n 5) and to Middleton's book (see n 5) it may be conjectured that the letter was written about the middle of February

Romans ingrafted almost the whole Religion of Greece to make what is call'd their own? it would be hard to find any one Circumstance, that is properly of their Invention in the ruder Days of the Republick the picturesque Part of their Religion (w^{ch} is the Province he has chose, & would be thought to confine himself too) was probably borrowed entirely from the Tuscans, who, as a wealthy & tradeing People, may be well supposed, & indeed are known, to have had the Arts flourishing in a considerable Degree among them what could inform him here, but Dionysius Halic (who expressly treats of those Times with great Curiosity & Industry) & the Remains of the first Roman Writers? the former he has neglected as a Greek, & the latter he says were but little acquainted with the Arts, & consequently are but of little Authority. in the better Ages, when every Temple & publick Building in Rome was peopled with imported Deities & Hero's, & when all the Artists of Reputation they made Use of were Grecks, what Wonder, if their Eyes grew familiarised to Grecian Forms & Habits (especially in a Matter of this kind, where so much depends upon the Imagination) & if those Figures introduced with them a Belief of such Fables, as first gave them Being, & drefs'd them out in their various Attributes it was natural then, & (I should think) necessary, to go to the Source itself, the Greek Accounts of their own Religion but, to say the Truth, I suspect he was little conversant in those Books & that Language, for he rarely quotes any but Lucian, an Author that falls in every Bodie's Way, & who lived at the very extremity of that Period he has set to his Enquiries, later than any of the Poets he has meddled with, & for that Reason ought to have been regarded, as but an indifferent Authority, especially being a Syrian too. as he says himself, his Book, I think, is rather a Beginning than a perfect Work, but a Beginning at the wrong End for if any body should finish it by enquireing into the Greek Mythology, as he proposes, it will be necessary to read it backward

There are several little Neglects, that any one might have told him of, I minded in reading it hastily, as P 311, a Discourse about Orange-Tree's occasion'd by Virgil's, *inter odoratum lauri nemus*.² where he fancies the Roman Laurus to be our Laurel: tho' undoubtedly the Bay-tree, w^{ch} is *odoratum*, & (I believe) still call'd Lauro, or Alloro, at Rome & that the

Pomum¹ Medicum in the Georgick is the Orange tho' Theophrastus, whence Virgil borrow'd it, or even Pliny whom he himself quotes, might convince him, it is the Cedrato, w^{ch} he has often tasted at Florence P 144 is an Account of Domenichin's⁴ Cardinal Virtues, & a Fling at the Jesuits, neither of w^{ch} belong to them the Painting is in a Church of the Barnabiti, dedicated to S^t Carlo Borroméo, whose Motto is Humilitas P 151 in a Note he says, the old Romans did not *regard Fortune as a Deity* tho' Serv Tullius (whom she was said to be in Love with, nay, there was actually an Affair between them) founded her Temple in Foro Boario by the Way her Worship was Greek, & this King was educated in the Family of Tarquin Priscus, whose Father was a Corinthian so it is easy to conceive, how early the Religion of Rome might be mixed with that of Greece . . . &c &c

D^r Middⁿ has sent me to day a Book on the Roman Senate,⁵ the Substance of a Dispute between L^d Hervey⁶ & Him, tho' it never *interrupted their Friendship*,⁷ he says, & I dare say not. M^{rs} Læt Pilkington is a Name under certain commendatory Verses in the Front of Cibber's Book,⁸ that seem designed to laugh at him they were in a loose Sheet, not sow'd in how does your Comedy⁹ succeed? I am told, very well Adieu¹ I am

Yours ever

T G

My Respects to the Chutheds I am much their's, tho' to no Purpose

¹ The reference is to the 'malum felix' of *Georg* II 127 Neither the laurel nor the orange was naturalized in Europe in Virgil's time

⁴ Zampieri Domenichino (1581-1641), of Bologna, a pupil of Annibale Caracci

⁵ Conyers Middleton's *Treatise on the Roman Senate* was published in February this year (see Letter 135, n 18)

⁶ John Hervey (1696-1743) (the Sporus of Pope), eldest surviving son of John Hervey, first Earl of Bristol, he entered the House of Lords as Baron Hervey of Ickworth in 1733 To him Middleton dedicated his *Life of Cicero*, and his *Treatise on the Roman Senate* contained 'the substance of several letters addressed to the late Lord Hervey concerning the manner of electing senators'

⁷ If this is an allusion to his difference with Walpole, it is proof of the renewal of their cordial relations

⁸ See Letter 131, nn 1, 2

⁹ Gray may have known that Walpole was writing the farce, which was published in *Old England*, No 224, of 16 May 1747, with the title *Terræfilus or Harlequin Candidate*

133. GRAY TO WALPOLE

Cambridge [c Feb 22], 1747

As one ought to be particularly careful to avoid blunders in a compliment of condolence, it would be a sensible satisfaction to me (before I testify my sorrow, and the sincere part I take in your misfortune) to know for certain, who it is I lament. I knew Zara and Selima,¹ (Selima, was it? or Fatima) or rather I knew them both together, for I cannot justly say which was which. Then as to your handsome Cat, the name you distinguish her by, I am no less at a loss, as well knowing one's handsome cat is always the cat one likes best, or, if one be alive and the other dead, it is usually the latter that is the handsomest. Besides, if the point were never so clear, I hope you do not think me so ill-bred or so imprudent as to forfeit all my interest in the survivor. Oh no! I would rather seem to mistake, and imagine to be sure it must be the tabby one that had met with this sad accident. Till this affair is a little better determined, you will excuse me if I do not begin to cry.

'Tempus inane peto, requiem, spatiumque doloris'²

Which interval is the more convenient, as it gives time to rejoice with you on your new honors.³ This is only a beginning, I

LETTER 133.—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 188–9, as one letter with the following. As Cole (in a note printed by Mitford, *Works of Gray*, 1835–43, vol 1, p. cvii) pointed out, Mason clumsily joined parts of two letters. The absurdity of his combination is obvious, as, in the first part, Gray asks the name of the cat and other particulars to enable him to write the poem lamenting her death, in the second part he sends the completed poem. The date of 1 March, which Mason gave to the combination, may be taken as the date of the second letter, the first letter may be assumed to have been written about a week before, within a few days of Walpole's election to the Royal Society, see n. 3.

¹ This is not what Gray wrote, as appears from the following passage in a letter of Mason to Edward Bedingfield (now in the Henry E. Huntington Library), written on 22 Dec. 1773, while he was engaged on his *Memoir of Gray*, in the revision of which he was greatly indebted to Bedingfield. 'I have sent a letter lately rec^d from M^r Walpole about the Ode on the Cat w^{ch} as it has more humour in it than that to D^r Wharton, I wish to have it inserted in its stead—but there is an idle allusion in it to scripture, I wish you would alter it in the print tho I did not care to erase the MS—read 'I knew Zara and Selima,' instead of 'Zara I know & Selima I know'.'

² *Aen.* iv 433–4. 'Tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furor,
Dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.'

³ Mr. Walpole was about this time elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. *Mason*—His election took place on 19 Feb. 1746/7.

reckon next week we shall hear you are a Free-Mason, or a Gormogon⁴ at least

134 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[March 1,¹ 1747]

* * * * *

Heigh ho! I feel (as you to be sure have done long since) that I have very little to say, at least in prose² Somebody will be the better for it, I do not mean you, but your Cat, feue Mademoiselle Selime, whom I am about to immortalise for one week or fortnight, as follows³

* * * * *

(There's a Poem for you, it is rather too long for an Epitaph)

135 GRAY TO WHARTON

My Dear Wharton

You ask me, what I would answer in case any one should ask me a certain Question concerning You¹ In my Conscience,

* Pseudo-Chinese—a member of a society imitating the Freemasons, founded early in the 18th century (*OED*) Gray evidently had in mind *Dunciad*, iv. 570 ff, where Pope speaks of those who

Shine in the dignity of F R S
Some, deep Free-Masons
Some Botanists, or Florists at the least,
Or issue Members of an Annual feast
Not past the meanest unregarded one
Rose a Gregorian, one a Gormogon

LETTER 134 First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 108–9, as one letter with the preceding

¹ For the date see Letter 133, preliminary note

² The opening sentence can scarcely have been the beginning of a letter. Mason may have inserted it to form the join with the previous letter, and may have omitted other matter

³ Mason notes that 'the 4th Ode in the Collection of his Poems was inserted after these asterisks'. This was the *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat Drowned in a Tub of Gold Fishes* (see Letter 135). Gosse, *Works of Gray*, vol. 1, p. 11, says that 'a manuscript of this poem exists in a letter to Walpole dated March 1, 1747'. As the letter is only preserved in Mason's text, this is an obvious blunder, and the variants, quoted by Gosse and other editors 'of the Walpole MS', appear to be the readings of the text as it was printed in Dodsley's *Collection* (see Letter 125, n. 4).

LETTER 135—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, p. 206, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol. 11, pp. 179–82, now reprinted from original.

⁴ As to his getting married.

I should say, Yes, & the readier as I have had a Revelation about it: 'twas in a Dream that told me you had taken a Fancy to one of the four last Letters in the Alphabet. I think it can't be X, nor Z (for I know of no female Zeno, or Xenophon) it may be Y perhaps, but I have somehow a secret Partiality for W² am I near it, or no? by this Time I suppose, 'tis almost a done Thing there is no struggling with Destiny, so I acquiesce. thus far only I should be glad to know with Certainty, whither it be likely [you]³ should continue in Statu Quo,⁴ till the Commencement⁵ (w^{ch} I dont conceive) for o[therwise]³ I should think it rather better for [T]⁶ to give up his Pretensions with a good Grace, than to wait the Pleasure of those dirty Cubs, who will infallibly prefer the first that offers of their own People but I submit this to your Judgement, who (as you first made him a Competitor) ought to determine at what Time he may most decently withdraw I have some Uneasiness too on Brown's Account, who has sacrificed all his Interests with so much Frankness, & is still so resolute to do every Thing for us without Reserve, that I should see him with great Concern under the Paw of a fell Visitor, & exposed to the Insolence of that old Rascal, the Master Tr^{pe7} (if you remember) would engage himself no longer than the end of this Year? 'tis true he has never said any thing since, tending that Way, but he is not unlikely to remember it at a proper Time and as to Sm,⁸ he must

² The lady was Margaret, eldest daughter of Anthony Wilkinson, of Cross Gate, Durham See Genealogical Table

³ MS torn, where the letter had been sealed—text restored conjecturally

⁴ As soon as Wharton married he would cease to be a Fellow of Pembroke

⁵ At the beginning of July, when there might be a College meeting (see Letter 129, n 17)

⁶ T (for Tuthill) has been scored through See Letter 120, n 2

⁷ See Letter 114, n 1

⁸ Christopher Smart, the poet (1722–71), admitted from Durham School at Pembroke as Sizar, 1739, Craven University Scholar for Classics, 1742, BA 1743–4, MA 1747, Fellow, 1745 While still an undergraduate he wrote the Tripos Verses on three occasions, as well as the *Secular Ode on the Jubilee at Pembroke Hall* (Letter 114, n 12), and in 1743 published his translation into Latin Verse of Pope's *Ode on St Cecilia's Day* After his election to a fellowship he held various College offices, and in 1746 was private tutor to John Blake Delaval (afterwards Lord Delaval) during his brief College career (Letter 127, n 6)

He had entered the College with an allowance of £40 a year, from the Duchess of Cleveland, which was continued, after her death, by the Duke (Letter 143, n 6), but through drink and extravagant living he got into debt (Letter 143) He was treated with generosity by the College, but he

necessarily be abimé, in a very short Time. his Debts daily increase (you remember the State they were in, when you left us) Addison,⁹ I know, wrote smartly to him last Week; but it has had no Effect, that signifies. only I observe he takes Hartshorn from Morning to Night lately in the mean time he is amuseing himself with a Comedy¹⁰ of his own Writeing, w^{ch} he makes all the Boys of his Acquaintance act, & intends to borrow the Zodiack Room,¹¹ & have it performed publickly¹² our Friend Lawman, the mad Attorney, is his Copyist,¹³ & truly the Author himself is to the full as mad as he his Piece (he says)

was incapable of economy, and in 1749 he gave up his academic career and went out of residence. In 1750, and for three years in succession, and in 1755, he was awarded the Scatonian Prize for an English poem on a sacred subject. Meanwhile he had begun his literary career in London, and in 1752 or 1753 he married Miss Anna Maria Carnan, step-daughter of John Newbery, the bookseller. The marriage was kept secret but came to the knowledge of the College in November 1753, and at the end of the year he vacated his fellowship, but was given 'leave to keep his name on the College books without any expense, so long as he continues to write for the premium left by Mr. Scaton'. Within a little while his name went off the books and his connexion with the College ceased. For his subsequent madness and confinement see Letter 286, n. 6.

⁹ Smart's old tutor Leonard Addison (1699-1772), B.A. 1720, Fellow of Pembroke 1722, M.A. 1723, President, 1736, Proctor, 1736-7, D.D. 1753, Vicar of Waresley, Hunts., 1735-45, of Saxthorpe, Norf., 1744-72, Rector of Causton, and of Salle, Norf., 1747-72.

¹⁰ Some account of the play *A Trip to Cambridge or the Grateful Fair* is given in *The Life of Christopher Smart*, prefixed to the 1791 edition of his *Poems*, pp. xii-xvi. Among the actors, besides Smart himself, were John Gordon, afterwards Precentor of Lincoln (mentioned in Letter 372 as a friend of Smart), John Randall organist of Pembroke and later of King's, and Professor of Music (see Letter 499) and Richard Forester, afterwards Fellow of Pembroke (see Letter 220 n. 10). Richard Stonhewer (see Letter 120, n. 38) was prompter.

¹¹ Perhaps the room of the Zodiac Club, a literary society, so called from its consisting of twelve members denominated from the twelve signs, which was established in the University in Dec. 1725 (see Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iv. 187).

¹² 'After many disappointments in attempting to get an old play-house at Hunnibun's the coach-maker's, and afterwards the Free-School in Free-School-Lane, the play was acted [in April 1747] in Pembroke College-Hall, the parlour of which made the Green Room' (see *Life of Smart* prefixed to the 1791 ed. of his *Poems*, p. xiv).

¹³ This may be the same individual as the copyist of whom Gray says in his letter to Walpole of 8 Oct. 1751 (Letter 161): 'We have a Man here that writes a good Hand, but he has two little Failings, that hinder my recommending him to you: he is lousy, & he is mad: he sets out this Week for Bedlam.'

is inimitable, true Sterling Wit, & Humour by God, & he can't hear the Prologue without being ready to die with Laughter he acts five Parts himself, & is only sorry, he can't do all the rest he has also advertised a Collection of Odes,¹⁴ & for his Vanity & Faculty of Lyeing, they are come to their full Maturity all this, you see, must come to a Javil, or Bedlam,¹⁵ & that without any help, almost without Pity by the Way now I talk of a Jayl, please to let me know, when & where you would have me pay my own Debts¹⁶

Chapman¹⁷ (I suppose you know) is warm in his Master-ship soon after his Accession I was to see him there was a very brilliant^{17a} (Cambridge) Afsembly, Middleton,¹⁸ Rutherford,¹⁹ Heberden,²⁰ Robinson,²¹ Coventry,²² & various others. he did the Honours with a great Deal of comical Dignity, asisted

¹⁴ The advertisement has not been traced. In a letter with the date '7th of Janry 1747-8' printed by Sir E. Gosse, in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 27 May 1926, Smart asks Dodsley to advertise his 'Proposals "Proposals for Printing by Subscription, a Collection of Original Poems by Christopher Smart, M.A. Fellow of Pembroke Hall, in the University of Cambridge" were printed at the end of the first edition of Smart's Seatonian Prize poem for 1750, and these same "Proposals" were advertised in the *General Evening Post* of 4 Aug. 1750 (see letter of G. T. Gray in *Times Lit. Supp.*, 1 July 1926). The first collected edition of Smart's *Poems on Several Occasions* was issued in 1752.

¹⁵ As is well known, it came to both (see n. 8).

¹⁶ See Letter 129.

¹⁷ Thomas Chapman (1717-60), Scholar of Christ's, 1734, B.A. 1738, M.A. 1741, Fellow of Christ's, 1741-6, Master of Magdalene, 1746-60, Prebendary of Durham, 1750. He was the author of an *Essay on the Roman Senate*. Cole called him conceited and overbearing. For his marriage, see Letter 149, and for his death (on 9 June 1760), Letters 313, 317, 318, 321.

^{17a} The old form of the word generally out of use in Gray's time.

¹⁸ Conyers Middleton (1683-1750) had for some years held an assured position in Cambridge. He was chief Librarian of the University. His *Life of Cicero*, published in 1741 (see Letter 109, n. 6), brought him wealth and reputation. He had a house in Cambridge, 'the only easy place one could find to converse in', as Gray described it (Letter 154), and a country house a few miles out where he spent his summers. He had recently published his *Treatise on the Roman Senate* (Letter 132, n. 5) and was still active in theological controversy.

¹⁹ Thomas Rutherford (1712-71), of St John's, B.A. 1730, M.A. 1733, Fellow, 1733-52, D.D. 1745, Regius Professor of Divinity, 1756-71. In 1765 he was a possible candidate for the Mastership of St John's (see Letter 399). Mason in Letter 288 (25 Jan. 1759) calls him 'that saintly Butcher'.

²⁰ William Heberden (1710-1801), of St John's, the distinguished physician and scholar, B.A. 1728, M.A. 1732, Fellow, 1731-52, M.D. 1739, a friend of Gray and Mason. He attended Dr Johnson in his last illness.

²¹ There is no clue to the identity of this Robinson, who is not to be confounded with Gray's friend, Billy Robinson (see Letter 304, n. 4).

²² Henry Coventry (c. 1710-52), Fellow of Magdalene College, Cam-

by a Bedmaker in greasy Leather Breeches & a Livery, & now he is gone to Town to get Preferment but what you'll wonder at & what delights me, Coventry is his particular Confident (tho' very disagreeably to himself) he can't open his Door, but he finds the Master there, who comes to set²³ with him at all Hours, & brings his Works with him, for he is writing a great Book on the Roman Constitution well, upon the Strength of this I too am grown very great with Coventry, & to say the Truth (bating his Nose,²¹ & another Circumstance, w^{ch} is nothing to me) he is the best Sort of Man in this Place Mⁿ²⁵ has publish'd a small Oct^{vo} on the Roman Senate, well enough, but nothing of very great Consequence, & is now gone to be inducted into a Sine-Cure (not £100 a-Year)²⁶ that Sr J. Frederick²⁷ gave him what's worse, for the Sake of this little nasty Thing (I am told) he is determined to suppress a Work,²⁸ that would have made a great Noise, or publish it all mangled & disfigured, & this when he has (I am assured) near 700£ a-year of his own already, & might live independent, & easy, and speak his Mind in the Face of the whole World Clerical and Laical such a Passion have some Men to lick the Dust, & be trampled upon the Fellow-Com[mo]nners²⁹ (the Bucks) are run mad, they set Women upon their Heads in the Streets at [noon]³⁰ day, break open Shops, game in the Coffee-houses on Sundays, & in short act after my [own]³⁰ Heart³¹

My Works are not so considerable as you imagine I have read Pausania[s and Athe]næus^{31a} all thro', & Æschylus again

bridge, B A 1729, M A 1733 nephew of fifth Earl of Coventry He was the author of *A Dialogue between Philemon and Hydaspes on false Religion* (1736-44) (see Walpole to Montague, 30 May 1736)

²¹ See Letter 116, n 10

²⁴ Cole, who had met Coventry frequently in the society of Conyers Middleton and Horace Walpole, remarks 'He used to dress remarkably gay, with much gold lace, had a most prominent Roman nose, and was much of a gentleman'

²⁵ Middleton (see Letter 132, n 5)

²⁶ The rectory of Hascombe in Surrey, worth no more than £50 a year

²⁷ Sir John Frederick (1678-1755), first Baronet of Hampton, Middlesex

²⁸ This may have been *A Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the earliest ages*, published in 1749 an *Introductory Discourse* to which was published in 1747

²⁹ MS torn—On the status of Fellow-commoners, see Appendix H

³⁰ MS torn, where the letter had been sealed—text restored conjecturally

³¹ For the growth of disorder in the University about this time, see Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century*, pp 72 ff, and Winstanley, *The University of Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century*, pp 17-18, 199 ff

^{31a} MS torn

Mar 1747

Gray to Wharton

Letter 135

I am now in Pindar³² & Lysias for I take Verse and Prose together, like Bread & Cheese the Chronology³³ is growing daily the most noble of my Performances latterly is a Pôme on the uncommon Death of M^r W^m ³⁴ Cat. w^{ch} being of a proper Size & Subject for a Gentleman in your Condition to peruse (besides that I flatter myself, Mifs — will give her Judgement upon it too), I herewith send you it won't detain you long

On a favourite Cat, call'd Selima, that fell into a China Tub³⁵
with Gold-Fishes in it & was drown'd

'Twas on a lofty Vase's Side,
Where China's gayest Art had dyed
The azure Flowers that blow
Demurest of the Tabby Kind,
The pensive Selima reclined
Gazed on the Lake below

Her conscious Tail her Joy declared
The fair round Face, the snowy Beard,
The Velvet of her Paws,
Her Coat, that with the Tortoise vyes,
Her Ears of Jett, & Emerald Eyes
She saw, & purr'd Applause

³² There is a record of Gray's studies in a notebook now in the British Museum (MS Add 36817) This contains notes in his handwriting on Pindar, dated 20 March, and notes on Aristophanes dated 20 June of this year, together with Greek genealogies, which were probably intended for his Chronological Tables On the fly-leaf there is an inscription stating that the manuscript was the gift of Richard Stonhewer to F J Mathias in the year 1806 A notebook of Gray's in the Pierpont Morgan Library has notes on Athenaeus dated 4 Jan 1747 and notes on Lysias dated 20 March 1747

³³ See Letter 129, n 4

³⁴ It appears from a passage in an unpublished letter of Mason to Edward Bedingfield, written on 22 Dec 1773 that Mason originally intended to make use of this letter, and printed it accordingly, but subsequently replaced it by Gray's letter to Walpole, as having 'more humour in it' (see Letter 133, n 1)

³⁵ Mr Walpole, since the death of Mr Gray, has placed the China vase in question on a pedestal at Strawberry Hill, with the four [corr six] lines of the Ode for its inscription 'I was on this Vase's lofty [corr lofty Vase's] side', &c Mason (*Poems*), p 74 — 'The large blue and white china tub in which Mr Walpole's cat was drowned' stood on a pedestal in the cloister near the entrance (See *Description of Strawberry Hill*, in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol II, p 400) It is now in possession of Lord Derby at Knowsley

Still had she gazed, but 'midst the Tide
 Two angel-Forms were seen to glide,
 The Genii of the Stream
 Their scaly Armour's Tyrian Hue
 Thro' richest Purple to the View
 Betray'd a golden Gleam

The hapless Nymph with Wonder saw
 A Whisker first, & then a Claw,
 With many an ardent Wish,
 She stretch'd in vain to reach the Prize
 What female Heart can Gold despise?
 What Cat's averse to Fish?

Presumptuous Maid¹ with Eyes intent
 Again she stretch'd, again she bent
 Nor knew the Gulph between
 Malignant Fate sate by, & smiled
 The slippery Verge her Feet beguiled
 She tumbled headlong in

Eight Times emerging from the Flood
 She mew'd to ev'ry watry God
 Some speedy Aid to send
 No Dolphin came, no Nereid stirr'd,
 Nor cruel Tom, nor Harry heard
 A Fav'rite has no Friend¹

From hence, ye Beauties, undeceiv'd
 Know, one false Step is ne'er retrieved,
 And be with Caution bold
 Not all, that strikes your wand'ring Eyes,
 And heedless Hearts is lawful Prize,
 Nor all, that glisters, Gold³⁶

[Adieu]³⁷ my dear S^r, I am ever Yours,

T G.

Cambr March [17]³⁸ Tuesday-Night

³⁶ If the text printed in Dodsley's *Collection* (see Letter 134, n. 3) is that of the original version sent to Walpole, Gray had made some small changes in the poem, most of which he adopted when he printed it in the edition of the *Six Poems* with Bentley's designs (see Letter 170, n. 1*). ³⁷ MS frayed

³⁸ As this presumably is the letter referred to by Gray in his letter to Wharton of 26 March (Letter 136), the date is probably Tuesday, 17 March

Mar 1747

Gray to Wharton

Letter 135

Trollope³⁹ is in Town still at his Lodgeings, & has been very ill Brown wrote a month ago to Hayes⁴⁰ & Christoph^{a.41} but has had no Answer, whither or no, they shall be here at the Commencement ⁴² can you tell? Morley⁴³ is going to be married to a grave & stayed Maiden of 30 Years old with much Pelf, & his own Relation poor Soul!

Addressed. To D^r Thomas Wharton of Durham *Postmark* CAMBRIDGE

136 GRAY TO WHARTON

My Dear Wharton

I PERCEIVE, that mine¹ did not reach you, till the Day after you had wrote your little Letter if you have time to give the Gentleman (before he goes to Town) my Note indorsed by You, or will send it to your Brother, the Money² shall be paid in Town at the Day you mention the rest of my Questions are all sufficiently answer'd by the News you tell me (not but that I knew it before) what can one say to a Person in such Circumstances? I need not say, how much Happiness I wish you if that be the Way to it, I rejoice to see you with your Boots on it would be cruel to detain you long at present, when you have any Leisure, I hope you will let me a little more into the Matter the Old Maids give you heartily Joy, & hug themselves in their Virginty. Carlyon³ is in your Room, & I can't well go, &

³⁹ See Letter 114, n. 1

⁴⁰ Thomas Hayes of Pembroke, B A 1735, Fellow, 1736, M A 1739, M D 1747

⁴¹ Preston Christopherson, a native of Addington, near Penrith, was admitted as Sizar at St John's in 1731, B A 1735, M A 1739, Grindal Fellow of Pembroke, 25 April 1737 Grindal Fellowships were restricted to natives of Cumberland and certain other northern counties (hence members of other Colleges were often chosen)

⁴² See Letter 129, n. 17

⁴³ Perhaps William Morley, of Peterhouse, B A 1733

LETTER 136 — First printed by Mitford (1835-43), vol. III, p. 45, now reprinted from original

¹ Letter 135

² The amount of his loan from Wharton (see Letter 129)

³ Three brothers Carlyon were admitted to Pembroke between 1734 and 1738 The one mentioned here was probably Thomas Carlyon, B A 1739-40, M A 1744. He was the second son of Thomas Carlyon of Tregrehan, near St Austell, and was for fifty-one years rector of St Just in Roseland, Cornwall, where he died at the age of 76 in Jan. 1793. He is said to have been a friend and correspondent of Gray (see Introduction)

Letter 136

Gray to Wharton

Mar 1747

strip him.⁴ I reckon he will not remain long here Adieu, & think me

Yours ever

T G

[Thursday], March 26 [1747] ⁵ Camb^{se}

Addressed To Dr Thomas Wharton, of Durham Postmark CAMBRIDGE

137 GRAY TO WHARTON

My dear Wharton

I HIGHLY approve of your travelling Nuptials, & only wonder if you don't set forth on Easter-Day,¹ rather than stay to be dish'd up there, & put to Bed by a whole Heap of prurient Relations. I don't conceive what one can do with such People, but run away from them my very Letter blushes to think it must speak with you at a Time when there is but one Person you can properly have any Thing to say to

However, tho' I have not the Pleasure of knowing M^r Wilkinson,² my new Relation, much less of knowing how good a Charioteer he is yet I will readily trust him with my Neck to carry to Stilton,³ or where he pleases if I arrive there in a shatter'd Condition, I hope the Lady you belong to will receive me the more graciously, as a Person, that had an Ambition to break a Limb, or two in her Service but you must desire him (as you say) to invite me

You shall receive the Money,⁴ as soon as you get to Town my Aunt⁵ has it in her Hands when I see you, I shall learn your

⁴ Wharton probably wanted to remove his belongings

⁵ Date of year supplied by Wharton

LETTER 137 — First printed by Mitford (1835-43), vol iii, p 46, now reprinted from original

¹ Easter Day in 1747 was 19 April Wharton was married on 20 April (see Surtees' *Durham*, vol iii, p 300) He vacated his fellowship on his marriage

² This was no doubt William Wilkinson, eldest son (b 1727) of Anthony Wilkinson, of Cross Gate, Durham, and brother of Wharton's bride (see Letter 135, n 2) He was a Fellow-commoner of Trinity, where he had matriculated in 1746, he was admitted at the Inner Temple in 1745, became High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1757, died in 1768 Gray calls Wilkinson 'my new Relation' in accordance with his habit, of which numerous instances occur in this correspondence, of playfully adopting the relations and friends of those to whom he was attached

³ In Hunts, about twelve miles north of Huntingdon, on the Great North Road Gray was to be driven there from Cambridge by Wilkinson to meet Wharton and his bride on the way to London for their honeymoon

⁴ See Letter 136, n 2

⁵ Probably Mrs Olliffe (see Letter 145, n 8)

Apr. 1747

Gray to Wharton

Letter 137

Direction, & she shall come & pay it. I won't trouble you with long Letters at present Adieu I am sincerely Yours

T G.

P S My Compliments!

[c April 10, 1747]⁶

Addressed To Dr Thomas Wharton of Durham By Caxton Bag Postmark
CAMBRIDGE

138 GRAY TO WALPOLE

I AM not dead, neither sleep I so sound, as not to feel the Jog you give me, or to forget that I ought to have wrote before but I have been on the Confines of that Land, where all Things are forgotten, & return'd from thence with a Loss of Appetite & of Spirits, that has made me a very silly Gentleman, & not worth your Correspondence however I am tolerable well again, & came post hither on Friday¹ to see my Mother []² she was then at the Extremity, but is far better at present I have no Business to regale you with all [t]his,³ but it is only by Way of Excuse on Monday next I hope to return home, & in my Way (probably on Tuesday Morning) to call at your Door, & that of the Chuteheds,⁴ if possible

(I am obliged to you for transcribing Voltaire & M^r Lyttelton⁵ the last has six good prettyish Lines the other I do not much admire

Ni sa Flute, ni son Epée⁶

⁶ Wharton endorsed the letter 'March or April 1747', as Gray had written to Wharton as lately as 26 March (Letter 136), and had apparently heard from him since then, this letter was probably written about the above date

LETTER 138 — First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 161

¹ 8 May ² Piece cut out ³ MS torn ⁴ See Letter 131, n 21.

⁵ George Lyttelton (1709–73), son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, fourth Baronet, of Hagley Park, Worcestershire, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1755–6, created (1756) Baron Lyttelton The poem in question (which Walpole must have seen in manuscript, as it was not published until November, see Letter 142, n 1) was his *Monody* to the memory of his wife, who died on 19 Jan of this year

⁶ M Roger Martin has suggested that the poem, which Walpole had transcribed, was *Stances VII*, one of many short poems which Voltaire addressed to Frederick the Great, between 1740 and 1747 Their general theme is the union in the great monarch of the poet, the artist, and the warrior *Stances VII* is a farewell on leaving Berlin (dated 2 Dec 1740), and contains the following stanza

Adieu, vous dont l'auguste main,
Toujours au travail occupée,
Tient, pour l'honneur du genre humain
La plume, la lyre et l'épée

Letter 138

Gray to Walpole

May 1747

the Thought is Martial's, & many others after him, & the Verses
fripperry enough, as his easy Poetry usually is nobody loves him
better than I in his grander Style)

Adieu, Dear S^r, I am ever

Yours

T GRAY

Stoke [May 13, 1747]⁷

Addressed To the Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq at his House in Arlington-
Street Westminster Postmark WINDSOR⁸ 13 MA

139 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[c 15 June 1747]¹

WHEN I received the testimonial of so many considerable
personages to adorn the second page of my next edition,
and (adding them to the Testimonium Autoris de seipso) do
relish and enjoy all the conscious pleasure resulting from six
pennyworths of glory, I cannot but close my satisfaction with a
sigh for the fate of my fellow-labourer in poetry, the unfortunate
Mr Golding,² cut off in the flower or rather the bud of his

Gray's 'Ni sa Flute, ni son Epée' might be an adaptation of the last line,
with the derisive substitution of 'flute' for 'lyre' (Frederick's flute-playing
was mocked at) Gray says that the thought in Voltaire is Martial's There
are (as M Martin points out) various epigrams in praise of Domitian, which
Gray might have had in mind Epigram viii 82 3-4 (*rebus pariter Musisque
vacare*) has the suggestion that the Emperor could at once govern the State
and honour the Muses

⁷ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year is
determined by the reference to Lyttelton's *Monody* (see n 5)

⁸ The stamp was not inked, but the impress is legible The Peterhouse
records show that Gray was absent at this date

LETTER 139—I first printed in Mitford's *Correspondence of Thomas Gray and
the Rev Norton Nicholls* (1843), pp 217-21 Mitford transcribed from the
original letter to Walpole In a note to the *Walpole-Mason Correspondence*,
vol 1, p 412, Mitford states that 'a few omissions deemed necessary were
made in printing the poem', and adds that 'Gray's MS copy was destroyed
by the gentleman who bought it at Strawberry Hill

¹ The date is determined by the reference to Gray's *Ode on a Distant Prospect
of Eton College* which was published by Dodsley (in folio, price sixpence) on
30 May 1747, and the letter was probably written about 15 June (see n 2)

It is possible that Mr Golding, who had evidently written a poem on
Windsor and had recently died, should be identified with William Goldwin
who died on 1 June 1747 Gray was often uncertain about names (or Mitford
might have made a mistake in transcribing) William Goldwin was born at
Windsor (where he was buried), he was a scholar of Eton and King's, B A

honours, who had he survived but a fortnight more, might have been by your kind offices³ as much delighted with himself, as I. Windsor and Eton might have gone down to posterity together, perhaps appeared in the same volume,⁴ like Philips⁵ and Smith,⁶ and we might have set at once to Mr Pond⁷ for the frontispiece, but these, alas! are vain reflections To return to myself. Nay! but you are such a wit! sure the gentlemen an't so good, are they? and don't you play upon the word I promise you, few take to it here at all,⁸ which is a good sign (for I never knew anything liked here, that ever proved to be so any where else,) it is said to be mune, but I strenuously deny it, and so do all that are in the secret, so that nobody knows what to think, a few only of King's College gave me the lie, but I hope to demolish them; for if I don't know, who should? Tell Mr Chute, I would not have served him so, for any brother in Christendom, and am very angry To make my peace with the noble youth⁹ you mention, I send you a Poem that I am sure they will read (as well as they can) a masterpiece—it is said, being an admirable

1705, M A 1708, Fellow of King's, 1703–10, Master of Bristol Grammar School, 1709–17, Vicar of St Nicholas, Bristol, 1717–47. He published (among other poems) *Musae Juveniles* (1706), and *A Poetical Description of Bristol* (1712). The *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xvii, 1747, p. 396, printed *An anatomical Epitaph on an invalid, written by himself*, and referred to him as the 'learned, facetious and Rev Wm Goodwin' [*sic*], who 'left several other pieces of the like kind'. His associations with Windsor and Eton would explain his writing a poem on Windsor, and the date of his death would fit with Gray's allusions, if we suppose him writing about 15 June.

³ It is probable, as has generally been assumed, that Walpole arranged with Dodsley the publication of the *Eton Ode*, as he did afterwards for other poems of Gray's. He may also have arranged for the publication of the poem on Windsor. This has not been traced, and it is possible that its publication was dropped after the death of the author.

⁴ It seems to have been a custom, attested by many examples, for the works of Smith and Philips, although printed for different booksellers, and at different dates, to be bound in one volume. It is such an association that Gray suggests might have united 'Windsor and Eton' had 'the unfortunate Mr Golding' survived.

⁵ John Philips (1676–1709), author of the *Splendid Shilling* and *Cyder*, had for his closest friend at Christ Church Edmund Smith.

⁶ Edmund Smith (1672–1710), author of a tragedy, *Phædra and Hippolytus*, which was printed in 1710, together with *A Poem to the Memory of Mr John Philips*.

⁷ Arthur Pond (c. 1705–58), painter and engraver, especially noted for his portraits.

⁸ For Gray's opinion of his critics at Cambridge see Letter 245.

⁹ Probably Whithed.

improvement on that beautiful piece called *Pugna Porcorum*,¹⁰ which begins

Plangite¹¹ porcelli Porcorum pigra propago,
but that is in Latin, and not for their reading, but indeed, this is worth a thousand of it, and unfortunately it is not perfect, and it is not mine.¹²

THE CHARACTERS OF THE CHRIST-CROSS ROW,
BY A CRITIC, TO M^r —

*

*

* 12*

Great D draws near—the Dutchess sure is come,
Open the doors of the withdrawing-room,
Her daughters deck'd most daintily I see,
The Dowager grows a perfect double D
E enters next, and with her Eve appears
Not like yon Dowager deprest with years,
What Ease and Elegance her person grace,
Bright beaming, as the Evening-star, her face,
Queen Esther next—how fair e'en after death,
Then one faint glimpse of Queen Elizabeth,
No more, our Esthers now are nought but Hetties,
Elizabeths all dwindled into Betties,
In vain you think to find them under E,
They're all diverted into H and B

¹⁰ *Pugna Porcorum per P. Porcium poetam Paracelsus pro Potore*, Parisius, 1589, the work (a 12mo of 8 pp.) consists entirely of words beginning with 'p'.

¹¹ 'Plaudite', not 'Plangite', is actually the first word of the poem.

¹² In a letter to Walpole of 20 March 1773, Mason speaks of William Trollope, Fellow of Pembroke (see Letter 114, n. 1), as 'the author of the poem on the Alphabet, from which and from Gray's, a more perfect copy might be taken of that whimsical yet clever production' (*Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 65). Walpole replied on 27 May, 'I return you M^r Trollope's verses, of which many are excellent, and yet I cannot help thinking the best were Gray's, not only as they appear in his writing, but as they are more nervous and less diffuse than the others'. Mitford (*Correspondence of Gray and Norton Nicholls*, p. 218) quotes the following note, written and signed by Walpole on his copy of the verses: 'Gray would never allow the foregoing Poem to be his, but it has too much merit, and the humour and versification are so much in his style, that I cannot believe it to be written by any other hand'. On the other hand Gray writes 'it is not mine', and it is hard to believe that he would have praised the 'masterpiece', as he did, if it had been his own composition. The most likely conclusion is that Trollope wrote the poem and that Gray made improvements and additions.

^{12a} The asterisks no doubt indicate the omissions which Mitford deemed necessary (see preliminary note).

F follows fast the fair—and in his rear,
 See Folly, Fashion, Foppery, straight appear,
 All with fantastic clews, fantastic clothes,
 With Fans and Flounces, Fringe and Furbelows
 Here Grub-street Geese presume to joke and jeer,
 All, all, but Grannam Osborne's Gazetteer ¹³
 High heaves his hugeness H, methinks we see,
 Henry the Eighth's most monstrous majesty,
 But why on such *mock* grandeur should we dwell,
 H mounts to Heaven, and H descends to Hell

* * *

As H the Hebrew found, so I the Jew,
 See Isaac, Joseph, Jacob, pass in view,
 The walls of old Jerusalem appear,
 See Israel, and all Judah thronging there

* * *

P pokes his head out, yet has not a pain,
 Like Punch, he peeps, but soon pops in again,
 Pleased with his Pranks, the Pisgys call him Puck,
 Mortals he loves to prick, and pinch, and pluck,
 Now a pert Prig, he perks upon your face,
 Now peers, pores, ponders, with profound grimace,
 Now a proud Prince, in pompous Purple dress,
 And now a Player, a Peer, a Pimp, or Priest,
 A Pea, a Pin, in a perpetual round,
 Now seems a Penny, and now shews a Pound,
 Like Perch or Pike, in Pond you see him come,
 He in plantations hangs like Pear or Plum,
 Pippin or Peach; then perches on the spray,
 In form of Parrot, Pye, or Popinjay
 P, Proteus-like all tricks, all shapes can shew,
 The Pleasantest Person in the Christ-Cross row.

* * *

As K a King, Q represents a Queen,
 And seems small difference the sounds between,
 K, as a man, with hoarser accent speaks,
 In shriller notes Q like a female squeaks;

¹³ The *Daily Gazetteer* in which Francis Osborne defended Sir Robert Walpole's administration against the attacks of the *Craftsman* (see Letter 35, n 1) Osborne was frequently referred to by his opponents as 'Mother Osborne'

Behold K struts, as might a King become,
Q draws her train along the Drawing-room,
Slow follow all the quality of State,
Queer Queensbury¹⁴ only does refuse to wait

* * *

Thus great R reigns in town, while different far,
Rests in retirement, *little* Rural R;
Remote from cities lives in lone Retreat,
With Rooks and Rabbit burrows round his seat—
S, sails the Swan slow down the Silver stream

* * *

So big with Weddings, waddles W,
And brings all Womankind before your view,
A Wench, a Wife, a Widow, and a W—e,
With Woe behind, and Wantonneſs before

When you and M^r Chute can get the remainder of *Mariane*,¹⁵
I shall be much obliged to you for it—I am terribly impatient

140 GRAY TO WALPOLE

I CAME to Town the Day, that you went out of it, & am now
at Stoke very hot, & very well, thank 'ye I embrace your
Invitation, & shall be glad to make you a Visit at Strawberry-
Hill¹ the Week I leave to you, it is indifferent to me, what

¹⁴ Lady Catherine Hyde (d. 1777), second daughter of fourth Earl of Clarendon, married (1720) Charles Douglas, third Duke of Queensberry. She was noted for her beauty (which she retained till her death), and for her eccentricities, which bordered upon insanity. She was the 'Kitty' of Prior's poem *The Female Phaethon*. Gray, whom she took under her protection, for many years lived under her roof. It was for soliciting subscriptions at St. James's for the second part of the *Beggar's Opera*, after the performance had been forbidden by the Duke of Grafton as Lord Chamberlain, that her dismissal from Court in 1728, to which Gray here alludes, was due. A draft of her letter to the King on this occasion was among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection (see *Gray-Walpole Correspondence*, vol. II, p. 83, n. 14).

The Duchess was received at Court again in this year (see Walpole to Mann, 26 June 1747).

¹⁵ Marivaux's novel (see Letter 112, n. 31).

LETTER 140.—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No. 165.

¹ Walpole had removed here from Windsor a few months before (see letters to Mann, 5 June, and to Conway, 8 June 1747). 'In May, 1747, I took a small house near Twickenham, for seven years. I afterwards bought it, by Act of Parliament, it belonging to minors. In one of the deeds I found it was called Strawberry Hill' (*Short Notes*).

Aug 1747

Gray to Walpole

Letter 140

Time next Month it shall be M^r Walpole & Comp. will settle it among them. you must inform me what Place on the Windsor Road is nearest Twickenham, for I am no Geographer there I will be at the appointed Day, & from thence you must fetch me

Nicolini with a whole Coach-full of the Chattichees² has been at Cambridge in an Equipage like that of Destiny & his Comrades in the Roman Comique³ they said they had been in the Meridional Parts of Great-Britain, & were now visiting the Oriental your Friend D^r Middleton has married really a pretty kind of Woman⁴ both in Figure & Manner, w^{ch} is strange methinks Adieu, I am

Yours ever

T GRAY.

Wednesday [August, 1747]⁵

141 GRAY TO WALPOLE

IF I am mistaken, You will have the Trouble of reading a few Unnecessary Lines but I imagine a Letter¹ I wrote to you (about a Week after I received yours) has never come to your Hands it was to say that I should be glad to make you a Visit as you propose, & left it to you what Time this Month it should be only desired, that you would inform me a little beforehand, & tell me (who am too fine a Person to know where any English

² Panciatichi, and Nicolini and Pandolfini, Florentines then in England *Walpole* Nicolini and Pandolfini had been friends of Walpole in Florence (see his letter to Mann, of 15 Sept., 1746)

³ By Paul Scarron (1610-60), the reference is to the description in the first chapter of the *Roman Comique* of the 'charrette pleine de coffres, de malles, et de gros paquets qui faisoient comme une pyramide', belonging to a troupe of strolling actors, the 'nom de théâtre' of whose leader was 'le Destin'

⁴ His 3^d wife *Walpole* —Middleton's second wife had died in April 1745. His third wife, whom he married in 1750, when he was sixty-four, was Anne, daughter of John Powell of Boughrood, near Radnor

⁵ That this letter was written in August is evident from the fact that Gray talks of visiting Walpole 'next month', while in the following letter (dated 9 Sept.), in which he refers to the present letter, he talks of the visit as for 'this month'. The date of the year is determined by the reference to the 'Chattichees' (see n. 2). The actual date was probably Wednesday, 19 or 26 August 1747. The College records point to Gray having left Cambridge on 16 Aug. or a day or two earlier.

LETTER 141 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No. 166

¹ Letter 140.

Letter 141

Gray to Walpole

Sept. 1747

Place lies) whither Hounslow or Brentford be nearest Twickenham, where I would be on a certain Day, & you must fetch me from thence Adieu¹ I am

Yours ever
T GRAY.

Stoke, at Mr^s Rogers's²

Wednesday—Sept 9 [1747]³

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq at his House in Arlington Street Westminster Postmark WINDSOR⁴ 11 SE

142 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Nov Tuesday, Cambridge [1747]¹

IT is a misfortune to me to be at a distance from both of you at present² A letter can give one so little idea of such matters! * * * I always believed well of his heart and temper, and would gladly do so still If they are as they should be, I should have expected every thing from such an explanation; for it is a tenet with me (a simple one, you'll perhaps say), that if ever two people, who love one another, come to breaking, it is for want of a timely éclaircissement, a full and precise one, without witnesses or mediators, and without reserving any one disagreeable circumstance for the mind to brood upon in silence

I am not totally of your mind as to Mr Lyttleton's Elegy,³ though I love kids and fawns⁴ as little as you do If it were all

² His aunt (Ann Antrobus), the widow of Jonathan Rogers who died in 1742 (see Letter 110 n 1)

³ See Letter 140, n 5

⁴ The stamp was not inked, but the impress is legible

LETTER 142—First printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol v, pp 388–9

¹ The date of the year is determined by the reference to Lyttleton's *Monody*, which was announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1747 (vol xvii, p 548) as published in that month Tuesdays in November 1747 were the 3rd, 10th, 17th, and 24th

² It seems probable that Ashton is the person here referred to He and Walpole came to a final breach in 1750 (see Walpole to Mann, 25 July 1750, 'I have long had reason to complain of his behaviour, in short, my father is dead and I can make no bishops He has at last quite thrown off the mask', see also letter to Mann of 22 Dec 1750, *ad fin*) (See Letter 153, n 5)

³ See Letter 138, n 5

⁴ Cf Stanza VI

Sweet babes, who, like the little playful fawns,
Were wont to trip along these verdant lawns
By your delighted Mother's side,
Who now your infant steps shall guide?

like the fourth stanza,⁵ I should be excessively pleased (Nature and sorrow, and tenderness, are the true genius of such things; and something of these I find in several parts of it (not in the orange-tree))⁶ poetical ornaments are foreign to the purpose; for they only show a man is not sorry,—and devotion worse; for it teaches him, that he ought not to be sorry, which is all the pleasure of the thing) I beg leave to turn your weathercock the contrary way Your Epistle⁷ I have not seen a great while, and doctor M⁸ is not in the way to give me a sight of it but I remember enough to be sure all the world will be pleased with it, even with all its *faults upon its head*, if you don't care to mend them I would try to do it myself (however hazardous), rather than it should remain unpublished As to my Eton Ode,⁹ Mr Dodsley is *padrone*¹⁰ The second¹¹ you had, I suppose you do not think worth giving him otherwise, to me it seems not worse than the former He might have Selima¹² too, unless she be of

And Stanza XI

Ev'n for the kid or lamb that pour'd its life
Beneath the bloody knife
Her gentle tears would fall

⁵ Stanza IV

In vain I look around
O'er all the well-known ground
My Lucy's wonted footsteps to descry,
Where oft we us'd to walk,
Where oft in tender talk
We saw the summer sun go down the sky,
Nor by yon fountain's side
Nor where its waters glide
Along the valley, can she now be found
In all the wide-stretch'd prospect's ample bound
No more my mournful eye
Can aught of her espy,
But the sad sacred earth where her dear relics lie

⁶ In Stanza XIII

The verdant orange lifts its beauteous head
From every branch the balmy flow'rets rise,
On every bough the golden fruits are seen,
With odours sweet it fills the smiling skies

⁷ From Florence, to Thomas Asheton *Berry*—See Letter 144, n 22

⁸ Conyers Middleton (see Letter 135, n 18)

⁹ *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* Dodsley had published it (see Letter 139, n 1)

¹⁰ To publish in his collection of poems *Berry*—See Letter 144, n 2

¹¹ The Ode to Spring *Berry*—See Letter 125, n 4

¹² The Ode on Mr Walpole's cat drowned in the tub of gold-fish *Berry*—See Letter 134, n 3

too little importance for his patriot-collection, or perhaps the *connections* you had with her may interfere. *Che so io?* Adieu!

I am yours ever,
T. G

143 GRAY TO WHARTON

My Dear Wharton

I REJOICE to hear you are safe arriv'd, tho' drawn by *four wild Horses*, like People one reads of in the Book of Martyrs yet I can not chuse but lament your Condition, so coop'd up in the Elvet-House¹ with Spirits & Hobgoblins about you, & Pleasure at one Entrance quite shut out, you must so much the more set open all the other Avenues to admit it, open your Folio's, open your De L'Isle,² & take a Prospect of that World, w^{ch} the cruel Architect has hid from your corporeal Eyes, & confined 'em to the narrow Contemplation of your own *Backside*, & Kitchen Garden M^r Keene³ has been here, but is now gone to Town

LETTER 143—First printed by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 183–6, now reprinted from original

¹ Wharton's first residence in Durham after his marriage. The house was perhaps the property of the Wilkinson family, as John Wilkinson (d 1734), Mrs Wharton's uncle, is described as 'of Elvet'. As regards the situation, Tovey prints (vol III, p 353) the following note from a Durham correspondent: 'There are two streets here, Old Elvet and New Elvet. Old Elvet is still a good street, New Elvet is a slum, but had fine houses once, and I think Wharton may have lived there. A house in one part of the street would be quite shut in at the back and with no view in front—just what one gathers from Gray's letter.'

² Claude Delisle (1644–1720), geographer and historian, author of *Atlas Historique et Géographique* (Paris, 1718), and *Abrégé de l'Histoire Universelle* (7 vols., Paris, 1731).

³ Edmund Keene (1714–81), scholar of Caius, 1730–4, BA 1734, MA 1737, Fellow 1736–9, Fellow of Peterhouse, 1739, Master, 1749–54, DD 1749, Vice-Chancellor, 1749–51, Rector of Stanhope, co. Durham, 1740–70, Bishop of Chester, 1752–71, Bishop of Ely, 1771–81. In 1764 he was offered, but refused, the primacy of Ireland (see Letter 401).

When (in Dec 1752) Keene was talked of for preceptor to the Prince of Wales, Walpole wrote to Mann: 'Keene, Bishop of Chester, is a man that will not prejudice his fortune by any ill-placed scruples. My father gave him a living of seven hundred pounds a year to marry one of his natural daughters: he took the living [that of Stanhope], and my father dying soon after, he dispensed with himself from taking the wife, but was so generous as to give her very near one year's income of the living. He then was the Duke of Newcastle's tool at Cambridge, which university he has half turned Jacobite, by cramming down new ordinances to carry measures of that Duke, and being rewarded with the bishopric, he was at dinner at the Bishop of Lin-

for a little While, & returns to pass the Winter with us we are tolerably gracious, & he speaks mighty well of you: but when I look upon his countenance & his Ways, I can never think of bestowing [Tuthill]⁴ upon him (tho' it were never so advantageous, & they both had a Mind to it) and so I have said nothing to either of them I found, he had no Hopes of your Petition,⁵ & believe, you are right in thinking no farther of it your Mention of Mr Vane,⁶ reminds me of poor Smart⁷ (not that I, or any other Mortal, pity him) about three Weeks ago he was arrested here at the Suit of a Taylor in London for a Debt of about 50£ of three Years standing the College had about 28£ due to him in their Hands, the rest (to hinder him from going to the Castle,⁸ for he could not raise a Shilling) Brown, May, & Peele,⁹ lent him upon his Note upon this he remain'd confined to his Room, lest his Creditors here should snap him, & the Fellows went round to make out a List of

coln's when he received the nomination He immediately rose from the table, took his host into another room, and begged he would propose him to a certain great fortune, to whom he had never spoke, but for whom he now thought himself a proper match' The lady, whom he married in May 1753, was the only daughter and heiress of a wealthy retired linen draper in Cheapside

It was during Keene's Vice-Chancellorship that the new regulations 'for restoring good order and discipline in the University' were passed (26 June 1750), after having 'caused great heats and animosities in the University' (see Cooper's *Annals*, vol. iv, pp. 278-81, where the regulations are printed in full, see also Wordsworth's *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 65 ff. and Winstanley's *University of Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 199 ff.) The apparent intimacy between Keene and Wharton hinted at in this letter (see also Letters 148, 150) was probably due to the fact that Keene's living of Stanhope was only about twenty miles from Durham, where he and Wharton would often meet Gray had no liking for him, but kept on good terms with him (see Letter 148)

⁴ See Letter 120, n. 2

⁵ There is nothing to show what this refers to

⁶ Henry Vane (c. 1705-58), eldest son of Gilbert Vane, second Baron Barnard, whom he succeeded as third Baron in 1753, in 1754 he was created Earl of Darlington, and in 1755 was appointed Joint-Paymaster of the Forces (see Letter 211) Smart's father, a native of Durham, had been steward to Vane's uncle, William Vane, second son of the first Baron Barnard, hence the connexion between Vane and Smart The latter had an allowance of £40 a year made to him by the Duchess of Cleveland (d. 1742), which was continued to him by the Duke, Vane's brother-in-law (see Letter 311, n. 4)

⁷ See Letter 135, n. 8

⁸ In *Cambrigia Depicta* it is stated that of the Castle 'there are now but few Remains, except the Gateway, which serves for the County-Gaol'.

⁹ Fellows of Pembroke (see Letter 127, nn. 7, 9).

his Debts, w^{ch} amount in Cambridge to above 350£. that they might come the reader to some Composition, he was advised to go off in the Night, & lie hid somewhere or other. he has done so, & this has made the Creditors agree to an Assignment of 50£ per ann out of his Income, w^{ch} is above 140£, if he lives at Cambridge (not else) but I am apprehensive, if this come to the Ears of M^r Vane he may take away the 40£ hitherto allowed him by the Duke of Cleveland,¹⁰ for before all this (last Summer) I know they talk'd of doing so, as M^r Smart (they said) was settled in the World if you found an Opportunity, possibly you might hinder this (w^{ch} would totally ruin him now) by representing his Absurdity in the best Light it will bear but at the same Time they should make this a Condition of its Continuance, that he live in the College, soberly, & within Bounds, for that upon any Information to the Contrary it shall be absolutely stop'd this would be doing him a real Service, tho' against the Grain yet I must own, if you heard all his Lies, Impertinence, & Ingratitude in this Affair, it would perhaps quite set you against him, as it has his only Friend (M^r Addison)¹¹ totally & yet one would try to save him, for Drunkenness is one great Source of all this, & he may change it I would not tell this Matter in the North,¹² were I you, till I found it was known by other Means we have had an Opinion from the Attor^{ny} General¹³ in a manner directly contrary to the former he does not seem to have been clear then, so that he may possibly not be so now the Kings-Bench (he says) can take no Cognizance of it, the Visitor must do all, & he is the Vice-Chancellor¹⁴ by K James's Charter, w^{ch} is good this is sad indeed, & the Fellows, before they acquiesce in it, seem desirous of consulting D^r Lee,¹⁵ who is well acquainted with College-Matters

¹⁰ William Fitzroy (1698–1774), third and last Duke of Cleveland (1730) of the first creation Vane married (1725) his sister Grace, eldest daughter of the second Duke The Duchess, who gave Smart the allowance (see n 6), was Henrietta Finch daughter of Daniel, sixth Earl of Winchelsea

¹¹ See Letter 135, n 9

¹² Vane's seat at Raby Castle was within twenty miles of Wharton's residence at Durham

¹³ Gray now reverts to the case of the Fellows of Pembroke against the Master (see Appendix H)

¹⁴ At this time Francis Sawyer Parris, D D, Master of Sidney Sussex

¹⁵ George Lee (1700–58) was younger brother of Sir William Lee, Chief Justice of the King's Bench Lee, who migrated (1720) from Clare College, Cambridge, to Christ Church, Oxford, became D C L in 1729, and in the

Nov 1747

Gray to Wharton

Letter 143

‘Have you seen Lyttelton’s *Monody*¹⁶ on his Wife’s Death? there are Parts of it too stiff & poetical, but others truly tender & elegiac, as one would wish Dodsley is publishing three *Miscellaneous Volumes*,¹⁷ some new, many that have been already printed Lyttelton, Nugent,¹⁸ and G West¹⁹ have given him several Things of theirs. M^r W has given him three Odes of mune²⁰ (w^{ch} you have seen before) & one of M^r West’s (my Friend, who is dead) w^{ch} in Spite of the Subject is excellent it is on the late Queen’s Death²¹ there is a M^r Archibald Bower,²² a Scotchman bred in Italy, Profefsour in three Universities there, & of the Inquisition he was employed by the Court of Rome to write a History of the Popes as he searched into the Materials, his Eyes were open’d he came to England, has changed his Religion, & continues his Work in our Language under the Patronage of M^r Pitt, the Yorks &c the Preface is come out with the Proposals,²³ & promises exceeding well doubtless there is no part of History more curious, if it be well perform’d

My best wishes wait upon Mrs Wharton, and —²⁴ my Compliments to Miss Wharton,²⁵ & to King Harry, the

same year was admitted advocate at Doctors’ Commons. He was Dean of Arches and Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury from 1751 till his death, having been knighted in 1752

¹⁶ See Letters 138, n 5, 142, nn 4–6

¹⁷ See Letter 144, n 2

¹⁸ See Letter 144, nn 18, 19

¹⁹ See Letter 91, n 7

²⁰ See Letter 142, nn 9–12

²¹ See Letter 144, n 34

²² Archibald Bower (1686–1766), educated at the Scots College at Douay, was admitted a Jesuit at Rome in 1706, and afterwards studied divinity there, 1717–21, in 1726 he came to England, and joined the English Church, in 1745 he was readmitted Jesuit, but again left the Society in 1747. In 1754, after the publication of the first three volumes of his *History of the Popes* (1748–53), he was accused of being secretly a member of the Roman Church, though professing himself to be a Protestant, and became involved in a war of pamphlets to refute charges brought against him by Sir Henry Bedingfield and John Douglas (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury). An account of this ‘most curious history’ is given by Walpole (who was strongly prejudiced in Bower’s favour) in his letter to Mann of 23 Feb 1756

²³ These were issued on 25 March 1747, the work itself was published in seven volumes, 1748–66

²⁴ This dash, which comes at the end of the line in the original, is not the expletive stroke with which Gray usually fills a blank space next the margin, it is something more than that, and besides is followed by a full stop. Gray no doubt intended a veiled reference to the parents’ hopes of progeny

²⁵ No doubt his eldest sister, Catherine, afterwards (1752) Mrs Ettrick (see Letter 401, n 1)

Letter 143

Gray to Wharton

Nov 1747

8th—²⁶ Brown will write, [he's the . . . little man and always
. . .] ²⁷ Adieu, I am ever

Yours,
T G

Nov 30 Cambridge [1747] ²⁸

P S I said something to Stonhewer, ²⁹ who (I believe) will do
what he can — he is now in London

143* Gray to Whalley

[c Dec 1747]

[In his letter to Walpole of Jan 1748 (Letter 144) Gray says that he
had written a letter to Dr Whalley (see Letter 117, n 3) to rebuke
him for calling him 'a kind of Atheist' This letter, to which Gray
refers again in his letter to Wharton of 19 Aug 1748 (Letter 146),
is not extant]

144 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Jan or Feb, 1748] ¹

I AM obliged to you for Mr Dodsley's book, ² and, having pretty
well looked it over, will (as you desire) tell you my opinion
of it He might, methinks, have spared the Graces ³ in his

²⁶ Perhaps his next brother, Richard, who later was Mayor of Durham
(see Letter 213, n 1)

²⁷ About three-quarters of a line in the MS has been obliterated, and is
now undecipherable Mitford apparently was able to decipher and restore
to the text the words in the brackets

²⁸ So endorsed by Wharton

²⁹ See Letter 120, n 38

LETTER 144 — First printed in part in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp 393-7,
the remainder first printed by Toynbee (1915), No 168 (see nn 40, 44)

¹ The date is determined by the reference to Dodsley's book (see n 2)
which was published on 15 Jan 1748, this letter, therefore, was probably
written at the end of January, or early in February

² *A Collection of Poems, By several Hands In Three Volumes* London Printed
for R Dodsley M DCC XLVIII — Robert Dodsley (1703-64), author and
bookseller, originally a footman, started as a bookseller at the Tully's Head
in Pall Mall in 1735, when he published, among others, for Pope, Akenside,
Young, Johnson, and Goldsmith About 1755 he took his younger brother,
James, into partnership, in whose favour he retired in 1759 He died while
on a visit to Joseph Spence at Durham in 1764

³ Two editions of the first three volumes were published in 1748 The
earlier has a vignette of the Three Graces on the title-page, the vignette on
the title-page of the second and later editions is Apollo and the Nine Muses
The page references in the notes to this letter are to the first edition

frontispiece, if he chose to be æconomical, and dressed his authors in a little more decent raiment—not in whited-brown paper and distorted characters, like an old ballad. I am ashamed to see myself,⁴ but the company keeps me in countenance so to begin with Mr Tickell.⁵ This is not only a state-poem (my ancient aversion), but a state-poem on the peace of Utrecht.⁶ If Mr Pope had wrote a panegyric on it, one could hardly have read him with patience but this is only a poor short-winded imitator of Addison, who had himself not above three or four notes in poetry, sweet enough indeed, like those of a German flute, but such as soon tire and satiate the ear with their frequent return. Tickell has added to this a great poverty of sense, and a string of transitions that hardly become a school-boy. However, I forgive him for the sake of his ballad,⁷ which I always thought the prettiest in the world. All there is of M Green⁸ here has been printed before there is a profusion of wit every where, reading would have formed his judgment, and harmonized his verse, for even his wood-notes often break out into strains of real poetry and music. The Schoolmistress⁹ is excellent in its kind, and masterly, and (I am sorry to differ from you, but) London¹⁰ is to me one of those few imitations, that have all the ease and all the spirit of an original. The same man's verses at the opening of Garrick's theatre¹¹ are far from bad. Mr Dyer¹² (here you will despise me highly) has more of poetry in his imagination, than almost any of our number, but

⁴ His *Eton Ode*, *Ode on the Spring*, and *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat* (vol II, pp 261-4, 265-7, 267-9), the name of the author is not given

⁵ Thomas Tickell (1686-1740), deputy Professor of Poetry at Oxford in 1711, during the absence of Joseph Trapp, the first Professor

⁶ The first piece in the *Collection* (vol I, pp 5-23), the poem *On the Prospect of Peace*, first published in 1712, which was praised by Addison as 'a noble performance' in the *Spectator* for 30 Oct 1712 (No 523)

⁷ *Colin and Lucy* (vol I, pp 24-7)

⁸ Matthew Green (1696-1737), six pieces of his are included (vol I, pp 28 ff.), viz *The Spleen* (his last poem, first published posthumously in 1737), *An Epigram*, *The Sparrow and Diamond*, *Jove and Semele*, *The Seeker*, and *On Barclay's Apology for the Quakers*

⁹ By William Shenstone (1714-63), in vol I, pp 211 ff (first published in 1742)

¹⁰ By Samuel Johnson (1709-84), in vol I, pp 101 ff (an imitation of the third satire of Juvenal, first published in 1738)

¹¹ *Prologue spoken by Mr Garrick at the Opening of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane* (in October, 1747) (vol III, pp 150 ff)

¹² John Dyer (c 1700-58), two pieces of his are included (vol I, pp 72 ff.), viz *Grongar Hill* (1727), and *The Ruins of Rome* (1740)

rough and injudicious I should range Mr Bramston¹³ only a step or two above Dr King,¹⁴ who is as low in my estimation as in yours Dr Evans¹⁵ is a furious madman, and Pre-existence¹⁶ is nonsense in all her altitudes Mr Lyttelton¹⁷ is a gentle elegiac person Mr Nugent¹⁸ sure did not write his own ode¹⁹ I like Mr Whitehead's²⁰ little poems, I mean the Ode on a tent, the Verses to Garrick, and particularly those to Charles Townshend, better than any thing I had seen before of him I gladly pass over H Brown,²¹ and the rest, to come at you You know I was of the publishing side, and thought your reasons against it none, for though, as Mr Chute said extremely well, the *still small voice* of Poetry was not made to be heard in a crowd, yet Satire will be heard, for all the audience are by nature her friends, especially when she appears in the spirit of Dryden, with his strength, and often with his versification, such as you have caught in those lines on the royal unction, on the papal dominion, and convents of both sexes, on Henry VIII

¹³ James Bramston (c. 1694–1744), represented by two pieces (vol 1, pp 115 ff), *The Art of Politics* (a burlesque imitation of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, 1729), and *The Man of Taste* (1733)

¹⁴ William King, D.C.I. (1663–1712), author of the *Dialogues of the Dead* (1699), an attack upon Bentley, represented here (vol 1, pp 223 ff) by *The Art of Cookery*, in imitation of Horace's *Art of Poetry* (1708).

¹⁵ Abel Evans, D.D. (1679–1737), author of (vol 1, p 238) *The Apparition, a Dialogue betwixt the Devil and a Doctor concerning the Rights of the Christian Church* (1710)

¹⁶ *Pre-Existence, a Poem in Imitation of Milton*, anonymous (vol 1, p 268)

¹⁷ George Lyttelton (see Letter 138 n 5), represented (vol 11, pp 1 ff) by *The Progress of Love, in Four Eclogues* (1732)

¹⁸ Robert Nugent (1702–88), later (1767) Baron Nugent and Viscount Clare (in Ireland), and (1776) Earl Nugent His second and third marriages, to two wealthy widows gave rise to Walpole's term 'to Nugentize'

¹⁹ His ode (vol 11, p 203) addressed to William Pulteney (afterwards Lord of Bath), first published in 1739 Walpole, who in a letter to Montagu (25 July 1748) speaks of this poem as Nugent's 'glorious Ode on religion and liberty', in his *Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second*, writes 'Nugent had lost the reputation of a great poet, by writing works of his own, after he had acquired fame by an ode that was the joint production of several others', and he adds in a note 'It was addressed to Lord Bath, upon the author's change of his religion but was universally believed to be written by Mallet, who was tutor to Newsham, Mr Nugent's son, and improved by Mr Pulteney himself and Lord Chesterfield'

²⁰ William Whitehead (see Letter 44, n 8), his *Ode to a Gentleman on his pitching a Tent in his Garden*, and the verses to Garrick and to Charles Townshend are in vol 11 (pp 244 ff)

²¹ Isaac Hawkins Browne (1705–60), author of *A Pipe of Tobacco*, in imitation of Pope, Swift, Thomson, &c (vol 11, pp 276 ff)

and Charles II. for these are to me the shining parts of your Epistle²² There are many lines I could wish corrected, and some blotted out, but beauties enough to atone for a thousand worse faults than these The opinion of such as can at all judge, who saw it before in Dr Middleton's hands, concurs nearly with mine. As to what any one says, since it came out; our people (you must know) are slow of judgement, they wait till some bold body saves them the trouble, and then follow his opinion, or stay till they hear what is said in town, that is at some bishop's table, or some coffee-house about the Temple When they are determined, I will tell you faithfully their verdict^{22a} As for the Beauties,²³ I am their most humble servant What shall I say to Mr Lowth,²⁴ Mr Ridley,²⁵ Mr Rolle,²⁶ the reverend Mr Brown,²⁷ Seward,²⁸ &c? If I say, Messieurs! this is not the thing, write prose, write sermons, write nothing

²² *An Epistle from Florence to T. A. Esq., Tutor to the Earl of P.* (vol. 11, pp. 305 ff.), reprinted in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. 1, pp. 4-16. It was written in 1740, and was highly praised by Gray at the time (see Letter 91 *ad fin.*)

^{22a} An allusion to what Gray elsewhere calls criticism 'à la mode du Temple' (see Letter 115, n. 7)

²³ *The Beauties. An Epistle to Mr Eckardt the Painter* (vol. 11, pp. 321 ff.), reprinted in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. 1, pp. 19-24. This piece was written in July 1746, and printed in the following September. A third piece by Walpole, not mentioned by Gray, was also included in the *Collection*, viz. *The Epilogue to Tamerlane* (vol. 11, p. 325) (see Letter 128, n. 3)

²⁴ Walpole, in a manuscript note in his copy of Dodsley (now in the British Museum), states that the *Choice of Hercules* (vol. 11, p. 1) was by 'the Revd Mr Lowth, since Bp. of Oxford and London', i.e. Robert Lowth, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1741-51 (see Letter 209, n. 5), and he adds that 'part of this poem has been set to music by Handel, and was first printed in Spence's *Polymetus*' (see Letter 131, n. 5)

²⁵ Gloucester Ridley (1702-74), Fellow of New College, Oxford, 1724-34, B.C.L. 1729, D.D. 1767, Prebendary of Salisbury, 1766-74, he is represented by two pieces (vol. 11, pp. 18-54), viz. *Psyche* and *Jovis Eleutherio, or an Offering to Liberty*

²⁶ Author of *Life burthensome, an Epistle* (vol. 11, pp. 58 ff.)

²⁷ John Brown (1715-66), of St John's College, Cambridge, M.A. 1739, D.D. 1755, subsequently well known as the author of *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times* (see Letter 237, n. 3), two pieces of his are included in the *Collection* (vol. 11, pp. 99-136), viz. *Honour* (1743), and an *Essay upon Satire*. He was also the author of two tragedies, *Barbarossa*, produced at Drury Lane in 1754 (see Letter 194, n. 6), and *Athelstane*, produced in 1756. For a further account of him see Letters 424 and 427 and Appendix R.

²⁸ Thomas Seward (1708-90), Canon of Lichfield, father of Anna Seward (see Letter 209, n. 6), author of *The Female Right to Literature* and three other poems (vol. 11, pp. 295-304)

at all, they will disdain me, and my advice What then would the sickly pecc²⁹ have done, that spends so much time in admiring everything that has four legs, and fretting at his own misfortune in having but two, and cursing his own politic head and feeble constitution, that won't let him be such a beast as he would wish? Mr S Jenyns³⁰ now and then can write a good line or two—such as these—

Snatch us from all our little sorrows here,
Calm every grief, and dry each childish tear, &c

I like Mr Aston Hervey's fable,³¹ and an ode³² (the last of all) by Mr Mason,³³ a new acquaintance of mine, whose

²⁹ Lord Hervey *Berry*—John Hervey, eldest son of first Earl of Bristol (see Letter 132, n 6) Throughout his life he suffered from bad health, and had what Walpole describes as 'a coffin-face' (to Mann, 7 Jan 1742) The reference is to Hervey's two *Epistles to Mr Fox* in Dodsley's *Collection* (vol III, pp 240 ff)

³⁰ Soame Jenyns (1704–87), M P for Cambridgeshire, ten pieces by him are included in the *Collection* (vol III, pp 153 ff) The couplet quoted by Gray comes from the last, *An Essay on Virtue* (p 206) In 1757 he published *A Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil* (see Letter 237, n 4)

³¹ A slip of Gray's—*The Female-Drum or, the Origin of Cards A Tale Address to the Honourable Miss Carpenter* (vol III, p 232), according to Walpole (see n 24), was by 'the Hon and Rev Mr Hervey Aston' (the Rev Henry Hervey, fifth son of the first Earl of Bristol, assumed the name of Aston on his marriage in 1730 to Catherine heiress to Sir Thomas Aston, of Aston, Cheshire) Miss Carpenter, Walpole notes, was 'afterwards Countess of Egremont'

³² *Ode to a Water Nymph* (vol III, pp 330–3) (see Letter 312, n 22)

³³ William Mason (1724–97) (see Genealogical Table), the friend, literary executor, and biographer of Gray, whose acquaintance he had made in the previous year (1747), and by whom he was familiarly called 'Scroddles' He had been admitted to St John's College, Cambridge, in 1742, and graduated B A in 1745–6 In 1747, largely through the recommendation of Gray, he was nominated to a Fellowship in Pembroke College, but the Master prevented his election till March 1749 He was ordained Deacon 17 Nov., and Priest 24 Nov 1754, and three days later was instituted Rector of Aston, Yorkshire, on the presentation of the Earl of Holderness, a distant connexion (see Letter 181, n 3), who appointed him domestic Chaplain, and whose private secretary he appears to have been for a time at the beginning of that year (see Letter 184, n 4) He was subsequently Chaplain to the King, 1757–60, 1761–72, Canon Residentiary and Precentor of York, 1762 He became acquainted with Horace Walpole in 1754 (see Letter 188 *ad fin*), or perhaps earlier (see Letter 159), and was on terms of intimacy with him until 1784, when a political difference put an end to their friendship for some years Mason was the author of a number of plays, satires, and poems, many of which underwent a minute revision at the hands of Gray before publication His *Musaeus*, a monody to the memory

Musæus too seems to carry with it the promise at least of something good to come. I was glad to see you distinguished who poor West was, before his charming ode,³⁴ and called it anything rather than a Pindaric. The town is an owl, if it don't like Lady Mary,³⁵ and I am surprised at it we here are owls enough to think her eclogues³⁶ very bad, but that I did not wonder at. Our present taste is sir T Fitz-Osborne's Letters.³⁷ I send you a bit of a thing for two reasons: first, because it is one of your favourites, Mr M Green,³⁸ and next, because I would do justice. The thought on which my second ode³⁹ turns is manifestly stole from hence —not that I knew it at the time,

of Pope, written in 1744, had been published in the previous year (1747). At the beginning of Section IV of his *Memoirs* Mason writes: 'It was not till about the year 1747 that I had the happiness of being introduced to the acquaintance of Mr Gray. Some very juvenile imitations of Milton's juvenile poems, which I had written a year or two before, and of which the Monody on Mr Pope's death was the principal, he then, at the request of one of my friends, was so obliging as to revise. The same year, on account of a dispute which had happened between the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall, I had the honour of being nominated by the Fellows to fill one of the vacant Fellowships. I was at this time scholar of St John's College, and Bachelor of Arts, personally unknown to the gentlemen who favoured me so highly, therefore that they gave me this mark of distinction and preference was greatly owing to Mr Gray, who was well acquainted with several of that society, and to Dr Heberden, whose known partiality to every, even the smallest degree of merit, led him warmly to second his recommendation.'

³⁴ His *Monody on the Death of Queen Caroline* (vol. II, pp. 269 ff.), written in 1737, it is described as 'By Richard West, Esq., Son to the Chancellor of Ireland, and Grandson to Bishop Burnet'. The poem is reprinted in Tovey's *Gray and his Friends*, pp. 110 ff. Tovey notes that the stanza of Gray's *Elegy*, 'The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power' &c. is evidently reminiscent of the following lines of West's *Monody*:

Ah me! what boots us all our boasted power,
Our golden treasure, and our purpled state?
They cannot ward th' inevitable hour,
Nor stay the fearful violence of Fate

³⁵ Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu (see Letter 92, n. 11)

³⁶ *Six Town Eclogues* (vol. III, pp. 274 ff.) they had been printed (not for the first time) in the previous year, and published by Dodsley at the instance of Walpole, who writing to Mann (24 Nov. 1747) says of them, 'they don't please, though so excessively good'

³⁷ *Letters on Several Subjects*, by Sir Thomas Fitzosborne, a pseudonym of William Melmoth (1710-99), the translator of the letters of Pliny, and of Cicero *Ad Familiares*. The first volume of 'Fitzosborne's Letters', which had appeared in 1742, was reissued, together with a second volume, in this year.

³⁸ See n. 8

³⁹ The *Ode on the Spring* (see Letter 125, n. 4)

but, having⁴⁰ seen this many Years before, to be sure it imprinted itself on my Memory, & forgetting the Author, I took it for my own. the Subject was the Queen's Hermitage ⁴¹

* *

Tho' yet no Palace grace the Shore
To lodge the Pair you⁴² should adore,
Nor Abbies great in Ruins rise,
Royal Equivalents for Vice
Behold a Grott in Delphic Grove
The Graces & the Muses love,
A Temple from Vain-Glory free,
Whose Goddess is Philosophy,
Whose Sides such licensed Idols⁴³ crown,
As Superstition would pull down
The only Pilgrimage I know,
That Men of Sense would chuse to go
W^{ch} sweet Abode, her wisest Choice,
Urania cheers with heavenly Voice
While all the Virtues gather round
To see her consecrate the Ground
If Thou, the God with winged Feet,
In Council talk of this Retreat,
And jealous Gods Resentment shew
At Altars raised to Men below
Tell those proud Lords of Heaven, 'tis fit
Their House our Heroes should admit
While each exists (as Poets sing)
A lazy, lewd, immortal, Thing

⁴⁰ The remainder of the letter, from this point, is printed from the original

⁴¹ This was a 'subterraneous building, adorned with astronomical figures and characters' (*Gent Mag*, 1735, p. 331), and fitted with a library, which had been erected in the royal gardens at Richmond by Queen Caroline, she called it 'Merlin's Cave', by which name it is several times referred to by Pope (*Imitations of Horace*, 2 Epist. 1. 355, 2 Epist. 11. 139). Green's poem was first printed privately in 1732. Gray subsequently made acknowledgement of his indebtedness to Green in a note attached to the first line of the fourth stanza of his *Ode*.

⁴² Speaking to the Thames. *Gray's note*

⁴³ The four Busts. Gray — A poem, *In Richmond Gardens*, printed in the *London Magazine* for 1738 (p. 38), mentions the busts

Next to my view the *Hermitage* appears

* *

Within on curious marble carv'd compleat,
Majestic *Boyle* claims a superior seat.
Newton and *Locke*, *Clarke*, *Wollaston* appear,
Drest with the native robes they us'd to wear

They must, or grow in Disrepute,
 With Earth's first Commoners recruit
 Needleless it is in Terms unskill'd
 To praise, whatever Boyle shall build
 Needleless it is the Busts to name
 Of Men, Monopolists of Fame,
 Four Chiefs adorn the modest Stone
 For Virtue, as for Learning, known
 The thinking Sculpture helps to raise
 Deep Thoughts, the Geni of the Place
 To the Mind's Ear, & inward Sight,
 There Silence speaks, & Shade gives Light
 While Insects from the Threshold preach
 And Minds disposed to Musing teach,
 Proud of strong Limbs & painted Hues
 They perish by the slightest Bruise
 Or Maladies begun within
 Destroy more slow Life's frail Machine
 From Maggot-Youth thro' Change of State
 They feel like us the Turns of Fate,
 Some born to creep have lived to fly,
 And changed Earth's Cells for Dwellings high-
 And some, that did their six Wings keep,
 Before they died, been forc'd to creep
 They Politicks, like ours, profess
 The greater prev upon the less
 Some strain on Foot huge Loads to bring,
 Some toil incessant on the Wing
 Nor from their vigorous Schemes desist
 Till Death, & then are never mist
 Some frolick, toil, marry, increase,
 Are sick & well, have War & Peace,
 And broke with Age in half a Day
 Yield to Successors, & away

*

*

"Please to tell Mr Chute, that I never borrow'd any Life of Mahomet (if that be his Meaning) having read Boulainvilliers⁴⁵ long ago. but that I have Du Clos' Louis Onze,⁴⁶ & will send it him, if you will be so good as to send me Directions both to Mr Whithed, & Mr Chute (per se) at his Lodgings, w^{ch} I would

⁴⁴ The remainder of the letter from this point (except the signature), and the postscript were omitted by Miss Berry

⁴⁵ See Letter 112, nn 18, 19

⁴⁶ *Histoire de Louis Onze* (1745), by Charles Pinot Duclos (1704-72)

be glad to know for more Reasons than this. I hear Lamb-Pye⁴⁷ is dead, & could have wished to be told the Consequences. but both You & He, I doubt, will grow to regard me in the Light of a *Miscellaneous Writer* Adieu, I am

Yours ever

T G

P S If You chance to see a Letter of mine in any body's Hand, this is the History of it Dr Whalley,⁴⁸ who has hated me ever since that Affair of Mr Turner,⁴⁹ thought fit to intimate to a large Table full of People, that I was a Kind of Atheist I wrote to him partly to laugh at, & partly to reprove him for his Malice, & (as what he said was publick) I shew'd my Letter to several of those, who had heard him, & threaten'd (not in earnest, you may imagine) to have it hawk'd about Streets they took me literally, & by Way of Anticipation my Letter has been consign'd to one Etoffe⁵⁰ (a Fiend of a Parson, that you

⁴⁷ Who this was does not appear

⁴⁸ Master of Peterhouse (see Letter 117, n 3)

⁴⁹ Shallet Turner, Regius Professor of Modern History (see Letter 117, n 2)

⁵⁰ Of the Rev Henry Etough, or Etoffe, Cole has left a lively description (*Brit Mus Add 5829, fol 184, 5868, fol 48*) He was 'a pumping, tale-bearing dissenting teacher, who by adulation and flattery, and an everlasting fund of news and scandal, made himself agreeable to many of prime fortune, particularly Sir Robert Walpole' He 'thought it more to the purpose to come over to the established Church, where better company, and better preferment were to be met with' He used to be much at Cambridge, when I resided there and was a busy, impertinent meddler in everyone's affairs' Cole also mentions his 'tale-bearings and whisperings among the Heads, such as Dr Whaley [*sic*], Bishop Keene etc'

To his mischief-making activities Gray refers also in Letters 164, 165 His resentment against this 'Fiend of a Parson' found expression in an epigram which he wrote under a drawing of Etough, which Mason had made The date of the epigram is approximately determined by a letter of Cole's to Granger of 11 Dec 1769, in which he states that Mason's drawing was made 'twenty years ago' The verses were also wrote at the same time' (*Letters between the Rev James Granger and many of the most eminent Literary men of his time*, 1805, p 331) Gray's verses, as transcribed by Mason, in Gray's Common-place-book, are as follows

Such Tophet was, so looked the grinning Fiend
Whom many a frighted Prelate called his friend
Our Mother-Church with half-averted sight
Blushed as she blest her griesly proselyte
Hosannahs rang thro Hells tremendous borders,
And Satan's self had thoughts of taking orders

Jan or Feb 1748

Gray to Walpole

Letter 144

know) to shew about here, & to carry to Town, if any one will read it he makes Criticisms on it, & has found out a false Spelling, I'm told Adieu!

145 GRAY TO WHARTON

My Dear Wharton

THO' I have been silent so long, do not imagine, I am at all less sensible to your Kindness, w^{ch} (to say the Truth) is of a Sort,¹ that however obvious & natural it may seem, has never once occur'd to any of my good Friends in Town, where I have been these seven Weeks their Methods of Consolation were indeed very extraordinary they were all so sorry for my Loss,²

with a note 'after 1 2 addition to the first copy

I saw them bow and while they wish'd him dead

With {servile
civil} simper nod the mitred head'

In 1769 Michael Tyson (see Letter 534, n 4) made an etching of Mason's drawing, with the six lines of 'the first copy' below the portrait There are some small changes in the text For further details see 'The Poet Gray and the Rev Henry Etough', by John Beresford, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 22 July 1926, and 'Gray's Satirical Poems', by Leonard Whibley, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 9 Oct 1930

LETTER 145—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 189–90, first printed in full by Milford (1816), vol II, pp 186–9, now reprinted from original

¹ The offer of a loan (see Letter 146, n 2), which Gray ultimately accepted (Letter 149, *ad fin*)

² The destruction by fire of the house in Cornhill where he was born, and where Mrs Gray and her sister had carried on their business (see Letter 28, n 3) Although the house was insured in Mrs Gray's name, and payment on account of the loss was made to her, it appears that Gray had the benefit and responsibility of ownership

The following account of the fire in which the house was burned is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1748 (vol xviii, p 138)

'Friday March 25 About 1 in the morning, a fire broke out at M^r Eldridge's (who with his wife, two daughters, and a journeyman were burnt, and his lodger M^r Cook, kill'd by jumping out of window) a peruke-maker in Exchange Alley, Cornhill, which burnt with great fury for 10 hours, and consumed almost all the houses in the said alley, and Burchin Lane, with the stately row of buildings in Cornhill, from Change Alley to St Michael's Alley, among which were several noted coffee-houses and taverns, five booksellers and many other valuable shops in Cornhill Some accounts make the number of houses destroy'd 160, but by the plan just published it appears to be no more than 80, and 14 or 15 damaged'

A more detailed account is given in the *London Magazine* for 1748 (pp 139–

that I could not chuse but laugh one offer'd me Opera-Tickets, insisted upon carrying me to the Grand-Masquerade, desired me to sit for my Picture¹ others asked me to their Concerts, or Dinners & Suppers at their Houses, or hoped, I would drink Chocolate with them, while I stayed in Town. all my Gratitude (or if you please, my Revenge) was to accept of every Thing they offer'd me if it had been but a Shilling, I would have taken it thank Heaven, I was in good Spirits, else I could not have done it I profited all I was able of their Civilities, & am returned into the Country loaded with their Bontés & Politeſſes, but richer still in my own Reflexions, w^{ch} I owe in great Measure to them too suffer a great Master⁴ to tell them you for me in a better Manner

Aux sentimens de la Nature,
Aux plaisirs de la Verité,
Preferant le goût frelaté
Des plaisirs, qu'a fait l'imposture⁵
Ou qu'inventa⁵ la vanité,
Voudrois-je partager ma vie
Entre les jeux de la folie,
Et l'ennui de l'oisiveté,
Et trouver la melancolie
Dans le sein de la volupté? &c

Your Friendship has interested itself in my Affairs so naturally, that I can not help troubling you with a little Detail of them the House I lost was insured for 500£, & with the Deduction of 3 per C^t they paid me 485£, with w^{ch} I bought, when Stocks

40), to which is prefixed 'A New & Correct Plan of all the Houses destroyed and damaged in the Fire which began in Exchange-Alley Cornhill on Friday March 25, 1748' A number of names are given on this plan (see Illustration).

¹ The friend, who 'insisted upon carrying me to the Grand-Masquerade, desired me to sit for my Picture', was no doubt Walpole. In his letter to Mann of 29 April 1748, Walpole refers to 'the most magnificent masquerade that ever was seen it was by subscription at the Haymarket everybody who subscribed five guineas had four tickets' The picture must have been the portrait of Gray painted by Eckhardt for Walpole. The only other evidence of the date of its painting is in Walpole's letter to Cole of 10 Sept 1771, where he says it was 'painted soon after the publication of the Ode on Eton' The painting has hitherto been dated 1747 Gray's reference shows that it was a year later

⁴ Jean-Baptiste-Louis Gresset (1709-77), the lines come from his poem, *La Chartreuse* (1734), in which he describes his cell in the College of Louis-le-Grand at Paris, where he was educated (see n 15)

⁵ Gresset wrote 'que fait' and 'qu'invente'

June 1748

Gray to Wharton

Letter 148

were lower, 525£. the Rebuilding will cost 590, & other Expences, that necessarily attend it, will mount that Summ to 650.⁶ I have an Aunt^{6a} that gives me 100£, & another,⁷ that I hope will lend me what I shall want but if (contrary to my Expectation) I should be forced to have recourse to your Assistance. it can not be for above 50£; & that, about Xmas next when the Thing is to be finish'd and now, my dear Wharton, why must I tell you a Thing so contrary to my own Wishes, & to yours, I believe? it is impossible for me to see you in the North, or to enjoy any of those agreeable Hours I had flatter'd myself with I must be in Town several Times during the Summer, in August particularly, when half the Money is to be paid the Relation,⁸ that used to do Things for me, is from Illnefs now quite incapable, & the good People here would

⁶ The following interesting account of the transaction with the insurance office is given in *The London Assurance A Chronicle*, by Bernard Drew

'When the devastating fire on March 25th 1748, broke out in Cornhill and the lanes and alleys adjacent we learn from the *London Magazine* for the period in question that "no publick Office has been burnt except The London Assurance who had time to save their effects and have suffered only in the loss of their house" The Corporation, however, had an interest in another building not a stone's throw from their own This was No 41 Cornhill, the birth-place in 1716 of the poet Thomas Gray The house was insured with the London Assurance for £500 and an entry in the Corporation's cash book exactly three weeks after the fire in Cornhill records the payment of £485 to Dorothy Gray (the poet's mother) in settlement of the claim When we consider that the fire occurred on March 25th, and the cheque was signed by April 14th, we get some idea of the promptitude of The London Assurance in meeting its liabilities It may appear curious at first sight that Mrs Gray was only paid £485 on a £500 policy, but it is possible that the premises were not totally destroyed, or, on the other hand, that a three per cent reduction was made for a speedy settlement We know from Gray's letters that the house destroyed cost £650 to rebuild, from which it would appear that Mrs Gray was considerably underinsured The tenant, at the time the premises were burnt, appears to have been one Sarrazine, a milliner * To-day the building is No 39 Cornhill, and is occupied by the Union Discount Co of London, Ltd, while a tablet on the wall records the fact that Gray was born in a house which once stood upon that site' (pp 124-6)

^{6a} Probably Mrs Rogers, with whom his mother and maiden aunt, Mary Antrobus, were living at Stoke, in the house where Gray was now staying

⁷ Presumably Mrs Olliffe (see Letter 271, n 3)

⁸ In Letter 137 Gray tells Wharton that his Aunt will pay money due to him This may have been Mrs Olliffe and she may have been the Relation mentioned here

* The last house on the west side of the Cornhill end of St Michael's Alley is marked on the plan (see Illustration), among the houses that were burnt, as having been in the occupation of 'M^{rs} Sarrazin Milliner'

think me the most careless & ruinous of Mortals, if I should think of such a Journey at this Time the only Satisfaction I can pretend to, is that of hearing from you, & particularly about this Time, I was bid to expect good News ⁹

Your Opinion of Diodorus is doubtless right, but there are Things in him very curious, got out of better Authors now lost. do you remember the Egyptian History, & particularly the Account of the Gold-Mines¹⁰ my own Readings have been cruelly interrupted (what I have been highly pleased with is the new Comedy from Paris, by Gresset, *Le Méchant*,¹¹ one of the very best Drama's I ever met with if you have it not, buy his Works altogether in two little Volumes¹² they are collected by the Dutch Booksellers, & consequently there is some Trash, but then there are the *Ver-vert*,¹³ the Epistle to P. Bougeant,¹⁴ the *Chartreuse*¹⁵ that to his Sister,¹⁶ an Ode on his Country,¹⁷

⁹ Of the arrival of a little Wharton, 'the little Doctress' of Letter 146

¹⁰ The passage occurs in Lib. iii, cap. 12

¹¹ '*Le Méchant, Comédie En cinq Actes en vers Représentée par les Comédiens Ordinaires du Roi aux mois d'Avril & Mai 1747, & remise au Théâtre aux mois de Novembre & Decembre de la même année*' It is in vol. 11, pp. 177-353, of the 1748 Amsterdam edition of Gresset's works (see n. 12)

¹² *Les Œuvres de M^r Gresset* A Amsterdam, Aux Depens de la Compagnie MDCCLXVII 2 vols. 12mo

¹³ '*l'Er-Vert*, à Madame de ***, Abbessé de **' (vol. 1, pp. 9-44) This is the history, in four cantos, written in 1733, of a parrot in the convent of the Visitandines at Nevers, who on account of his reputation for piety was invited by the sisterhood at Nantes to pay them a visit. During the journey, however, he picked up so much bad language —

Il entonna tous les horribles mots
Qu'il avoit su rapporter des bateaux
Jurant, sacrant d'une voix dissolue
Faisant passer tout l'Enfer en revue,
Les B les F volugeoient sur son bec —

that he was sent back to Nevers in disgrace. Here he did penance, and at last died in the odour of sanctity of a surfeit of comfits

In his *Reminiscences of Gray* Norton Nicholls records that Gray 'disliked French poetry in general, but was much pleased with Gresset, and extremely with his poem of the *Vert-Vert*'

¹⁴ '*Epître au Pere Bougeant, Jésuite* A C** 20 November 1736' (vol. 1, pp. 146-75)

¹⁵ '*La Chartreuse* Epître A M D D N' (vol. 1, pp. 66-100)

¹⁶ '*Epître à ma Sœur*' (vol. 1, pp. 180-91) Mason, *Poems*, p. 82, referring to Gray's fragmentary ode *On the Pleasure arising from Vicissitude*, states 'I have heard Mr Gray say that M. Gresset's "*Epître à ma Sœur*" gave him the first idea of this Ode'

¹⁷ '*Odes L'Amour de la Patrie*' (vol. 1, pp. 310-69)

June 1748

Gray to Wharton

Letter 145

& another on Mediocrity,¹⁸ & the *Sidnei*,¹⁹ another Comedy, w^{ch} have great Beauties there is a Poem by Thomson,²⁰ the Castle of Indolence, with some good Stanzas Mr Mason is my Acquaintance²¹ I liked that Ode²² very much, but have found no one else, that did he has much Fancy, little Judgement, & a good deal of Modesty. I take him for a good & well-meaning Creature, but then he is really *in Simplicity a Child*,²³ & loves every body he meets with he reads little or nothing, writes abundance, & that with a Design to make his Fortune by it there is now, I think, no Hopes of the Pembroke Business²⁴ coming to any-thing [My poor Tuthill]²⁵ will be in a Manner destitute (even of a Curacy) at Midsummer²⁶ I need not bid you think of him, if any probable Means offer of doing him Good I fear, he was not made to think much for himself pray, let me hear from you soon I am at M^{rs} Rogers's of Stoke near Windsor, Bucks

¹⁸ 'Odes *La Médiocrute*' (vol 1, pp 358-63)

¹⁹ '*Sidnei, Comédie*, Représentée, pour la première fois, en 1745 par les Comédiens ordinaires du Roi' (vol 11, pp 107-76)

²⁰ James Thomson (1700-48), he died a few weeks later, on 27 Aug *The Castle of Indolence An Allegorical Poem*, in Spenserian stanzas, had been published in May

²¹ It is strange that Gray should write as if Wharton had never heard of Mason Eight months before Mason had been nominated to a fellowship at Pembroke (see Letter 144, n 33), and Wharton must have been kept informed of College news

²² Ode to a Water Nymph, published about this time in Dodsley's Miscellany *Mason*—He adds the following personal note 'On reading what follows, many readers, I suspect, will think me as simple as ever, in forbearing to expunge the paragraph But as I publish Mr Gray's sentiments of authors, as well living as dead, without reserve, I should do them injustice, if I was more scrupulous with respect to myself My friends, I am sure, will be amused with this and another passage hereafter of a like sort My enemies, if they please, may sneer at it, and say (which they will very truly) that twenty-five years have made a very considerable abatement in my general philanthropy Men of the world will not blame me for writing from so prudent a motive, as that of making my fortune by it, and yet the truth, I believe, at the time was that I was perfectly well satisfied, if my publications furnished me with a few guineas to see a Play or an Opera' *Memours*, p 190

²³ A reminiscence of Pope's *Epitaph on Mr Gay*, in Westminster Abbey, 1732

In Wit, a Man, Simplicity, a Child

²⁴ See Appendix H

²⁵ See Letter 120, n 2 The three lines that follow are lightly scored through in MS

²⁶ In September, however, Tuthill was ordained priest and admitted to the curacy of Brampton, Hunts See Appendix G

Letter 145

Gray to Wharton

June 1748

my thanks, & best Compliments to M^{rs} Wharton, & your Family does that Name include any body, that I am not yet acquainted with? Adieu, I am ever

Truly Yours

T GRAY

June 5 1748

146 GRAY TO WHARTON

Stoke Aug 19 [1748]

My Dear Wharton

AFTER having made my Compliments to the Godmothers of the little Doctrefs,¹ who are to promise & vow for her that she shall understand, & be grateful some twelve or fifteen Years hence I congratulate M^{rs} Wharton & your family on this Occasion, & doubtless desire nothing more than to see you all the next Summer, tho' as to Promises, I dare not, lest some unlucky Event again come across, & put the Performance out of my Power I am not certain whether I shall be obliged to have recourse to your Assistance² or no about Christmas but if I am, I will be sure to give you Notice in due Time

I am glad you have had any Pleasure in Grefset he seems to me a truly elegant & charming Writer the Mechant is the best Comedy I ever read³ Edward⁴ I could scarce get thro' it is puerile, tho' there are good Lines, such as this, for Example

Le jour d'un nouveau regne est le jour des ingrats

LETTER 146 — First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, p. 191 first printed in full by Milford (1816), vol. II, pp. 190–2, now reprinted from original

¹ Wharton's first child, his daughter Mary, the 'Lady Mary' of Letter 390, more usually 'Miss Wharton' (see Letters 420, 459, 519, &c. and Genealogical Table From Gray's message of compliment to the godmothers it may be inferred that he was godfather)

² By way of loan, towards the cost of rebuilding the house in Cornhill (see Letter 145)

³ See Letter 145, n. 11

⁴ The play in question was '*Edouard III Tragédie* Representee pour la première fois, sur le Theatre de la Comédie Française, le 22 Janvier 1740' It is in vol. II pp. 1–106, of the 1748 Amsterdam edition of Gresset's works (see Letter 145, n. 12) The quotation comes from Act III, Sc. 7

De la Cour un instant change toute la face,
Tout vole à la faveur, tout quite la disgrace
Ceux mêmes qu'il servit ne le defendront pas
Le jour d'un nouveau règne est le jour des ingrats

Aug 1748

Gray to Wharton

Letter 146

but good Lines will make any thing rather than a good Play however you are to consider, this is a Collection made by the Dutch Booksellers many Things unfinish'd or wrote in his Youth, or design'd not for the World, but to make a few Friends laugh, as the *Lutrin vivant*,⁵ &c there are two noble Verses, w^{ch} as they are in the middle of an *Ode to the King*,⁶ may perhaps have escaped you

Le Cri d'un peuple heureux est la seule Eloquence,
Qui sçait parler des Rois

w^{ch} is very true, & should have been a Hint to himself not to write Odes to the King at all

My Squabble with the Profefor⁷ I did not think worth mentioning to you my Letter was by no means intended as a Composition, & only design'd to be shew'd to some, who were Witneses to the Impertinence, that gave Occasion for it but he was Fool enough by Way of Revenge to make it mighty publick

I don't wonder your M^r Bolby⁸ disapproves M^r []⁹ Conduct at Rome it was indeed very unlike his own but when every body there of our Nation was base enough either to enter into an actual Correspondence with a certain most serene Person,¹⁰ or at least to talk carelessly & doubtfully on what was then transacting at home, sure it was the Part of a Man of Spirit to declare his Sentiments publickly & warmly he was so far from making a Party, that he & M^r ¹¹ were the only Persons, that were of that Party as to his Ends in it, from his first Return to England he has always frequented the Pr—ces Court, & been

⁵ '*Le Lutrin Vivant* A Mr l'Abbe de Segonzac' (vol 1, pp 47-56) The 'living lectern' was a choir-boy, whose breeches had been patched with some leaves of a book of offices containing part of the mass of the patron saint, while he was acting as lectern he was attacked by a wasp in a tender part, with direful consequences

⁶ '*Ode sur la Convalescence du Roi*' (vol 1, pp 364-9), in celebration of the recovery in 1744 of Louis le Bien-Aimé from putrid fever at Metz The quotation comes from Stanza xxi

⁷ Dr Whalley, Master of Peterhouse, and Regius Professor of Divinity (see PS to Letter 144)

⁸ This was probably Thomas Bowlby (Boulby or Bouldby), who later (in 1754) married Lady Mary Powis (*née* Brudenell), eldest daughter of third Earl of Cardigan, and sister of the last Duke of Montagu

⁹ Scored through in MS Gray here wrote an initial only

¹⁰ The Old Pretender

¹¹ Scored through in MS Gray here wrote the full name, which is undecipherable There is no clue to the identity of the individual in question

the open Friend of Mr. H W¹² w^{ch} could certainly be no Way to recommend himself to the Ministry unless you suppose his Views were very distant indeed

I should wish to know (when you can find Time for a Letter) what you think of my young Friend, St^r 13 & what Company he is fall'n into in the North I fill up with the Beginning of a Sort of Essay¹⁴ (what Name to give it I know not, but the Subject is, the Alliance of Education & Government, I mean to shew that they must necessarily concur to produce great & useful Men

As sickly Plants betray a niggard Earth,
Whose flinty Bosom starves her generous Birth,
Nor genial Warmth, nor genial Juice retains
Their Roots to feed, & fill their verdant Veins

And as in Climes, where Winter holds his Reign,
The Soil, tho' fertile, will not teem in vain,
Forbids her Gems to swell, her Shades to rise,
Nor trusts her Bloßoms to the churlish Skies

So draw Mankind in vain the vital Airs,
Uniform'd, unfriended, by those kindly Cares,
That Health & Vigour to the Soul impart,
Spread the young Thought, & warm the opening Heart

So fond Instruction on the growing Powers
Of Nature idly lavishes her Stores
If equal Justice with unclouded Face
Smile not indulgent on the rising Race,
And scatter with a free, tho' frugal, Hand
Light golden Showers of Plenty o'er the Land
But gloomy Sway have fix'd her Empire there
To check their tender Hopes with chilling Fear,
And blast the vernal Promise of the Year }

¹² Gray had recently been staying at Strawberry Hill (see Walpole to Montague, 11 Aug 1748 *ad fin*)

¹³ See Letter 120, n 38

¹⁴ This is the fragmentary poem called by Gray's editors *The Alliance of Education and Government*. The 57 lines sent in this letter are followed in the manuscript of the Wharton letters by a transcript in Wharton's hand of 50 more lines. The 107 lines are in Gray's *Commonplace-book*, with the title 'Essay 1st'. They are all that Gray wrote of the philosophic poem which he projected. He left notes for parts, which were never written (see Mason, *Memoirs*, pp 200 ff)

Gibbon (*Decline and Fall* (Bury), vol III, p 332, n 131) wrote 'Instead of compiling tables of chronology and natural history, why did not Mr Gray apply the powers of his genius to finish the philosophic poem of which he has left such an exquisite specimen?' Gray gave his own answer to the same question when it was put by Norton Nicholls (see Appendix Z)

Aug 1748

Gray to Wharton

Letter 146

This spacious animated Scene survey
From where the rowling Orb, that gives the Day,
His sable Sons with nearer Course surrounds
To either Pole, and Life's remotest Bounds
How rude soe'er th'exteriour Form we find,
Howe'er Opinion tinge the varied Mind,
Alike to all the Kind impartial Heav'n
The Sparks of Truth & Happiness has given
With Sense to feel, with Mem'ry to retain,
They follow Pleasure, & they fly from Pain
Their Judgement mends the Plan their Fancy draws,
Th' Event presages, & explores the Cause
The soft Returns of Gratitude they know,
By Fraud clude, by Force repell the Foe,
While mutual Wishes, mutual Woes endear
The social Smile & sympathetic Tear

Say then, thro' Ages by what Gate confined
To different Climes seem diff'rent Souls assign'd?
Here measured Laws & philosophic Ease
Fix & improve the polish'd Arts of Peace
There Industry & Gain their Vigils keep,
Command the Winds, & tame th'unwilling Deep,
Here Force & hardy Deeds of Blood prevail
There languid Pleasure sighs in every Gale
Oft o'er the trembling Nations from afar
Has Scythia breath'd the living Cloud of War
And where the Deluge burst, with sweepy Sway
Their Arms, their Kings, their gods were roll'd away,
As oft have issued, Host impelling Host,
The blue-eyed Myriads¹⁵ from the Baltic Coast,
The prostrate South to the Destroyer yields
Her boasted Titles & her golden Fields,
With grim Delight the Brood of Winter view
A brighter Day & Skies of azure Hue
Catch the new Fragrance of the breathing Rose,
And quaff the pendent Vintage, as it grows

* * *

I desire your Judgement upon so far, before I proceed any
farther Adieu! I am,

Ever Yours

T G

¹⁵ Gray substituted 'Myriads' for 'Nations', which he originally wrote.

Pray shew it to no one (as it is a Fragment) except it be
St^r who has seen most of it already, I think

Addressed To Dr Thomas Wharton, at Durham Postmark 22 AV

147. GRAY TO COLE

[c 1748]¹

Mr GRAY desires Mr Cole would lend him the 2^d V^o of y^e
Biogr Britann^a,² & inform him, what is the Number of y^e
Book w^{ch} the Master of Bennet³ wants out of y^e King's Library⁴

147* GRAY TO CHUTE

[c 1748?]¹

My Dear S^r

I WAS yesterday told, that Turner (the Profesor of Modern
History here) was dead in London² if it be true, I conclude,

LETTER 147 --Now first printed from the original

¹ Date conjectural, it must have been between 1748, the year of the publication of the second volume of the *Biographia Britannica* (see n 2), and 1750, the year of the death of the Master of Benet (see n 3)

² *Biographia Britannica, or the Lives of the most eminent Persons of Great Britain and Ireland* Lond 1747-66, 7 vols fol

³ Edmund Castle Public Orator, 1726, Master of Benet (otherwise Corpus Christi), 1745-50

⁴ Cole has written on this note 'My worthy Friend, poor Mr Gray of Pembroke, his Hand Writing The Mr of Benet here mentioned was my worthy Friend Mr Castle'

I had stuck this in a MS vol as a Specimen of Mr Gray's writing'

LETTER 147* --First printed in *History of the Vyne*, pp 114-15, now reprinted from original

¹ This letter, which is without indication of date in the original, has hitherto been connected with Gray's letter to Wharton of 4 Dec 1762 (Letter 363) and assigned, therefore to November 1762 The letter to Wharton refers to the death of Professor Turner, this letter states that Gray had heard of Turner's death the day before, both refer to Gray's hopes of succeeding him But a comparison of the two letters shows that they could not have been written on the same occasion

Turner died 13 Nov 1762 In the letter to Wharton Gray relates that having left Wharton, he had made a leisurely journey to London, where he 'found Professor Turner had been dead above a fortnight', he had stayed some days in London, before returning to Cambridge, which he did about 25 Nov (see Letter 363, n 1) If the letter to Chute had been written in 1762, it could not have been written later than the middle of November, but at that time, as we know from the letter to Wharton, Gray was travelling in the north of England and did not hear of Turner's death until his arrival

c 1748

Gray to Chute

Letter 147*

it is now too late to begin asking for it but we had (if you remember) some Conversation on that Head at Twickenham, & as you have probably found some Opportunity to mention it to M^r W since, I would gladly know his Thoughts about it. what he can do, he only can tell us what he will do, if he can, is with me no Question if he could find a proper Channel; I certainly might ask it with as much, or more Propriety, than any one in this Place if any thing were done, it should be as private as possible, for if the People, who have any Sway here, could prevent it, I think they would most zealously I am not sorry for writing you a little interested Letter perhaps it is a Stratagem the only one I had left, to provoke an Answer from you, & revive our—Correspondence, shall I call it? there are many particulars relating to you, that have long interested me more than twenty Matters of this Sort, but you have had no Regard for my Curiosity and yet it is something, that deserves a better Name¹ I don't so much as know your Direction, or that of M^r Whithed Adieu¹ I am ever

Yours

T GRAY

Addressed To John Chute Esq

in London The two letters cannot be made to fit the same event There is another piece of evidence, which is also decisive At the end of the letter to Chute, Gray refers to Whithed, this can only be Chute's friend, Francis Whithed but he died in March 1751 (see Letter 160, n 2) The letter must have been written, on a false report of Turner's death, while Whithed was alive, therefore before March 1751, and not earlier than May 1747, when Walpole bought Strawberry Hill (see Letter 140, n 1), as Gray reminds Chute of a conversation which they had had at Twickenham It appears from Walpole's letters to Montagu and Mann of August 1748, that Gray and Chute had recently been with him The letter is, conjecturally and without any certainty, dated in that year, but it must be recognized that it may have been written at some other date between the limits mentioned But whichever of the possible years be the date of the letter, it is a surprise to find Gray and his friends canvassing his succession to the Regius Professorship at this early stage of his career What has hitherto been accepted as the earliest indication of his pretensions to the Professorship does not occur till 1759, in a passage at the end of his letter to Brown of 28 May in that year (see Letter 294)

¹ Dr Shallet Turner, of Peterhouse (see Letter 39, n 4) It was a false report, see n 1

148 GRAY TO WHARTON

My Dear Wharton

SHALL I be expeditious enough to bring you the News of the Peace, before you meet with it in the Papers? not the Peace of Aix la Chapelle,¹ Mother of Proclamations & of Fireworks, that lowers the Price of Oranges & Malaga-Sack,² & enhaunces that of Poor-Jack³ and barrcl'd Cod⁴ no, nor the Peace between Adil-Shah & the Great Mogol,⁵ but the Peace of Pembroke⁶ sign'd between the high & mighty Prince Roger, surnamed the Long, Lord of the great Zodiack, the Glaſs Uranium, & the Chariot that goes without Horses,⁷ on the one Part; & the most noble James Brown,⁸ the most serene Theophilus Peele,⁹ and the most profound Nehemiah May,¹⁰ &c on the other

In short without farther Preliminaries Knowles,¹¹ Mason,¹² & Tuthill¹³ are elected, and the last of them is actually here on the Spot, as you will shortly hear from himself the Negotiations,

LETTER 148—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 201–3, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol. II, pp. 192–5, now reprinted from original

¹ Walpole writes to Mann on 29 April 1748 'The preliminaries of the Peace are actually signed by the English, Dutch, and French Spain is not mentioned, but France answers for them' The actual treaty was signed on 18 Oct. 1748

² On the prospect of peace with Spain

³ 'The sort of Cod that is caught near the Shore, and on the Coast of Newfoundland and dried, is called Poor-Jack' (quot. in *OED* from Collins's *Salt and Fishery*, c. 1682)

⁴ One of the conditions of the Peace was the restoration to France of Louisbourg, capital of Cape Breton, the staple industry of which was the Cod-fishery

⁵ In 1747 Nadir Shah was assassinated, and was succeeded by his nephew Ali, who assumed the title of Adil Shah There seems to be no record of the treaty between Adil Shah (who reigned only for a few months), and the Mogul Emperor, to which Gray refers

⁶ This was the settlement of the dispute between the Master and Fellows of Pembroke as to the veto claimed by the former (see Appendix H)

⁷ See Letter 39, n. 2

⁸ See Letter 115, n. 1

⁹ See Letter 127, n. 9 Peele was called John and the name Theophilus is facetious

¹⁰ See Letter 127, n. 7 Nehemiah is a facetious substitute for Samuel

¹¹ Thomas Knowles, of Pembroke, B.A. 1744, M.A. 1747, Fellow, 1749, D.D. 1753.

¹² See Letter 144, n. 33

¹³ See Letter 120, n. 2 Here and elsewhere in this letter the name Tuthill is left without erasure or obliteration

that preceded this wonderful Event, are inexplicable the Success of the Affair was extremely uncertain but the very Night before it, & had come to nothing, if Browne fixed & obstinate as a little Rock had not resisted the Sollicitations of Smith,¹⁴ & Smart,¹⁵ almost quarrel'd with Peele and May, & given up, as in a Huff, the Liveing of Tylney,¹⁶ to w^{ch} he had that Morning been presented I say, this seem'd to them to be done in a Huff, but was in reality a Thing he had determined to do, be the Event of the Election what it would they were desirous of electing two, as the Master proposed, Knowles & Mason, or Mason & Gaskarth,¹⁷ for they were sure he would never admit Tuthill, as he had so often declared it however, I say, Brown continued stedfast, that all three should come in, or none at all, & when they met next day, he begun by resigning Tylney, & then desired the Master would either put an End to their long Disputes himself, as they intreated him, or else they would refer the whole to a Visitor, & did conjure him to call one in, as soon as possible the rest did not contradict him, tho' the Proposal was much against their real Inclinations so Roger believing them unanimous (after some few Pribbles & Prabbles)¹⁸ said, well then, if it be for y^e Good of y^e College—but you intend Knowles shall be Senior?—To be sure, Master—Well then—& so they proceeded to Election & all was over in a few Minutes I do believe, that Roger despairing now of a Visitor to his Mind, & advised by all his Acquaintance (among whom I reckon Keene,¹⁹ whose Acquaintance I have cultivated

¹⁴ John Smith, of Pembroke, B A 1741, M A 1744, Fellow, 1741

¹⁵ See Letter 135, n 8

¹⁶ Tilney All Saints, a few miles from King's Lynn In the *Registrum Magnum* of Pembroke are the following entries (for the year 1748/9)

'March 1, 1748 M^r Brown was presented to the Vicarage of Tilney void by the death of D^r Whalley and the seal ordered to be set to such presentation

'March 2, 1748 M^r Brown declin'd making use of the presentation to Tilney given the day before

'M^r Knowles, D^r Mason, M^r Tuthill nominated and elected fellows (each with five votes)

'March 16 M^r Peele presented to the Vicarage of Tilney'

¹⁷ Joseph Gaskarth, Sizar of Pembroke, 1744, son of Joseph Gaskarth, of Hill Top, Cumberland (mentioned in Gray's Journal in the Lakes of 2 Oct 1769—see Letter 506), B A 1748, Fellow, 8 Nov 1749, M A 1751, he held a lectureship from 1751, and was Senior Treasurer from 1753

¹⁸ *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1.1. Sir Hugh Evans 'It were a goot motion if we leave our pribbles and prabbles'

¹⁹ See Letter 143, n 3

with the same Views you mention'd in your Letter to Brown) to finish the Matter, had been for some Months determin'd to do so, but not till he made a last Effort he made it indeed, but not having Sagacity enough to find out, how near carrying his Point he was, being ignorant of the Weakness of a Part of his College, & they not cunning, or perhaps not dishonest enough, to discover it to him, he thought he had miss'd his Aim, & so gave it up without farther Struggling I hope you will be glad to see so good an End of an Affair you give Birth to Brown is quite happy, & we vastly glad to be obliged to the only Man left among them, that one would care to be obliged to there are two more Fellowships remain to be filled up at the Commencement by the Way Tuthill has been just holding a Candle—not to the Devil, but to the Master, as he was reading some Papers in Hall, and the Boys peep'd in at the Screens to see it, & to laugh

Keene is most sadly *implicated* in the beginning of his Reign about an Election,²⁰ & I am of his Cabinet-Council, hitherto for the Reasons you²¹ wot of, & now because I can't help it but I am rather tired of College-Details (as I doubt not, you are) & so I leave this Story to be recorded by the Annalists of Peterhouse, & let Historians of equal Dignity tell of the Triumphs of Chappy,²² the Installations,²³ the Visitations, & other memorable Events, that distinguish & adorn his glorious Reign

You ask for some Account of Books the principal I can tell you of is a Work of the Presid^t Montesquieu's,²⁴ the Labour of

²⁰ Keene had been elected Master of Peterhouse, in succession to Dr Whalley, on 31 Dec 1748, the disputed election was to a Fellowship 'Implicated' was no doubt Keene's own expression (see Letter 149, n 4)

²¹ MS 'yot'

²² Dr Chapman, Master of Magdalene, and Vice-Chancellor (see Letter 135, n 17)

²³ The Duke of Newcastle had been elected Chancellor of the University, in succession to the Duke of Somerset, who had been Chancellor for nearly sixty years, on 14 Dec 1748 Gray refers to his coming installation, which took place 1 July 1749 (see Letter 150).

²⁴ Charles de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu (1689–1755), Président à Mortier of the Parlement of Bordeaux, 1716, member of the Académie Française, 1727, besides the *Esprit des Loix*, the first edition of which (that mentioned by Gray) appeared at Geneva in 1748 (see n 25), he published (anonymously) in 1721 the celebrated *Lettres Persanes*, and in 1734 *Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence des Romains* Of the *Esprit des Loix* Walpole writes to Mann (10 Jan 1750) that he thinks it the best book that ever was written—at least I never learned half so much from all I ever read There is as much wit as useful knowledge', and (on

Mar 1749

Gray to Wharton

Letter 148

20 Years it is call'd, L'Esprit des Loix, 2 V^{ols} 4^{to}, printed at Geneva ²⁵ he lays down the Principles on w^{ch} are founded the three Sorts of Government, Despotism, the limited Monarchic, & the Republican, & shews how from thence are deduced the Laws & Customs, by w^{ch} they are guided & maintained; the Education proper to each Form, the influences of Climate, Situation, Religion, &c on the Minds of particular Nations, & on their Policy the Subject (you see) is as extensive as Mankind, the Thoughts perfectly new,²⁶ generally admirable, as they are just, sometimes a little too refined in short there are Faults, but such as an ordinary Man could never have committed the Style very lively & concise (consequently sometimes obscure) it is the Gravity of Tacitus (whom he admires) temper'd with the Gayety & Fire of a Frenchman

The Time of Night will not suffer me to go on, but I will write again in a Week my best Compliments to M^{rs} Wharton, & your Family I am ever

Most sincerely Yours

T GRAY

March 9 [1748-9]²⁷ Thursday, Cambridge

149. GRAY TO WHARTON

April 25 [1749] ¹ Cambridge

My dear Wharton

I PERCEIVE, that Second Parts are as bad to write, as they can be to read, for this, w^{ch} you ought to have had a Week after the first, has been a full Month in coming forth the Spirit of Lazyness (the Spirit of the Place),¹⁴ begins to possess even me,

25 Feb) 'In what book in the world is there half so much wit, sentiment, delicacy, humanity?'

²⁵ 'De L'Esprit des Loix Ou du Rapport que les Loix doivent avoir avec la Constitution de chaque Gouvernement, les Mœurs, le Climat, la Religion, le Commerce, &c à quoi l'Auteur a ajouté Des recherches nouvelles sur les Loix Romaines touchant les Successions, sur les Loix Françaises, & sur les Loix Féodales A Genève, Chez Barillot & Fils' The work was published in 2 vols, 4to, without the name of the author, and without date

²⁶ Gray originally wrote 'knew'

²⁷ Date of year supplied by Wharton

LETTER 149—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 204-5, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol 11, pp 196-9, now reprinted from original

¹ Date of year supplied by Wharton

¹⁴ See Letter 115 *ad init*

that have so long declaimed against it: yet has it not so prevail'd, but that I feel that Discontent with myself, that *Ennuy*, that ever accompanies it in its Beginnings Time will settle my Conscience, Time will reconcile me to this languid Companion we shall smoke, we shall tipple, we shall doze together. we shall have our little Jokes, like other People, and our long Stories, Brandy will finish what Port begun, & a Month after the Time you will see in some Corner of a London Even^{ng} Post, Yesterday, died the Revnd M^r John Grey, Senior-Fellow of Clare-Hall, a facetious Companion, & well-respected by all that knew him¹ his death is supposed to have been occasion'd by a Fit of an Apoplexy, being found fall'n out of Bed with his Head in the Chamber-Pot

I am half ashamed to write University News to you, but as perhaps you retain some little Leven of Pembroke Hall, your nursing Mother, I am in hopes you will not be more than half-ashamed to read it Pembroke then is all harmonious & delightful since the Pacification² but I wish you would send them up some Boys, for they are grown extremely thin³ from their late long Indisposition Keene's *Implications*⁴ have ended queerly, for contrary to all Common-Sense Peter Nourse⁵ & two others have joined Rogers,⁶ & brought in a shameful low Creature by a Majority the Master appeals to the Visitor against their Choice, as of a Person not qualified he has received the Appeal, & (I suppose) will put in Brockett⁷ (D^r Keene's Man) by main

¹ Tovey notes that in the announcement of Gray's death in the *Annual Register* for 1771 he actually was described as Rev D^r Thomas Grey, LL B¹

² See Letter 148, n. 6

³ From the College records it appears that in 1748 only one pensioner was admitted, and in 1749 two sizars, after that the numbers went up a little, but there were many vacant rooms

⁴ See Letter 148, n. 20

⁵ Peter Nourse, of St John's, BA 1733, MA 1736, Fellow of Peterhouse, 1736, Vicar of Cherry Hinton, Cambs, 1739-49, Minister of Little St Mary Cambridge, 1750, d. 1758

⁶ Thomas Rogers, of Peterhouse, BA 1740, MA 1743, Fellow, 1741-50 Vicar of Ellington, Hunts, 1746-81, d. 1781

Lawrence Brockett, of Trinity, Scholar, 1744, BA 1747, Fellow, 1749, MA 1750, Tutor, 1751-3 BD 1761, Professor of Modern History, 1762-8 (see Letter 364 *ad fin.*) to which chair he was nominated by Lord Bute, to whose son-in-law, Sir James Lowther (1736-1806), afterwards (1784) first Earl of Lonsdale (see Letter 475, n. 7), he had been private tutor He was a candidate for the Mastership of Trinity in 1768 (see Letter 467) He was killed by a fall from his horse, 24 July 1768 (see Letters 480, 481) It was in succession to Brockett that Gray was appointed Professor by

Force. Chapman⁸ is at present in Town in waiting, he has just married a Miss Barnwell, Niece to one Dr Barnwell,⁹ who was Minister of Trompington, with 2000£, a plain Woman, & about his own Age I hear, that when he sent to Leicester-House¹⁰ to know, when the Prince would be waited upon with the Book of Verses on the Peace¹¹ the Prince appointed no Day at all, but order'd the Verses to be sent, & left there the Design of receiving the University at New-Castle House¹² is said to be alter'd, the Duke intending to come hither, (I imagine) after the Parliament is risen Rosse's¹³ Epistles of Tully ad Familiares will come out in about a Week. It is in two handsome 8^{vo} Volumes with an Introduction & Notes in English,¹⁴ but no Translation, dedicated to L^d Gower¹⁵ now I am come to Books, there is a new Edition of Montesquieu's Work (w^{ch} I mention'd

the Duke of Grafton Gray's anticipation that the Visitor (the Bishop of Ely) would make Brockett a Fellow of Peterhouse was not fulfilled

⁸ See Letter 135, n 17 He had been appointed Chaplain to the King in the previous year, and was at this time Vice-Chancellor

⁹ John Barnwell, of Trinity, B A 1705, M A 1708, Fellow, 1707, D D 1728 He was Vicar of Trumpington, 1732-46

¹⁰ The residence of Frederick, Prince of Wales, in Leicester Fields (Leicester Square) The house had been bought in 1718 by George II when Prince of Wales, after he had quarrelled with his father, and had been ordered to leave St James's

¹¹ *Gratulatio Academiæ Cantabrigiensi de reditu serenissimi Regis Georgii II post pacem et libertatem Europæ feliciter restitutam Anno M DCC XLVIII* Cantabrigiæ, Typis Academicis M DCC XLVIII fol Among the authors were William Mason, B A of St John's College, Christopher Smart, M A, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and William Whitehead, M A of Clare Hall—the future Poet Laureate

¹² In Lincoln's Inn Fields (see Letter 148, n 23)

¹³ John Ross (in his early life he spelt his name Rosse) (1719-92), of St John's, B A 1741, M A 1744, Fellow, 1744-70, D D 1756, Chaplain to the King, 1757, Vicar of Frome, Somerset, 1760-92, Canon of Durham, 1769-78, Bishop of Exeter, 1778-92 He was a friend of Gray, who (according to Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol II, p 184) assisted him in a pamphlet which he wrote against Markland Ross was a candidate for the Mastership of Trinity in 1768 (see Letter 467), and later in the same year was talked of for the Deanery of Ely (see Letters 489, 490) It appears from Gray's letter to Robinson of 10 Oct 1763 (Letter 380) that Gray had been invited by Rosse to pay him a visit at Frome

¹⁴ *Marci Tulli Ciceronis Epistolarum ad Familiares Libri XVI* Edidit, et Commentario Anglico illustravit Joannes Ross, A M Coll D Joan Cant Socius Cantabrigiæ Typis Academicis excudebat J Bentham A M DCC XLIX 2 vols 8vo

¹⁵ John Leveson Gower (1694-1754), second Baron (1709) and first Earl Gower (1746)

to you before) publishing in 2V 8^{vo} 16 (have you seen old Crébillon's¹⁷ *Catilina*, a Tragedy, w^{ch} has had a prodigious Run at Paris? historical Truth is too much perverted in it, w^{ch} is ridiculous in a Story so generally known but if you can get over this, the Sentiments & Versification are fine, & most of the Characters (particularly the principal one) painted with great Spirit.) observe, if you chuse to send for it, not to have Brindley's Edition, w^{ch} is all false Prints, but Vaillant's¹⁸ there is a Work publishing in Denmark by Subscription (4 Guineas) *Travels in Egypt* by Capt Norden¹⁹ he was once in England (as Tutor to a young Count Daniskiold, hereditary Admiral of Denmark) & known to many Persons for a Man of Sense, & that understood Drawing extremely well accordingly it is the Plates, that raise it to such a price, & are said to be excellent the Author himself is dead, & his papers are publish'd by the Academy at Copenhagen M^r Birch,²⁰ the indefatigable, has just put out a thick 8^{vo} of original Papers of Q Elizabeth's Time there are

¹⁶ See Letter 148, n. 24 This new edition of the *Esprit des Lois* was published in London in this year

¹⁷ Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon (1674-1762), dramatist, father of the Crébillon whose romances Gray so much admired (see Letter 103, n. 6) He had recently produced *Catilina*, which was performed for the first time on 12 Dec 1748

¹⁸ In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Jan 1749 editions of *Catilina* are announced as published by Brindley and Dodsley Vaillant was an importer of French books no edition of *Catilina* with his imprint has been traced

¹⁹ *Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie*, Par Mr Frederic Louis Norden, Capitaine des Vaisseaux du Roi *Ouvrage enrichi de Cartes & de Figures dessinées sur les lieux, par l'Auteur même* A Copenhague, De l'Imprimerie de la Maison Royale des Orphelins MDCCLV 2 tom fol

Friderik Ludvig Norden (1708-42), an officer in the Danish navy, was sent to Egypt in 1737 by King Christian VI of Denmark with a commission to write an account of his travels The work was published after his death as above

²⁰ Thomas Birch (1705-66), FRS and FSA 1735, DD 1753, 'a worthy, good-natured soul full of industry and activity, and running about like a young setting-dog in quest of anything new or old and with no parts, taste or judgement' (Walpole to Cole 5 Feb 1780) In 1742 he published the *Thurot Papers* in 7 vols, fol., out of which wrote Gray to Mann (Letter 112), 'it would be hard to collect a pocket volume worth having'

The work here in question was *An Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France and Brussel*, from the Year 1592 to 1617 By Thomas Birch M.A FRS And Rector of the United-Parishes of St Margaret-Pattens and St Gabriel-Fenchurch London Printed for A Millar, opposite to Aatherine-Street in the Strand M DCC XLIX' (8vo)

Gray possessed and annotated a copy of this work, to which he refers again in his letter to Wharton of 25 March 1756 (Letter 214)

Apr. 1749

Gray to Wharton

Letter 149

many curious Things in it, particularly Letters from S^r Rob: Cecil (Salisbury)²¹ about his Negotiations with Henry the 4th of France; the Earl of Monmouth's²² odd Account of Q: Elizabeth's Death, several Peculiarities of James 1st & Pr: Henry, &c. and above all an excellent Account of the State of France with Characters of the King, his Court, & Ministry, by S^r G Carew,²³ Ambafador there this, I think, is all new worth mentioning, that I have seen or heard of, except a natural History of Peru in Spanish, printed at London,²⁴ by Don — something, a Man of Learning, sent thither by the Court on Purpose

I shall venture to accept of a Part of that kind Offer you once made me²⁵ (for my Finances are much disorder'd this Year) by desiring you to lend me twenty Guineas the sooner you can do this, the more convenient it will be to me, & if you can find a Method to pay it here, still more so but if any thing should happen, that may defer it, or make this Method troublesome: then I will desire you to make it payable in Town after the first Week in June, when I shall be obliged to go thither

I want to hear from you, to know of your Health & that of your Family my best Compliments to M^{rs} Wharton, M^r Brown comes & throws in his *little comps* too, & we are both very truly

Yours

TG 1 b 26

Addressed To D^r Thomas Wharton at Durham By Caxton Postmark-
CAMBRIDGE

²¹ Robert Cecil (c 1563–1612), first Earl of Salisbury (1605), Principal Secretary of State, 1596–1612 His 'Negotiations' occupy pp 1–411 of Birch's volume

²² Robert Carey (c 1560–1639), first Earl of Monmouth (1626) His account of the death of Queen Elizabeth is given on pp 205–13 of Birch's volume

²³ Sir George Carew (d 1612), Ambassador to France, 1605–9 His 'Relation', after remaining in manuscript for nearly 150 years, was communicated by Lord Hardwicke to Birch, by whom it was published in the volume (pp 413–528) referred to by Gray (see n 20)

²⁴ The work in question must have been *Observaciones Astronomicas y Phisicas hechas en el Reyno del Peru* (Madrid, 1748, fol) by Juan George No copy with a London imprint is known, and it is unlikely that a book written in Spanish would have been printed in London, possibly Gray wrote London by a slip for Madrid

²⁵ See Letter 145, n 1

²⁶ That is, James Brown—a playful allusion, like his '*little comps*', to Brown's diminutive stature (see Letter 115, n 1)

150. GRAY TO WHARTON

My Dear Wharton

I PROMISED D^r Keene¹ long since to give you an Account of our Magnificences here,² but the News-Papers & he himself in Person have got the Start of my Indolence, so that by this Time you are well acquainted with all the Events, that adorned that Week of Wonders thus much I may venture to tell you, because it is probable no body else has done it, that our Friend Chappy's³ Zeal & Eloquence surpass'd all Power of Description Vesuvio in an Eruption was not more violent than his

LETTER 150 First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 206-7, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol. II, pp. 200-2, now reprinted from original

¹ See Letter 141 n. 3

² The Duke of Newcastle's installation as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge—Cooper, in *Annals of Cambridge*, under the year 1749, gives the following account of the ceremony: 'The installation of the Duke of Newcastle as Chancellor of the University took place at Cambridge on the 1st of July. The University being assembled in the Senate House, a deputation was sent to his Grace, who was at Clare Hall, whence, preceded by the Bedels and several Doctors he came to the Senate House at the steps of which he was met by D^r Chapman the Vice-Chancellor who walked up the Senate House at his left hand. They then ascended the chair of state, the Duke standing at the left hand thereof and the Vice-Chancellor on the right. A band of music having performed a short overture, the Vice-Chancellor made a congratulatory speech in English. Then he presented the Duke with the patent of office, which was read aloud by the Senior Proctor. The Vice-Chancellor then presented the book of statutes, and taking the Duke's right hand in his own the Senior Proctor administered the oath of office. He was then seated by the Vice-Chancellor in the chair of State. M^r Yonge the Public Orator having made a Latin oration the Duke returned his thanks to the University for the honour conferred on him. Then was performed the Installation Ode, written by William Mason M.A. fellow of Pembroke Hall, and set to music by Boyce. [Here follows Mason's ode.] The proceedings, in the Senate House being concluded the Chancellor and University went in procession to Trinity College, where in the hall was a splendid dinner. 800 dined in the hall and the Master's lodge. On Sunday, the 2d of July, the Chancellor attended both services at Great St. Mary's Church. On the 3d of July, honorary degrees were conferred. The Commencement was on the 4th of July, and on the 5th, the Chancellor left Cambridge' (vol. IV, pp. 268 ff.)

³ Walpole writes to Mann, 25 June 1749: 'Saturday, Sunday, and Monday next, are the banquets at Cambridge, for the instalment of the Duke of Newcastle as Chancellor. The whole world goes to it: he has invited, summoned, pressed the entire body of nobility and gentry from all parts of England. His cooks have been there these ten days.'

⁴ Dr. Chapman, the Vice-Chancellor

Aug 1749

Gray to Wharton

Letter 150

Utterance, nor (since I am at my Mountains) Pelion with all its Pine-trees in a Storm of Wind more impetuous than his Action and yet the Senate-house still stands, & (I thank God) we are all safe and well at your Service I was ready to sink for him, & scarce dared to look about me, when I was sure it was all over but soon found I might have spared my Confusion, for all People join'd to applaud him every thing was quite right, & I dare swear, not three People here but think him a Model of Oratory for all the Duke's little Court came with a Resolution to be pleased, & when the Tone was once given the University, who ever wait for the Judgement of their Betters, struck into it with an admirable Harmony for the rest of the Performances they were (as usual) very ordinary. every one, while it lasted, was very gay, & very busy in the Morning, & very owlsh & very tipsy at Night I make no Exceptions from the Chancellour to Blew-Coat * (Mason's Ode¹ was the only Entertainment, that had any tolerable Elegance, & for my own Part I think it (with some little abatements) uncommonly well on such an Occasion pray let me know your Sentiments, for doubtless you have seen it the Author of it grows apace into my good Graces, as I know him more he is very ingenious with great Good-Nature & Simplicity a little vain, but in so harmless & so comical a Way, that it does not offend one at all, a little ambitious, but withall so ignorant in the World & its Ways, that this does not hurt him in one's Opinion so sincere & so undisguised, that no Mind with a Spark of Generosity would ever think of hurting him, he lies so open to Injury but so indolent, that if he can not overcome this Habit, all his good Qualities will signify nothing at all. after all I like him so well, I could wish you knew him

[Tuthill],⁶ who was here at the Installation & in high Spirits, will come to settle in Cambridge at Michaelmas. and I have hopes, that these two with Brown's assistance may bring Pembroke into some Esteem but then there is no making

* The University Marshal (see Letter 114, n 2)

¹ 'An Ode performed in the Senate House at Cambridge, July 1, 1749, at the Installation of his Grace Thomas Holles Duke of Newcastle, Chancellor of the University By M^r Mason, Fellow of Pembroke-Hall Set to Musick by M^r Boyce, Composer to his Majesty'

The ode was reprinted in Dodsley's *Collection of Poems* (vol iv, pp 269 ff); it was not included in the editions of Mason's *Collected Works* until that published in 1797 (vol iii, p 9)

⁶ See Letter 120, n 2

Letter 150

Gray to Wharton

Aug 1749

Bricks without Straw they have no Boys at all,⁶⁴ & unless you can send us a Hamper or two out of the North to begin with, they will be like a few Rats straggling about an old deserted Mansion-House.

I should be glad (as you will see Keene often⁷) if you could throw in a Word, as of your own head merely, about a Fellowship for Stonhewer he has several times mention'd it himself, as a Thing he would try to bring about either at Queen's or Christ's, where he has interest but I know not how, it has gone off again, & we have heard no more lately about it I know it is not practicable here at Peter-house, because of his County,⁸ & tho' at Pembroke we might possibly get a Majority, yet Roger⁹ is an animal, that might play over again all his old Game, & with a better appearance than before you would therefore oblige me, if you would sound him upon this subject, for it is Stonhewer's Wish, & (I think) would be an Advantage to him, if he had a Reason for continuing here some time longer if you can get Keene to be explicit about it (but it must seem to be a Thought entirely of your own) I will desire you to let me know the Result my best Wishes, Dear S^r, ever attend on you, & M^{rs} Wharton I am most sincerely & unalterably

Yours
T G

Aug 8 [1749]¹⁰ Cambridge

151 GRAY TO MRS GRAY

Cambridge, Nov 7, 1749

THE unhappy news I have just received from you equally surprises and afflicts me¹ I have lost a person I loved very much, and have been used to from my infancy, but am much

⁶⁴ See Letter 149, n. 3^a

⁷ See Letter 143, n. 3 *ad fin*

⁸ In the Peterhouse Statutes there was a restriction that not more than two Fellows should be elected from any one county The two Fellowships open to natives of Durham (Stonhewer's county) were filled at the time He was however elected in Oct 1751 Ramsey Fellow This was a bye-Fellowship not subject to the restriction

⁹ Roger Long, Master of Pembroke, the allusion is to his claim to exercise a veto on elections to fellowships (see Appendix H)

¹⁰ Date of year supplied by Wharton

LETTER 151—First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 207-8

¹ The death of his aunt, Mrs Mary Antrobus, who died the 5th of November, and was buried in a vault in Stoke churchyard near the chancel door, in which also his mother and himself (according to the direction in his will) were afterwards buried *Mason*

Nov 1749

Gray to Mrs. Gray

Letter 151

more concerned for your loss, the circumstances of which I forbear to dwell upon, as you must be too sensible of them yourself; and will, I fear, more and more need a consolation that no one can give, except He who has preserved her to you so many years, and at last, when it was his pleasure, has taken her from us to himself and perhaps, if we reflect upon what she felt in this life, we may look upon this as an instance of his goodness both to her, and to those that loved her. She might have languished many years before our eyes in a continual increase of pain, and totally helpless, she might have long wished to end her misery without being able to attain it; or perhaps even lost all sense, and yet continued to breathe, a sad spectacle to such as must have felt more for her than she could have done for herself. However you may deplore your own loss, yet think that she is at last easy and happy, and has now more occasion to pity us than we her. I hope, and beg, you will support yourself with that resignation we owe to him, who gave us our being for our good, and who deprives us of it for the same reason. I would have come to you directly, but you do not say whether you desire I should or not, if you do, I beg I may know it, for there is nothing to hinder me, and I am in very good health

152 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Sunday, Nov 12 [1749] ¹ Cambridge

Dear Sir,

I HOPE in God it is your Uncle,² or his Son³ (for News-Papers are apt to confound ye) but from the Circumstances I fear it must be you, that have had so very narrow an Escape from Death excuse me, if I am solicitous to know how you are after such a Surprise, & whether you have really met with no considerable Hurt from this Accident or was it an Accident, & did they only mean to rob you?⁴

LETTER 152 — First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 169

¹ The date of the year is determined by the reference to Walpole's 'accident' (see n 4)

² Horatio Walpole (1698–1757), younger brother of Sir Robert, afterwards (1756) Baron Walpole of Wolterton, he was Horace Walpole's god-father.

³ Horatio Walpole (1723–1809), eldest son of the preceding, whom he succeeded (1757) as second Baron Walpole of Wolterton, he was at this time M P for King's Lynn

⁴ In his *Short Notes* Walpole writes 'One night in the beginning of November, 1749, as I was returning from Holland House by moonlight,

I sincerely rejoice at your Deliverance, & hope soon to tell you so in Town, but in the mean time should be glad to know from yourself how it happen'd, & how it feels, when one returns back from the very Brink of Destruction believe me, my dear S^r, ever

Yours,
T GRAY

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London
Postmark CAMBRIDGE 13 NO

153 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Stoke, June 12, 1750

Dear Sir,

As I live in a place, where even the ordinary tattle of the town arrives not till it is stale, and which produces no events of its own, you will not desire any excuse from me for writing so seldom, especially as of all people living I know you are the least a friend to letters spun out of one's own brains, with all the toil and constraint that accompanies sentimental productions. I have been here at Stoke a few days (where I shall continue good part of the summer), and having put an end to a thing,¹ whose beginning you have seen long ago,² I immediately send

about ten at night, I was attacked by two highwaymen in Hyde Park, and the pistol of one of them going off accidentally, razed the skin under my eye, left some marks of shot on my face, and stunned me. The ball went through the top of the chariot, and if I had sat an inch nearer to the left side, must have gone through my head.

A long account of the robbery appeared in *The London Evening Post* for 9-11 Nov 1749.

The identity of the robbers was disclosed when Maclean was taken in July of the following year, and in the course of his examination before Justice Lediard confessed to this and numerous other robberies, at the same time giving evidence against his confederate Plunket, who however escaped being taken. (See Walpole's letter to Mann of 2 Aug 1750, and also his paper in *The World* for Dec 1754, from which letter it appears that it was Maclean who so nearly shot him through the head.)

James Maclean or Maclean, who was known as the 'gentleman highwayman', was the second son of a Scottish Presbyterian minister, and brother of the well-known divine, Alexander Maclean, translator of Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*. He was tried at the Old Bailey, and executed at Tyburn on 3 Oct 1750, being then in his twenty-sixth year. Walpole refused to appear against him and in consequence, as he wrote to Mann (20 Sept 1750), was 'honourably mentioned in a Grub ballad'.

LETTER 153—First printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol v, p 386

¹ This was the *Elegy* in the church-yard. *Berry*

² (Walpole stated that he had seen the beginning of the *Elegy* some four

June 1750

Gray to Walpole

Letter 153

it you.³ You will, I hope, look upon it in the light of a thing with an end to it; a merit that most of my writings have wanted, and are like to want, but which this epistle I am determined shall not want, when it tells you that I am ever)

Yours,

T. GRAY

(Not that I have done yet, but who could avoid the temptation of finishing so roundly and so cleverly in the manner of good queen Anne's days?) Now I have talked of writings, I have seen a book, which is by this time in the press, against Middleton (though without naming him), by Asheton.⁴ As far as I can judge from a very hasty reading, there are things in it new and ingenious, but rather too prolix, and the style here and there savouring too strongly of sermon. I imagine it will do him credit. So much for other people, now to self again. You are desired to tell me your opinion, if you can take the pains, of these lines. I am once more

Ever Yours

154 GRAY TO WHARTON

My dear Wharton

Stoke—Aug 9 1750

ARISTOTLE says (one may write Greek to you without Scandal) that Οἱ τόποι οὐ διαλύουσι τὴν φιλίαν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἐὰν δὲ χρόνιος ἡ ἀπουσία γένηται καὶ τῆς φιλίας δοκεῖ λήθην ποιεῖν ὅθεν εἴρηται Πολλὰς δὲ φιλίας ἀπροσηγορία διέλυσεν.¹

years before this. He wrote to Mason on 1 Dec 1773 'The Churchyard was, I am persuaded, posterior to West's death at least three or four years. At least I am sure that I had the twelve or more first lines from himself above three years after that period' (*Walpole-Mason Correspondence*, vol 1, p 199). See Appendix I

³ The copy sent to Walpole was presumably sent to Dodsley when the *Elegy* was printed in Feb 1751 (see Letter 157)

⁴ It was the publication of this book which brought about the final rupture between Walpole and Ashton—'He has at last quite thrown off the mask, and in the most direct manner, against my will, has written against my friend D^r Middleton. I have forbid him my house' (Walpole to Mann, 25 July 1750) (See Letter 142, n 2). The book in question was *A Dissertation on 2 Peter 1. 19, in which it is shewn that the interpretation of this passage as it is proposed by the author* of the 'Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion' is not probably the sense of the Author*. By Thomas Ashton. London 1750

LETTER 154—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 209-10, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol 11, pp 205-7, now reprinted from original

¹ 'Difference of place does not put an end to friendship absolutely, but

* Anthony Collins (1676-1729).

but Aristotle may say whatever he pleases. I do not find myself at all the worse for it. I could indeed wish to refresh my *Ενέργεια* a little at Durham by a Sight of you, but when is there a Probability of my being so happy? it concerned me greatly when I heard the other Day, that your Asthma continued at Times to afflict you, & that you were often obliged to go into the Country to breathe you cannot oblige me more than by giving me an Account of the State both of your Body & Mind, I hope the latter is able to keep you chearful & easy in spite of the Frailties of its Companion. as to my own it can do neither one, nor the other, & I have the Mortification to find my spiritual Part the most infirm Thing about me You have doubtless heard of the Lofs I have had in Dr Middleton,² whose House was the only easy Place one could find to converse in at Cambridge for my Part I find a Friend so uncommon a Thing, that I can not help regretting even an old Acquaintance, w^{ch} is an indifferent Likeness of it, & tho' I don't approve the Spirit of his Books, methinks 'tis pity the World should lose so rare a Thing as a good Writer ³ my Studies can not furnish a Recommendation of many new Books to you there is a *Défense de l'Esprit des Loix*⁴ by Montesquieu himself it has some lively Things in it, but is very short, & his Adversary⁵ appears to be so mean a Bigot, that he deserved no Answer there are 3 V in 4^{to} of, *Histoire du Cabinet du Roi*,⁶ by Mefs^r Buffons,⁷ &

only to the active exercise of it If, however, the absence be prolonged it seems to beget forgetfulness of the friendship itself, whence the saying 'Want of intercourse has ended many a friendship' (from *Ethics*, viii 5) Wharton was evidently a competent Greek scholar (see Letter 23, n 5)

² See Letter 135, n 18 He had died on 28 July

³ Mr Gray used to say, that good writing not only required great parts, but the very best of those parts *Mason*

⁴ See Letter 148, n 24 The *Défense de l'Esprit des Loix* was issued at Geneva in 12mo in 1750 by Barillot et fils, the publishers of the original work

⁵ The Jansenist Abbé Fontaine de La Roche (1688–1761), his attack was anonymous

⁶ *Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particulière, avec la Description Du Cabinet du Roi* A Paris, De l'Imprimerie Royale M DCCXLIX 3 vols 4to The work was eventually completed in forty-four volumes in 1804. Gray announces to Wharton the arrival of vol vii in April 1760 (see Letter 311), of vols ix and x in January 1762 (see Letter 353), of vols xi and xii in July 1764 (see Letter 390), of vol xiii in March 1766 (see Letter 420), and of vol xiv in August 1766 (see Letter 423).

⁷ Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–88), Keeper of the Jardin du Roi and of the Cabinet du Roi (1739), member of the Académie Française (1753), and F R S

D'Aubenton⁸ the first is a Man of Character, but (I am told) has hurt it by this Work it is all a Sort of Introduction to Natural History the weak Part of it is a Love of System,⁹ w^{ch} runs thro' it, the most contrary Thing in the World to a Science, entirely grounded upon Experiments, & that has nothing to do with Vivacity of Imagination, there are some microscopical Observations, that seem'd curious to me, on those Animalcula to w^{ch} we are supposed to owe our Origin, & w^{ch} he has discover'd of like Figure in Females not pregnant, & in almost every Thing we use for Nourishment, even Vegetables, particularly in their Fruits & Seeds not that he allows them to be animated Bodies, but *Molecules organisées* if you ask what that is, I can not tell, no more than I can understand a new System of Generation w^{ch} he builds upon it but what I was going to commend is a general View he gives of the Face of the Earth, follow'd by a particular one of all known Nations, their peculiar Figure & Manners, w^{ch} is the best Epitome of Geography I ever met with, & wrote with Sense, & Elegance in short these Books are well worth turning over the Memoires of the Abbé de Mongon¹⁰ in 5 V are highly commended, but I have not seen them he was engaged in several Embassies to Germany, England, &c during the Course of the late War The Presid. Henault's Abregé Chronol^{ique} de l'Hist de France¹¹ I believe I have before mention'd to you, as a very good Book of its Kind.

You advised me in your last to be acquainted with [Keene]¹² & we are accordingly on very good & civil Terms but to make us love one another (I reckon) you hardly proposed I always

⁸ Louis Jean Marie Daubenton (1716–1800), collaborator of Buffon, by whom he was appointed in 1745 to the post of Keeper and Demonstrator of the natural history museum of the Jardin du Roi. He was responsible for the descriptive and anatomical portions of the work. His collaboration with Buffon did not extend beyond the first fifteen volumes.

⁹ Tovey quotes Buffon's remark to Mme Necker 'Vous pourriez croire que c'est l'amour de la gloire qui m'attire dans le désert et me met la plume à la main, c'est le seul amour de l'ordre qui m'a déterminé.'

¹⁰ The Abbé Charles Alexandre de Montgon (1690–1770), the agent in France of Philip V of Spain. His *Mémoires* were published in eight volumes, 1745–53.

¹¹ See Letter 129, n. 4. Walpole gives an account of the *Abrégé* in his letter to Mann of 10 Jan. 1750, and of Hénault himself in his letter from Paris to Conway of 6 Oct. 1765.

¹² Name scored through in MS, but still legible. In writing to Wharton of Tuthill's election to a Fellowship (Letter 148), Gray alludes to Keene having advised Roger Long 'to finish the matter', presumably by giving up his opposition to the election of Mason and Tuthill.

placed the Service he did me [about Tuthill]¹³ to your Account. this latter has done him some Service, about his Regulations.¹⁴ if you will give me the Pleasure of a Letter, while I continue here, it will be a great Satisfaction to me I shall stay a Month longer my best Wishes to M^{rs} Wharton & your Family. I am
Ever Yours

T GRAY

Do not imagine I have forgot my Debts, I hope to repay them this Year

154* LADY SCHAUB TO GRAY

[Stoke, September 1750]¹

LADY SCHAUB's² compliments to Mr Gray; she is sorry not to have found him at home, to tell him that Lady Brown³ is very well

¹³ See Letter 120, n 2

¹⁴ See Letter 143, n 3 *ad fin*

LETTER 154*—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs*, p 211 (quoted in n 1) In the sale of Gray's manuscripts and books in 1851, 'Lady Schaub's note, the autograph of the Long Story and Miss Speed's complimentary letter' (Letter 155) were included with other manuscripts in Lot 53 They were also (in a separate lot, No 227) in the sale of 1854

¹ The date is inferred from Mason's account (*Memoirs*, p 211)

'About this time [summer of 1750] M^r Gray had put his last hand to his celebrated *Elegy* in the Country Church-yard, and had communicated it to his friend M^r Walpole [see Letter 153], whose good taste was too much charmed with it to suffer him to withhold the sight of it from his acquaintance, accordingly it was shewn about for some time in manuscript, (as M^r Gray intimates in the subsequent letter to D^r Wharton) [see Letter 156] and received with all the applause it so justly merited Amongst the rest of the fashionable world, for to these only it was at present communicated, Lady Cobham, who now lived at the mansion-house at Stoke-Poges [see Letter 155, n 4], had read and admired it She wished to be acquainted with the author, accordingly her relation Miss Speed [see Letter 155, n 1] and Lady Schaub, then at her house, undertook to bring this about by making him the first visit He happened to be from home, when the Ladies arrived at his Aunt's solitary mansion, and, when he returned, was surprized to find, written on one of his papers in the parlour where he usually read, the [above] note This necessarily obliged him to return the visit, and soon after induced him to compose a ludicrous account of this little adventure for the amusement of the Ladies in question He wrote it in ballad measure, and entitled it a Long Story'

The *Elegy* had been completed before the middle of June (see Letter 153), the *Long Story*, in spite of Gray's note in his commonplace-book dating it 'August 1750', cannot have been completed earlier than the middle of September because of the reference in stanza 30 to an incident of the trial

155 MISS SPEED¹ TO GRAY

Sir,

I AM as much at a loss to bestow the Commendation due to your performance² as any of our modern Poets would be to of the highwayman, James Maclean (see Letter 152, n 4), which took place on 13 Sept The stanza runs

But soon his rhetorick forsook him,
When he the solemn hall had seen,
A sudden fit of ague shook him,
He stood as mute as poor *Maclean*.

The last line is an unmistakable allusion to the sorry figure cut by the highwayman after the verdict of guilty had been pronounced, when, instead of making the expected speech, he could only falter out, 'I cannot speak, my Lord'

Gray was at Stoke from early in June throughout the summer of 1750, and stayed on till late in the autumn As in a note to the *Long Story* he says of Maclean he was 'A famous highwayman hanged the week before', and as the execution took place on 3 Oct, the poem was presumably finished about 10 Oct, Lady Schaub's visit having probably been made some time in September

² Horace Walpole, in a MS note in his copy of Maty's *Memoirs of the Earl of Chesterfield* (1777), says Lady Schaub 'was a French widow of Nismes, and a Protestant, and remarried to Sir Luke Schaub She is one of the heroines in Gray's *Long Story*' (see Letter 155, n 2) Sir Luke Schaub was a Swiss, a native of Basle He had been secretary to Lord Cobham (see Letter 155, n 4) when he was ambassador at Vienna in 1715, and was afterwards secretary to the first Earl of Stanhope He was knighted in 1720, and in the following year was sent as ambassador to Paris, in which capacity he remained till 1724 He died in 1758

Lady Schaub had the reputation of being 'very gallant' Horace Walpole, in the account of Sir Thomas Robinson's ball in his letter to Mann of 2 Nov 1741, mentions among the pretty women there 'a Lady Schaub, a foreigner, who, as Sir Luke says, *would* have him as the town says, Lord Chomley *will* have her' She had apartments for many years in Hampton Court Palace, where she died in 1793 (*DNB*)

³ The lady in question was no doubt Margaret, wife of Sir Robert Brown (see Letter 126, n 3)

LETTER 155—First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, p 197, now reprinted from Mitford's transcript

¹ The daughter of Samuel Speed (1682–1731), Lieut-Colonel in Gore's Regiment of Dragoons, by his wife Cardonnel Jones, daughter of Richard Jones, of Brentford, Middlesex, she was born and baptized at Holyrood, 8 Jan 1728 After the death of her only surviving brother, Lieut-Colonel Samuel Speed (b 1716), who was killed in action at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747, she resided with Lady Cobham (see n 3), whose niece she was, according to Walpole (see his notes on the PS to his letter to Mann of 18 Sept 1777) She inherited a large fortune from Lady Cobham (see n 3 and Letter 319), and it was rumoured that she and Gray were going

[Note 2 on p 333]

imitate them, Every body that has seen it, is charm'd and Lady

to make a match (see Letters 313 and 321), but about the end of 1761 (see Letter 353, n 12) she married Joseph Marie de Viry, Baron de la Perrière, afterwards Comte de Viry, Sardinian Minister at The Hague, London and Paris (see Letters 353 and 420). She died in Savoy in 1783, as she was about to visit England (see Walpole to Lady Ossory, 30 Jan. 1783).

The following recollections of Gray and Miss Speed were communicated to the editor of Gray's *Poetical Works*, published by John Sharpe in 1821, by Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth (1748-1817), whose father, Rev Henry Duckworth, became Vicar of Stoke in 1756. The Admiral says 'that he and his elder brother at that time, when they were about eight or ten years of age, were regularly and frequently invited, with their father and mother, to dine at "the Great House"'. He likewise remembers that he was then used to accompany his father in his visits to Mr Gray and his aunt M^{rs} Rogers, at West End, that he has often been at home when those visits were returned, and that on these occasions, the author of the *Ode to Eton College* would frequently take pleasure in gratifying the young Etonian by the gift of a shilling, or half a crown. He relates that he has "more than once" been an eyewitness of the potent effect wrought by the exuberant spirits of the "witty amazon" [Miss Speed], in prevailing upon the poet, instead of being conducted by a muse, or mounted on his Pegasus, to trust himself to her guidance, along the parish lanes, in a butcher's cart' (pp 67-8).

An interesting 'Portrait of Henrietta Jane Speed, Countess de Viry', written after her death by the second Earl Harcourt, is printed in the *Harcourt Papers* (viii 1-3). 'She was daughter of Colonel Speed, and lineally descended from the geographer of that name [John Speed, c 1552-1629], at the death of her father, when she was very young, she was received into the family of Viscount Cobham, her relation, and educated under the care of himself, and of the Viscountess, his wife, who at her death bequeathed the whole of her large fortune to Miss Speed. Mme de Viry possessed the most brilliant parts, she was good humoured, full of vivacity, and had an inexhaustible fund of original and engaging wit, strong sense, united with observation, and penetration the most acute, more than supplied the want of literary knowledge, for which she had not the least relish, and, without having ever given herself the trouble of learning anything, she appeared to know everything. Her person was tall, but not slender, her complexion dark, and, although she had no pretensions to beauty, yet an easy and graceful air, with fine eyes and teeth, united to render her altogether extremely pleasing. She was as incapable of the feeling of affection as of those of hatred or dislike, she would extract entertainment even from folly and insipidity, and no company displeased her, but she really loved nobody. Yet, such was the fascinating power she derived from her invariable good humour and vivacity, and the witty playfulness of her conversation, that to live with her in intimacy without becoming attached to her was impossible. She died [on her husband's estate in Savoy] of an apoplexy occasioned by excessive corpulency.'

A second letter from Miss Speed to Gray, written in 1759, has been preserved (see Letter 300). It was at her request that Gray wrote the song beginning 'Thyrsis when we parted', &c 'to an old air of Geminiani, the

Oct. 1750

Miss Speed to Gray

Letter 155

Cobham³ was the first, tho' not the last that regretted the loss of the 400 stanzas,⁴ all I can say is, that your obliging inclina-

thought from the French' (see Walpole's *Memoir of Gray*, in Appendix Y, and his letter to Lady Ailesbury of 28 Nov 1761), and the verses beginning 'With beauty, with pleasure, surrounded' (see Tovey, *Gray's English Poems*, p 262)

A letter from her (as Comtesse de Viry) to Walpole, with some verses by Voltaire, written from Madrid in 1771, is printed in *Supplement to the Letters of Horace Walpole*, vol iii, pp 221-2. When Mason's *Memoirs of Gray* were published (1775) she wrote to reproach Walpole with having forgotten his promise to send her a copy (see his letter to her of April, 1776)

² The *Long Story*, the two 'heroines' of which were Lady Cobham's guest, Lady Schaub (see Letter 154*, n 2), and Miss Speed. Of the former Gray says (in stanza 7)

The first came cap-a-pee from France
Her conqu'ring destiny fulfilling,
Whom meaner beauties eye askance,
And vainly ape her art of killing

The portrait of Miss Speed, to whose 'great deal of wit' Walpole bears witness (see *Letters*, vol ix, p 453, n 3, vol x, p 112, n 5), follows in the next stanza

The other Amazon kind Heaven
Had arm'd with spirit, wit, and satire
But Cobham had the polish given
And tip'd her arrows with good-nature

To celebrate her eyes, her air—
Coarse panegyricks would but tease her
Melissa is her Nom de Guerre
Alas, who would not wish to please her!

The *Long Story* was one of the poems with the designs of Richard Bentley published by Dodsley in March 1753 (*Designs by Mr R Bentley, for Six Poems by Mr T Gray*) (see Letter 161, n 2). In the illustration to the poem Bentley's drawing has two figures which may be taken to be portraits of Lady Schaub and Miss Speed, while Gray is represented as hidden by the Muses

³ Dowager Viscountess Cobham, widow of Field-Marshal Sir Richard Temple, Bart, of Stowe, Bucks, first Viscount Cobham (d 1749). She was the daughter (Anne) of Edmund Halsey, of Southwark and Stoke Poges, M P for Buckingham, 1717-22 (one of the founders of the famous brewery in Park Street, Southwark, which afterwards passed to the Thrales, and from them to the firm of Barclay and Perkins), who purchased the Manor House at Stoke Poges about the year 1720 from the Gayer family (see Letter 169, n 3). Lady Cobham died 20 March 1760, leaving to Miss Speed, as Gray informs Wharton (see Letter 313) 'at least 30,000£ with a house in Town, plate, jewels, china, and old-japan infinite'. Walpole, writing to Mann on 11 Dec 1760, says that Miss Speed had bought Chute's London house for £3,000.

⁴ Before the last stanza of the poem Gray inserted '[Here 500 Stanzas are lost]'

tion in sending it has fully answerd, as it not only gave us amusement the rest of the Evening, but always will, on reading it over Lady Cobham and the rest of the Company hope to have yours' tomorrow at dinner

I am your oblig'd & obedient

HENRIETTA JANE SPEED

Sunday [October 1750].⁵

156 GRAY TO WHARTON

My dear Wharton

Y^{ou} are apprised by this time (I don't doubt) that your M^r Spencer¹ is chose at Pembroke I received, while I was at Stoke, a Letter from [Tuthill],² wherein were these Words 'Spencer will, I am almost persuaded, be chose at this Audit, & perhaps without a Quarrel I shall vote for him with great Pleasure, because I believe he may justly claim it, & because I believe D^r Wharton would, if he knew of our Election, desire it, for *he* was maintain'd by his M^r Wilkinson'³ D^r Long did not make any Resistance, when he saw how it would go, so Chapman⁴ had little Occasion for his *effectual Interest* oh, by the Way I give you joy of that agreeable Creature, who has got one of your Prebends of 400£ a Year,⁵ & will visit you soon, with that dry Piece of Goods, his Wife⁶

Of my House⁷ I can not say much I wish I could¹ but for

⁵ This must be the probable date, as the *Long Story* was not completed until the second week of October (see Letter 154*, n 1)

LETTER 156 —First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, p 221, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol 11, pp 227-9, now reprinted from original

¹ Richard Spenser, of Trinity, Scholar, 1749, BA 1750, MA 1753, Rector of Rawreth, Essex, 1755-62, d 1762 A native of Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, and educated at Durham, he was elected Fellow of Pembroke on 13 Nov 1750, on Archbishop Grindal's foundation (see Letter 135, n 41)

² See Letter 120, n 2

³ See Letter 137, n 2 Wilkinson was of the same school and college as Spenser

⁴ Master of Magdalene (see Letter 135, n 17)

⁵ Chapman had been made a Prebendary of Durham on 12 Dec of this year

⁶ See Letter 149

⁷ The house he was rebuilding in Cornhill *Mason* —This seems to be a mistake, as the Cornhill house was to have been finished by Christmas 1748 (see Letter 145) The reference is probably to Gray's house at Wanstead (see Letter 196, n 9)

my Heart it is no less yours than it has long been; & the last Thing in the World, that will throw it into Tumults, is a fine Lady⁸ (the Verses⁹ you so kindly try to keep in countenance were wrote to divert that particular Family, & succeeded accordingly but, being shew'd about in Town, are not liked there at all Mr^s French,¹⁰ a very fashionable Personage, told Mr W:¹¹ that she had seen a Thing by a Friend of his, w^{ch} she did not know what to make of, for it aim'd at every Thing, & meant nothing to w^{ch} he replied, that he had always taken her for a Woman of Sense, & was very sorry to be undeceived. On the other hand the Stanza's,¹¹ w^{ch} I now enclose to you, have had the Misfortune by Mr W.^s Fault¹² to be made still more publick, for w^{ch} they certainly were never meant, but it is too late to complain they have been so applauded, it is quite a Shame to repeat it I mean not to be modest, but I mean, it is a Shame for those, who have said such superlative Things about them, that I can't repeat them I should have been glad, that you & two or three more People had liked them, w^{ch} would have satisfied my ambition on this Head amply I have been this Month in town, not at Newcastle-House, but diverting myself among my gay Acquaintance; & return to my Cell with so much the more Pleasure I dare not speak of my future Excursion to Durham for fear—but at present it is my full Intention

His Prussian Majesty¹³ has published the *Suite des Memoires*¹⁴ pour servir a l'Histoire de la Maison de Brandebourg, w^{ch} includes a very free Account of his Grandfather's¹⁵ Life, who was the first King of that House, Reflections on the gradual Advance in Science, Commerce, &c of his Subjects, & on their

⁸ Miss Henrietta Speed (see Letter 155, n 1)

⁹ The *Long Story* (see Letter 154*, n 1)

¹⁰ This was presumably the wife of Jeffery French (d 1754), for whom see Walpole's letters to Mann of 6 Jan 1743 and to Montagu of 30 May 1751 Boswell, *Life*, vol iv, p 48, alludes to 'the house of Mrs French in London, well known for her elegant assemblies, and bringing eminent people together'

¹¹ *Elegy in a Country Church-yard* Mason

¹² For Walpole's part in making the *Elegy* public see Letter 154*, n 1

¹³ Frederick II ('the Great'), King of Prussia, 1740-86, eldest son of Frederick William I, 1713-40

¹⁴ *Suite des Mémoires pour servir a l'Histoire de Brandebourg, contenant le Règne de Frederic I Avec quelques autres pieces Interessantes* Imprimé Pour la Satisfaction du Public 1750

¹⁵ Frederick I, Elector of Brandenburg (1688), King of Prussia, 1701-13

Changes in Religion. it is much in Voltaire's Manner.^{15a} the Book itself is at present hard to be got, but you may see a good Extract of it in the *Mercure historique*,¹⁶ a Work publish'd monthly whether it is that for Oct or Sept^r I can not justly say. there is also an Account of the History of Crusades, w^{ch} seem's to be Voltaire's,¹⁷ & promises well I hear talk of a Pamphlet, call'd, *Voix du Sage & du Peuple*,¹⁸ ascribed to Montesquieu, & a Book, styled only *Lettres*, by the Procureur General, Fleury,¹⁹ on the Power of the Clergy in France, but have not seen either of them, being very scarce as yet. M^r de Buffon²⁰ has discover'd the Speculum of Archimedes, w^{ch} burns at 200 Foot distance,²¹ and a Chymist in

* * * * *

You mention Stonhewer I should be glad to know whether he frequents you? whether you find him improved? & what sort of Life he leads among your Country-folks? Brown,²³ who has been in the midst of Tumults & Mutinies lately²⁴ [and

^{15a} Voltaire denied doing any thing more to the book than correcting the grammar

¹⁶ No extract from the *Suite des Mémoires* is to be found in the *Mercure Historique* for 1750

¹⁷ *Histoire des Croisades* (which formed part of chapters 53-8 of Voltaire's *Essai sur les Mœurs*) was originally published in the *Mercure* in 1750 and 1751

¹⁸ This was by Voltaire—'La Voix du Sage et du Peuple' A Amsterdam chez Le Sincère 1750, 16 pp 8vo (see Bengesco, *Bibliographie de Voltaire*, vol II, pp 54-5)

¹⁹ The book entitled *Lettres Ne repugnant vestro bono*, London 1750 (but really published in Paris) was attributed to the elder Joly de Fleury, Procureur-Général, 1717-46 (whose son succeeded him in this office), but it is known to have been written by Daniel Bargeton (1675-1750) It was suppressed 'par arrêt du Conseil' in June 1750

²⁰ See Letter 154, n 7

²¹ Tovey quotes from Gibbon 'Without any previous knowledge of Tzetzes or Anthemius, the immortal Buffon imagined and executed a set of burning-glasses, with which he could inflame planks at the distance of two hundred feet (Supplément à l'Hist Naturelle, tom I, pp 399-483, quarto edition)' (*Decline and Fall*, chap XI, note, ed Bury, vol IV, p 243) As appears from an entry in his Commonplace-book, Gray read about Buffon's burning-glasses in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*

²² Piece cut away

²³ He was at this time Proctor (see Letter 115, n 1)

²⁴ This is an allusion to the affair of the Westminster Club, in which Brown had been involved in his official capacity as Senior Proctor. The following account is given in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge* (vol IV, p 282)

'On the 17th of November [1750] forty-six gentlemen of the University

Dec. 1750

Gray to Wharton

Letter 156

Tuthill, desire their]²⁵ best Compliments to you mine ever
wait on M^r Wharton. Adieu, believe me

Most truly Yours.

Dec. 18 [1750]²⁶ Cambridge.

ELEGY, WRITTEN IN A COUNTRY-CHURCHYARD

The Curfeu tolls the Knell of parting Day,
The lowing Herd wind slowly o'er the Lea,
The Ploughman homeward plods his weary Way,
And leaves the World to Darknefs & to me.
Now fades the glimm'ring Landscape on the Sight,
And all the Air a solemn Stillnefs holds -
Save where the Beetle wheels his droning Flight,
Or drowsy Tinkleings lull the distant Folds

who had been educated at Westminster School, met together at the Tuns tavern, according to custom, to celebrate the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the foundress of that school, Thomas Francklyn, M A, fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Greek, was in the chair At 11 o'clock, as the company were about to disperse, James Brown, M A, fellow of Pembroke, the Senior Proctor, entered the room Some confusion ensued, and shortly afterwards M^r Brown preferred a complaint against Professor Francklyn, Samuel Crew, M A, fellow of Trinity College, Thomas Ansell, LL B, fellow of Trinity Hall, M^r Vane, fellow-commoner of Peterhouse, and M^r Vernon, fellow-commoner of Trinity College, for insulting and interrupting him in the execution of his office of Proctor The case (which excited very great interest) was heard before the Vicechancellor and Heads, partly in the Law Schools and partly in the Senate House, on the 24th, 27th, and 29th of November, on which latter day the Court decided that the accused were guilty of the charges against them, and they were reprimanded by the Vicechancellor Such of them as were in statu pupillari were also fined 6s 8d each, all the defendants were condemned in the expenses of the Court, and M^r Ansell, for his rude contemptuous and disobedient behaviour to the Vicechancellor during his defence, was suspended from his degree M^r Ansell appealed from this sentence, but the Vicechancellor decided it was a case in which no appeal could be allowed During the investigation of this case, the scholars behaved so riotously in the Vicechancellor's court, that sixteen pro-proctors were appointed, by grace of the Senate, to preserve order' The right of appeal became a subject of contention see Letter 163, n 14, and for a detailed account of the whole proceedings, see Winstanley's *University of Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century*, pp 211 ff

²⁵ See Letter 120, n 2

²⁶ Wharton inserted the date 1751, which was afterwards altered to 1750 The references to Spenser's election as Fellow (n 1), to Chapman's appointment as Prebendary of Durham (n 5), and to the affair of the Westminster Club (n 24), show that 1750 is the correct date

Save that from yonder ivy-mantled Tower
The mopeing Owl does to the Moon complain
Of such, as wand'ring near her secret Bower
Molest her ancient solitary Reign

Beneath those rugged Elms, that Yewtree's Shade,
Where heaves the Turf in many a mould'ring Heap,
Each in his narrow Cell for ever laid,
The rude Forefathers of the Hamlet sleep

The breezy Call of incense-breathing Morn,
The Swallow twitt'ring from the straw-built Shed,
The Cock's shrill Clarion, & the ecchoing Horn,
No more shall rowse them from their lowly Bed.

For them no more the blazing Hearth shall burn,
Or busy Huswife ply her Evening Care.
No Children run to lisp their Sire's Return,
Nor climb his Knees the envied Kifs to share

Oft did the Harvest to their Sickles yield,
Their Furrow oft the stubborn Glebe has broke,
How jocund did they drive their Team a-field!
How bow'd the Woods beneath their sturdy Stroke!

Let not Ambition mock their useful Toil,
Their homely Joys, & Destiny obscure,
Nor Grandeur hear with a disdainful Smile
The short & simple Annals of the Poor

The Boast of Heraldry, the Pomp of Power,
And all that Beauty, all that Wealth e'er gave,
Awaits alike th' inevitable Hour
The Paths of Glory lead but to the Grave

Forgive, ye Proud, th' involuntary Fault,
If Memory to These no Trophies raise,
Where thro' the long-drawn Ile & fretted Vault
The pealing Anthem swells the Note of Praise.

Can storied Urn or animated Bust
Back to its Mansion call the fleeting Breath?
Can Honour's Voice provoke the silent Dust,
Or Flatt'ry sooth the dull cold Ear of Death?

Perhaps in this neglected Spot is laid
Some Heart, once pregnant with celestial Fire,
Hands, that the Reins of Empire might have sway'd,
Or waked to Extasy the living Lyre,

But Knowledge to their Eyes her ample Page
Rich with the Spoils of Time did ne'er unroll

Chill Penury repress'd their noble Rage,
And froze the genial Current of the Soul.

Full many a Gem of purest Ray serene
The dark unfathom'd Caves of Ocean bear
Full many a Flower is born to blush unseen,
And wast it's Sweetness on the desert Air

Some Village-Hamden, that with dauntless Breast
The little Tyrant of his Fields withstood,
Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell, guiltless of his Country's Blood

Th' Applause of list'ning Senates to command,
The Threats of Pain & Ruin to despise,
To scatter Plenty o'er a smiling Land,
And read their Hist'ry in a Nation's Eyes,

Their Lot forbad nor circumscribed alone
Their growing Virtues, but their Crimes confined;
Forbad to wade thro' Slaughter to a Throne,
Or shut the Gates of Mercy on Mankind,

The struggling Pangs of conscious Truth to hide,
To quench the Blushes of ingenuous Shame,
Or heap the Shrines of Luxury & Pride
With Incense, kindled at the Muse's Flame

Far from the madding Crowd's ignoble Strife,
Their sober Wishes never learn'd to stray
Along the cool sequester'd Vale of Life
They kept the noiseless Tenour of their Way

Yet ev'n these Bones from Insult to protect
Some frail Memorial still erected nigh,
With uncouth Rhymes & shapeless Sculpture deck'd,
Implores the passing Tribute of a Sigh

Their Name, their years, spell'd by th' unletter'd Muse,
The Place of Fame & Elegy supply,
And many a holy Text around She strews
That teach the rustic Moralist to die

For who to dumb Forgetfulness a Prey
This pleasing anxious Being e'er resign'd,
Left the warm Precincts of the chearful Day,
Nor cast one longing lingering Look behind?

On some fond Breast the parting Soul relies,
Some pious Drops the closing Eye requires
Ev'n from the Tomb the Voice of Nature cries,
And in our Ashes glow their wonted Fires

For Thee, who mindful of th' unhonour'd Dead
 Dost in these Lines their artless Tale relate,
 If chance by lonely Contemplation led
 Some kindred Spirit shall enquire thy Fate,
 Haply some hoary-headed Swain may say,
 'Oft have we seen him at the Peep of Dawn
 'Brushing with hasty Steps the Dews away
 'To meet the Sun upon the upland Lawn
 'There, at the Foot of yonder nodding Beech,
 'That wreathes its old fantastic Roots so high
 'His listless Length at Noontide would he stretch
 'And pore upon the Brook, that babbles by.
 'Hard by yon Wood, now smiling as in Scorn
 'Mutt'ring his wayward Fancies would he rove
 'Now drooping woeful-wan, like one forlorn,
 'Or crazed with Care, or cross'd in hopelefs Love
 'One Morn I mis'd him on the custom'd Hill,
 'Along the Heath, & near his fav'rite Tree
 'Another came, nor yet beside the Rill,
 'Nor up the Lawn, nor at the Wood was he
 'The next with Dirges due in sad Array
 'Slow thro' the Churchway-Path we saw him born.
 'Approach & Read, for thou canst read, the Lay
 'Graved on the Stone beneath yon aged Thorn

Epitaph

Here rests his Head upon the Lap of Earth
 A Youth, to Fortune & to Fame unknown
 Fair Science frown'd not on his humble Birth,
 And Melancholy mark'd him for her own
 Large was his Bounty & his Soul sincere,
 Heaven did a Recompence as largely send
 He gave to Misery all he had, a Tear,
 He gain'd from Heav'n ('twas all he wish'd) a Friend
 No farther seek his Merits to disclose,
 Or draw his Frailties from their dread Abode,
 (There they alike in trembling Hope repose)
 The Bosom of his Father & his God

157 GRAY TO WALPOLE

My dear S^r[Cambridge, Feb 11. 1751]¹

As you have brought me into a little Sort of Distress, you must assist me, I believe, to get out of it, as well as I can. yesterday I had the Misfortune of receiving a Letter from certain Gentlemen (as their Bookseller expresses it) who have taken the *Magazine of Magazines*^{1a} into their Hands they tell me, that an ingenious Poem, call'd, *Reflections* in a Country-Churchyard, has been communicated to them, w^{ch} they are printing forth-with that they are inform'd, that the *excellent* Author of it is I by name, & that they beg not only his *Indulgence*, but the *Honor of his Correspondence*, &c as I am not at all disposed to be either so indulgent, or so correspondent, as they desire; I have but one bad Way left to escape the Honour they would inflict upon me & therefore am obliged to desire you would make Dodsley print it immediately (w^{ch} may be done in less than a Week's time)² from your Copy, but without my Name, in what Form is most convenient for him, but in his best Paper & Character. he must correct the Press himself, & print it without any Interval between the Stanza's, because the Sense is in some Places continued beyond them, & the Title must be, *Elegy*, wrote in a Country Church-yard if he would add a Line or two to say it came into his Hands by Accident,³ I should like

LETTER 157—First printed in part (in a garbled text) by Mason, in *Memours*, p 222, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 171

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year (which has been inserted in the original by Mason) is determined by the reference to the publication of the *Elegy* (see n 2)

^{1a} *The Magazine of Magazines*, the enterprise of William Owen, had first appeared in 1750. The February number of its second volume appeared on 16 Feb., a day later than Dodsley's edition (see n 2), and announced the *Elegy* as by 'Mr Gray of Peterhouse, Cambridge', so that Gray's authorship was made known from the first

² It was actually published by Dodsley four days after the date of the letter on 15 Feb 1751, as a 4to pamphlet, price sixpence. For a full discussion of the circumstances of publication and for an account of textual variations see F G Stokes, *An Elegy written in a Country Church Yard by Thomas Gray*, Oxford, 1929

³ In the *Advertisement* prefixed to the first edition the Editor (i.e. Walpole) says 'The following Poem came into my Hands by Accident, if the general Approbation with which this little Piece has been spread, may be call'd by so slight a Term as Accident. It is this Approbation which makes it unnecessary for me to make any Apology but to the Author. As he cannot but

it better. if you think fit, the 102^d Line may be read

Awake, & faithful to her wonted Fires ⁴

but if this be worse than before; it must go, as it was in the 126th, for *ancient*⁵ Thorn, read *aged*

If you behold the Mag of Mag ⁶ in the Light that I do, you will not refuse to give yourself this Trouble on my Account, w^{ch} you have taken of your own Accord before now Adieu, S^r, I am

Yours ever
T G

If Dodsley don't do this immediately, he may as well let it alone

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole, Esq in Arlington Street London
Postmark CAMBRIDGE 12 FE

158. GRAY TO WALPOLE

Ash-Wednesday [Feb 20], Cambridge, 1751

My dear Sir,

You have indeed conducted with great decency my little *misfortune* you have taken a paternal care of it, and expressed much more kindness than could have been expected from so near a relation But we are all frail, and I hope to do as much for you another time (Nurse Dodsley has given it a pinch or two in the cradle, that (I doubt) it will bear the marks of as long as it lives.) But no matter we have ourselves suffered under her hands before now,¹ and besides, it will only look the more

feel some Satisfaction in having pleas'd so many Readers already, I flatter myself he will forgive my communicating that Pleasure to many more²

⁴ In Stanza 23—the line so appeared in the first edition Gray made a slip in inserting the comma after 'Awake', and put the blame on Bentley in his letter to Walpole of 3 March (Letter 159, n 9) The comma was omitted in the third edition

⁵ The lines referred to as the 102nd and 126th are actually the 92nd and 116th There can be little doubt that when he wrote this letter Gray had before him the holograph copy of the *Elegy* in his Commonplace-book, in which he has himself numbered every tenth line, and in so doing has inadvertently omitted 90, and passed from 80 to 100

LETTER 158 —First printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol v, p 387

¹ Gray probably alludes to the printing of his three Odes and of some of Walpole's verses in Dodsley's *Collection of Poems* in 1748 (see Letters 142, 144)

Feb. 1751

Gray to Walpole

Letter 158

careless, and by *accident*² as it were. I thank you for your advertisement, which saves my honour, and in a manner *bien flatteuse pour moi*, who should be put to it even to make myself a compliment in good English

You will take me for a mere poet, and a fetcher and carrier of singsong, if I tell you that I intend to send you the beginning of a drama,³ not mine, thank God, as you'll believe, when you hear it is finished, but wrote by a person whom I have a very good opinion of (It is (unfortunately) in the manner of the ancient drama, with choruses, which I am, to my shame, the occasion of; for, as great part of it was at first written in that form, I would not suffer him to change it to a play fit for the stage, as he intended, because the lyric parts are the best of it, and they must have been lost The story is Saxon, and the language has a tang of Shakespeare, that suits an old-fashioned fable very well In short, I don't do it merely to amuse you, but for the sake of the author, who wants a judge, and so I would lend him *mine* yet not without your leave, lest you should have us up to dirty our stockings at the bar of your house for wasting the time and politics of the *nation* Adieu, sir!

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

159 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Cambridge, March 3, 1751.

ELFRIDA (for that is the fair one's name) and her author¹ are now in town together He has promised me, that he will send a part of it to you some morning while he is there, and (if you shall think it worth while to descend to particulars) I should be glad you would tell me very freely your opinion about it; for he shall know nothing of the matter, that is not fit for the ears of a *tender* parent—though, by the way, he has ingenuity and merit enough (whatever his drama may have) to bear hearing his faults very patiently I must only beg you not to show it, much less let it be copied, for it will be published, though not as yet ²

² See the *Advertisement* in n. 3 to Letter 157

¹ This was the Elfrida of Mr Mason *Berry*—See Letter 165*

LETTER 159—First printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol v, pp 387–8

¹ Mason (see Letter 158, n. 3) It seems probable that Mason made Walpole's acquaintance at this time See Letter 144, n. 33

² It was published in March 1752

I do not expect any more editions,³ as I have appeared in more magazines than one.⁴ The chief errata were *sacred* bower for *secret*,⁵ *hudden* for *kindred*⁶ (in spite of dukes and clafsicks);⁷ and *frowning* as in scorn for *smiling*.⁸ I humbly propose, for the benefit of Mr Dodsley and his matrons, that take *awake*⁹ for a verb, that they should read *asleep*, and all will be right. *Gil Blas*¹⁰ is the Lying Valet¹¹ in five acts. The Fine Lady¹² has half-a-dozen good lines dispersed in it. Pompey is the hasty production of a Mr Coventry¹³ (cousin to him you knew),¹⁴ a young clergyman. I found it out by three characters, which once made part of a comedy that he showed me of his own writing. Has that miracle of *tendernefs and sensibility* (as she calls it) lady Vane¹⁵ given you any amusement? Peregrine, whom she uses as a vehicle, is very poor indeed with a few exceptions. In the last volume is a character of Mr Lyttelton,

¹ Of the Elegy in the church-yard *Berry*—As a matter of fact, as Gray notes on the Pembroke MS, it 'went thro' four Editions, in two months, and afterwards a fifth, 6th, 7th, and 8th, 9th, and 10th, and 11th.'

⁴ It was published in the *Magazine of Magazines* for February (vol II, p. 160), it also appeared in the *London Magazine* for March (vol XXX, pp. 134-5), but as this was not published till the first week of April, Gray was probably jesting on the title of the *Magazine of Magazines*.

⁵ In Stanza 3.

⁶ In Stanza 24.

⁷ This allusion has not been explained.

⁸ In Stanza 27.

⁹ In Stanza 23, see Letter 157, n. 4.

¹⁰ By Edward Moore (1712-57), afterwards editor of the *World* (1753-7), *Gil Blas* had been produced at Drury Lane on 2 Feb. of this year, and ran for nine nights. Gray implies that Moore had plagiarized Garrick's play, and spun it out into a full-length comedy.

¹¹ Adapted by Garrick from Motteux's *Novelty*, first produced in 1741.

¹² Miss Berry 'The fine lady'. The reference apparently is to *The Modern Fine Lady* (1750) of Soame Jenyns (see Letter 144, n. 30).

¹³ Francis Coventry (d. 1759), of Magdalene College, Cambridge, B.A. 1748, M.A. 1752, his satirical romance, *Pompey the Little, or the Adventures of a Lapdog*, was published this year. He was Vicar of Edgware.

¹⁴ Henry Coventry (see Letter 135, n. 22).

¹⁵ Frances Anne Hawes (1713-88), daughter of a South Sea Director, she married, first (1732) William Hamilton (d. 1734), second son of the fourth Duke of Hamilton, secondly (1735) William Vane, second Viscount Vane (d. 1789). Smollett, whose *Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* was published this year, in consideration of a handsome fee, inserted as chapter 88 of his novel her *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*. 'My Lady Vane has literally published the Memoirs of her own life, only suppressing part of her lovers, no part of the success of the others with her—a degree of profligacy not to be accounted for' (Walpole to Mann, 13 March 1751).

March 1751

Gray to Walpole

Letter 159

under the name of Gosling Scrag, and a parody of part of his Monody,¹⁶ under the notion of a pastoral on the death of his grandmother

I am ever yours,
T GRAY.

160 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Cambridge April 16 [1751]¹

I AM ashamed, but not astonish'd at poor M^r Whithed's² Insensibility. yet I had settled it with myself before, that he would give M^r Chute 500£ a Year, w^{ch} I thought at least by half too little but this was just the Thing, in w^{ch} M^r Chute neither would, nor could, suggest to him what he ought to do, & so he has done accordingly I hope, it was only negative Ingratitude, but (I own to you) I do suspect, there was a little Reflection in it, & that his Conversations with M^r L, & perhaps with another Person, who knows the Value of Money, better than that of Friendship, might have had their Effect upon his Mind I do not wonder, that M^r Chute is satisfied with every Thing I even believe, that when Time shall convince him, that Whithed has fall'n extremely short in his Acknowledgements to him, it will rather add to his Concern, than diminish it my best Wishes always accompany him, & I can only *wish*, that they were of more Consequence what a Change this Loss will make in his future Life³ I can only guess at the Extent of it the Brothers are nasty People,⁴ that don't deserve mentioning I see *Alexander* sets himself up in his Brother's Room, w^{ch} (I hope in God) will considerably reduce his Share in the Inheritance

You surprise me with the Account you give me of the Alteration in your own Family what a Man must my L^d O⁴

¹⁶ See Letter 142, n 1 The attack on Lyttelton was withdrawn by Smollett from the second edition

LETTER 160—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 174

¹ The date of the year, which has been inserted in the original by Mason, is determined by the references to the deaths of Mr Whithed and Lord Orford (see nn 2, 4)

² Francis Whithed, the cousin and friend of John Chute, whose name was originally Thistlethwayte (see Letter 109, n 36), had died at the Wyne, the residence of Chute's brother, on 30 March of this year (1751) Walpole had evidently informed Gray of the terms of Whithed's will Chute had been left a legacy of £1,000, and appointed one of the trustees

³ 'Whithed's youngest brother, the clergyman, is the greatest brute in the world, except the elder brother, the layman' (Walpole to Mann, 1 April 1751) Alexander Thistlethwayte, the elder brother, succeeded to Whithead's estates

⁴ Robert Walpole, second Earl of Orford, Horace Walpole's eldest

have been, who might so easily have prevented it? I am heartily concerned for the Share you must bear in it sure Your Uncle,⁵ & M^{rs} H,⁶ have it in their Power, if not to retrieve, at least much to alleviate, this Misfortune, for from the Mother⁷ no body would expect anything perhaps the good Qualities you mention in your Nephew⁸ may go farther in repairing his Loss, than any of his Relations could have done from the little I had seen & heard of him, it did not seem probable, that he could continue long in the thoughtless Ways of Folly You were very good, when you found Time to let me know, what I am interested in, not barely from Curiosity, but because it touches you so nearly I can return that kindness no otherwise, than by not taking up your Attention longer, when it is so fully employed on your own Affairs Adieu, my dear S^r, I am ever

Yours
T G

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London
Postmark CAMBRIDGE 17 AP

161 GRAY TO WALPOLE

HYMN TO ADVERSITY ¹

DAUGHTER of Jove, relentless Power,
Thou Tamer of the human Breast!
Whose iron Scourge, & torturing Hour,
The bad afflict, afflict the best,

brother, had died on 20 March 'He ordered to be drawn and executed his will with the greatest tranquillity and satisfaction on Saturday morning His spoils are prodigious—not to his own family¹ indeed I think his son the most ruined young man in England My loss, I fear, may be considerable . It is no small addition to my concern, to fear or foresee that Houghton and all the remains of my father's glory will be pulled to pieces' (Walpole to Mann, 1 April 1751)

⁵ Horatio Walpole, Sir Robert's younger brother (see Letter 152, n 2)

⁶ Mary Magdalen, daughter and coheir of Peter Lombard, she married Horatio Walpole in 1720

⁷ The Countess of Orford (see Letter 92, n 10)

⁸ George Walpole (1730–91), third Earl of Orford. In later life he was frequently insane On his death Horace Walpole succeeded to the title as fourth Earl of Orford.

LETTER 161—First printed in part in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol v, pp 390–2, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 175

¹ Gray's copy in his Commonplace-book has at the foot 'at Stoke Aug 1742' Except for small differences of spelling and punctuation, the text is the same in both versions.

Bound in thy adamant Chain
The Proud are taught to tast of Pain
And purple Tyrants vainly groan
With Pangs unfelt before, unpitied & alone

When first thy Sire to send on Earth
Virtue, his darling Child, design'd,
To Thee he gave the heav'nly Birth
And bad to form her infant Mind
Stern rugged Nurse! thy rigid Lore
With Patience many a Year she bore
What Sorrow was thou bad'st her know,
And from her own she learn'd to melt at other's Woe

Scared at thy Frown terrific, fly
Self-pleasing Folly's idle Brood,
Wild Laughter, Noise, & thoughtless Joy,
And leave us Leisure to be good
Light they disperse, & with them go
The Summer-Friend, the flatt'ring Foe,
By vain Prosperity received,
To her they vow their Truth, & are again believed.

Wisdom in sable Garb array'd,
Immers'd in rapturous Thought profound,
And Melancholy, silent Maid,
With leaden Eye, that loves the Ground
Still on thy solemn Steps attend:
Warm Charity, the general Friend,
With Justice, to herself severe,
And Pity, dropping soft the sadly-pleasing Tear

Oh! gently on thy Suppliant's Head
Dread Goddess lay thy chast'ning Hand,
Not in thy Gorgon-Terrors clad,
Nor circled with the vengeful Band,
As by the Impious thou art seen,
With thund'ring Voice, & threat'ning Mien,
With screaming Horror's funeral Cry,
Despair, & fell Disease, & ghastly Poverty

Thy Form benign, oh Goddess, wear,
Thy milder Influence impart,

Thy philosophic Train be there
 To soften, not to wound, my Heart
 The generous Spark extinct revive,
 Teach me to love, & to forgive,
 Exact my own Defects to scan,
 What others are, to feel, & know myself a Man

(I send you this (as you desire) merely to make up half a dozen,² tho' it will hardly answer your End in furnishing out either a Head or Tail-piece^{2a} but your own Fable³ may much better supply the Place you have alter'd it to its Advantage, but there is still something a little embarrass'd here & there in the Expression) I rejoice to find you apply (pardon the Use of so odious a Word) to the History of your own Times⁴ speak, & spare not be as impartial as you can, & after all, the World will not believe, you are so, tho' you should make as many Protestations as Bishop Burnet⁵ they will feel in their own Breast, & find it very possible to hate fourscore Persons, yea, ninety & nine so you must rest satisfied with the Testimony of your own Conscience somebody has laughed at M^r Dodsley or at me, when they talk'd of the *Bat* I have nothing more, either nocturnal or diurnal, to deck his Miscellany⁶ with. we

² This with the other five—the *Ode on the Spring*, the *Eton Ode*, the *Ode on the Cat*, the *Elegy* and *A Long Story*—made up the *Six Poems*, which Walpole had arranged were to be printed with illustrations by Richard Bentley (see Letter 162, n. 3) On June 13 Walpole had written to George Montagu 'Our charming M^r Bentley is drawing vignettes for his [Gray's] Odes' For the first time Gray had consented to a collection of his poems being published under his name

^{2a} As affording subjects for illustration

³ Miss Berry states that this was *The Entail*, but that fable was not written until 1754. The reference is to *The Funeral of the Lioness* (printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. iv, pp. 377–80), which, as Walpole records in his *Short Notes*, was written in this year (1751). A copy of this fable in Walpole's handwriting, and with jottings on the back by Gray (evidently the copy sent to him by Walpole), was among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection.

⁴ His *Memoirs* (see Letter 128, n. 4), published after his death under the title of *Memoires of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second* (1822).

⁵ In the preface to the *History of his own Time* Burnet writes 'I do solemnly say this to the world, and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth on all occasions, as fully and freely as upon my best inquiry I have been able to find it out.'

⁶ Dodslev was perhaps already projecting the fourth volume of his *Collection*.

Sept. 1751

Gray to Walpole

Letter 161

have a Man here that writes a good Hand, but he has two little Failings, that hinder my recommending him to you ⁷ he is lousy, & he is mad he sets out this Week for Bedlam, but if you insist upon it, I don't doubt he will pay his Respects to you I have seen two of D^r M^{idn's} unpublished Works. one is about 44 Pages in 4^{to} against D^r Waterland,⁸ who wrote a very orthodox Book on the Importance of the Doctrine of y^e Trinity, & insisted, that Christians ought to have no Communion with such as differ from them in Fundamentals M^{idn} enters no farther into the Doctrine itself than to shew that a mere speculative Point can never be call'd a Fundamental, & that the earlier Fathers, on whose concurrent Tradition Wat^d would build, are so far, when they speak of the three Persons, from agreeing with the present Notion of our Church, that they declare for the Inferiority of the Son, & seem to have no clear & distinct Idea of the H^l Ghost at all the rest is employed in exposing the Folly & Cruelty of Stiffness & Zealotism in Religion, & in shewing that the primitive Ages of the Church, in w^{ch} Tradition had its Rise, were (even by Confession of the best Scholars & most orthodox Writers) the *Æra of Nonsense & Absurdity* it is finish'd, & very well wrote, but has been mostly incorporated into his other Works, particularly the Enquiry & for this Reason I suppose he has writ upon it, *This wholly laid aside* the second is in Latin, on Miracles, to shew, that of the two Methods of defending Christianity, one from its intrinsic Evidence, the Holiness and Purity of its Doctrines, the other from its external, the Miracles said to be wrought to confirm it. the first has been little attended to by reason of its Difficulty, the second much insisted upon, because it appear'd an easier Task, but that it can in reality prove nothing at all 'Nobilis

of Poems, which did not appear until 1755 Gray talks of it as in prospect, when writing to Walpole in July 1752 (Letter 169)

⁷ As an amanuensis Berry—Gosse, in a letter to *The Athenæum* dated 1 June 1887, misquoted this passage as 'Smart sets out for Bedlam' The identification of the 'Man here that writes a good Hand' with Christopher Smart (see Letter 135, n 8) is proved to be impossible by the fact that Smart at this date was not in Cambridge, but in London, actively engaged in editing and writing for *The Midwife, or Old Woman's Magazine* The reference may be to Smart's copyist, Lawman, 'the mad Attorney' (see Letter 135, n 13)

⁸ Conyers Middleton (see Letter 135, n 18), he had died in July of the previous year, leaving behind him several works in manuscript

⁹ See Letter 131, n 3 His work, *The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity Asserted*, was published in 1734

illa quidem Defensio (the first) quam si obtinere potuissent, rem simul omnem expedituræ, causamq; penitus vicisse videntur. at causæ hujus defendendæ labor cum tantâ argumentandi cavillandiq; molestiâ conjunctus ad alteram, quam dixi, defensionis viam, ut commodiorem longé & faciliorem, plerosque adegit—ego veró istiusmodi defensione Religionem nostram non modo non confirmari, sed dubiam potius suspectamq; reddi existimo' he then proceeds to consider Miracles in general, & afterwards those of the Pagans, compared with those of X^t. I only tell you the Plan, for I have not read it out (tho' it is short) but you will not doubt to what Conclusion it tends there is another Thing, I know not what, I am to see as to the Treatise on Prayer, they say, it is burnt indeed ¹⁰ Adieu, I am ever

Yours

TG

Sept 8 [1751]¹¹ Camb

162 GRAY TO WALPOLE

ASK your Pardon for not having immediately informed you, that I received the Parcel very safe, but I was in Huntingdonshire,¹ when it arrived, & did not return hither till Friday Evening the Sionites,² I am sorry to say, are just where they were so is M^r Bentley,³ having had cold Water thrown upon him, w^{ch} stunted his Growth the other I will send you in a few

¹⁰ A treatise on the inefficacy of prayer is said to have been burnt by Dr William Heberden (see Letter 135, n 20), to whom Middleton's widow handed over his unpublished manuscripts It was rumoured that several other works were destroyed at the same time But see Letter 162, *ad fin*

¹¹ The date of the year 1751 (which has been inserted in the original), is confirmed by the references to Walpole's *Fable* and *Memoirs* (see nn 3, 4)

LETTER 162—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 176

¹ No doubt at Abbot's Ripton with the Bonfoys (see Letter 126, n 11) His absence from Cambridge can only have been for a few days as it is not shown in the Peterhouse records

² No explanation of what Gray meant by 'the Sionites' has been suggested

³ Richard Bentley (1708–82), son of the famous scholar of the same name, for many years a friend and correspondent of Horace Walpole, to whom his wit and artistic talents specially recommended him Gray may have 'thrown cold water' on the illustrations, which he was designing for Gray's *Six Poems* (see Letter 161, n 2)

Sept. 1751

Gray to Walpole

Letter 162

Days, as you desire I am going to see three of D^r M^r little Works, that *were burnt* ⁴ Adieu¹ I am

Ever Yours

T G.

Camb Sept 29 Sunday [1751]⁵

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London

Postmark · SAFFRON WALDEN 30 SE

163 GRAY TO WHARTON

My dear Wharton

A LITTLE kind of Reproach, that I saw the other Day in a Letter of yours to M^r Brown, has made my Guilt fly in my Face, & given me Spirit to be a Beast no longer. I desired him to tell you in the beginning of the Summer, that I fear'd my Journey into the North would be prevented by the Arrival of my Cousin, M^{rs} Forster¹ (whom you remember by the Name of Pattinson) from India she came in August, & I continued in Town with her a Month in order to do what little Services I could to a Person as strange, & as much to seek, as tho' she had been born in the Mud of the Ganges after this the Year was too far advanced to undertake such an Expedition, & the Thought of seeing you here in the Spring² in some measure comforts me for the Disappointment, for I depend upon your coming then, when it will be far easier to confer together, & determine about a Thing, in w^{ch} (I fear) I am too much interes[t]ed to deserve having³ any great share in the Deter-

⁴ See Letter 161, n. 10

⁵ The date 1751, the year to which this letter obviously belongs, has been inserted in pencil in the original

LETTER 163 — First printed (with omissions) by Mitford (1816), vol. II, pp. 208–10, now reprinted from original

¹ Née Alice Pattinson, daughter of Mary Gray (sister of Gray's father), who married a Pattinson, her husband was John Forster, Governor of Fort William, Bengal, she had an only daughter, John Anna, who married (8 Sept. 1767) Harry Goring (afterwards sixth Baronet of Highden), and is named as 'Anna Lady Goring, my second cousin by the father's side' in Gray's will (see Genealogical Table). As appears from Gray's letter to Wharton of 1 Aug. 1768 (Letter 480), Mrs. Forster and Gray had differences, which were made up at Wharton's instance, but Gray made no mention of her in his will (see Brown to Wharton, 31 July 1771, in Appendix W).

² Wharton went to Cambridge in April 1752 to take his M.D. degree (see Letter 166)

³ Piece cut out, text supplied by Mitford

Letter 163

Gray to Wharton

Oct 1751

mination. ⁴ for	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	* ⁵

People. you are aware undoubtedly, that a certain Deference, not to say Servility, to the Heads of Colleges is perhaps necessary to a Physician, that means to establish himself here you possibly may find a Method to do without it. another Inconvenience your Wife, rather than you, will feel, the Want of Company of her own Sex, as the Women are few here, squeezey & formal, and little skill'd in amusing themselves or other People all I can say is, she must try to make up for it among the Men, who are not over-agreeable neither I much approve of your settling seriously to your Profession, but as your Father is old, if you should lose him, what becomes of your Interest, & to whom is it then to be transfer'd? would you leave London & your Practise again to canvas an Election for yourself?⁶ it seems to me, that, if you execute your present Scheme, you must (in case of M^r Wh^{'s} Death) entirely lay aside all Views of that Kind the gradual Transition you propose to make thro' Bath or Cambridge to London is very well judged, & likely enough to succeed for Bath, I am wholly unacquainted with it, & consequently can say little to the Purpose the Way of Life there might be more amusing to M^{rs} Wharton, than this, but to You, I think, would be less satisfactory I sincerely congratulate you on the good Effects of your new Medecine, w^{ch} is indeed a sufficient Recompence for any Pains you have taken in that Study but to make a just Tryal of its Efficacy & of your own Constitution, you certainly ought to pass a little Time at London (a Month or so) & that

*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	* ⁸

engaged himself to make it up 1000£, in case the Brothers will not do it, & they have (after some Hesitation) refused it ⁹ our

⁴ The matter in question was apparently that discussed below, whether Wharton should settle in Cambridge or Bath to practise as a doctor

⁵ About eight lines cut out

⁶ The allusions in this passage have not been explained

⁷ His father, who died early in 1752

⁸ About four lines cut out

⁹ The allusion is unexplained unless it is possible that Gray was writing to Wharton about the two Thistlethwaytes (see Letter 160 'The Brothers are nasty People') If so, the reference may be to a dispute about Whithed's will Walpole, in his letter to Mann of 1 April 1751, says that Whithed 'left an annuity of one hundred and twenty pounds a year to his Florentine mistress, and six hundred pounds to their child' From later letters of Walpole to Mann (7 July 1760, 26 Dec 1764, and 26 March 1765) it appears that the brothers

good M^r Brown goes out of his Office¹⁰ today, of w^{ch} he is not a little glad. his College, w^{ch} had much declined for some time, is picking up again: they have had twelve Admissions this Year, & are just filling up two Fellowships with a M^r Cardell,¹¹ whom I do not know, but they say, he is a good Scholar, & a M^r Delaval,¹² a Fellow-Commoner (a younger Son to old Delaval¹³ of Northumberland) who has taken his Degree in an exemplary Manner, & is very sensible, & knowing the Appeal,¹⁴ w^{ch} has been so long contended for, will, I believe, at last be yielded to with a good Grace, or rather bestowed, by the Advice of the D of N, & my Lord Ch^r,¹⁵ & will be the best & most popular

refused to pay the legacies and disputed their validity. It is possible that a compromise had been proposed by which the brothers were to pay a certain sum, and Chute perhaps 'engaged himself to make it up to 1000*£*.' This offer was rejected.

¹⁰ As Proctor (see Letter 156, n. 24)

¹¹ William Cardale, from Eton, matriculated 1747, B A 1751, Fellow of Pembroke, 10 Oct. 1751, M A 1754, ordained Priest, 1752, died Nov 1756

¹² Edward Hussey Delaval (1729-1814), third son of Francis Blake Delaval (for his brother see Letter 127, n. 6), B A 1750, Fellow of Pembroke, 10 Oct 1751, M A 1754, he was a distinguished classical scholar and linguist, and made a European reputation as a man of science, his attainments being chiefly in chemistry and experimental philosophy. He was elected F R S in 1759, and was associated with Benjamin Franklin in a report to the Society on the means of securing St Paul's Cathedral against danger from lightning. Among his achievements was the manufacture, under his direction, of the completest set of musical glasses in England [see Letter 309 *ad fin*] (*DNB*). An entry in the Pembroke register, dated 13 June 1757, records the granting of his request to be relieved from the obligation, as an M A of three years' standing, to study divinity. He was a candidate for the Professorship of Modern History in 1762, and again in 1768, when Gray was appointed (see Letters 363, 482). In some lines to Mason, Gray characterizes him as 'Delaval the loud', and elsewhere remarks on his loud voice (see Letters 461, 494).

¹³ Francis Blake Delaval, of Seaton Delaval, and Ford Castle, Northumberland (d. Dec. 1752), he married Rhoda, daughter of Robert Aprece, of Wasingley, Hunts, and of Sarah, elder daughter, and eventually sole heiress of Sir Thomas Hussey, second Bart. of Honington, Lincs. (d. 1706), after whom his two younger sons assumed the name of Hussey.

¹⁴ This was the vexed question whether in cases of discipline there was any appeal from the Vice-Chancellor's Court (see Letter 156, n. 24). The matter was hotly disputed, but at length, after a proposal to refer the question to arbitration had been accepted by both sides, though no decision was given, it was allowed to drop, and the controversy came to an end (see Winstanley's *University of Cambridge in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 215-22).

¹⁵ The Duke of Newcastle, Chancellor of the University, and the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor.

Letter 163

Gray to Wharton

Oct. 1751

Thing they can do, but you must not mention it, till it is actually done. I am sorry your friend Chapman will lose all the Merit of his Pamphlet,¹⁶ w^{ch} (by the Way) has been answer'd exceedingly well, & with all due Contempt¹⁷ he seems much mortified, & was preparing a Reply, but this Event, I doubt, will cut him short¹⁸

I know of nothing new in the literary Way, but the History of Lewis, 14th, by Voltaire,¹⁹ not that I have yet seen it but my Expectations are much raised Adieu, my dear Wharton, I am ever

Most truly Yours

TG.

P S I am ready to pay my Debts, if you will tell me to whom my Compliments & good Wishes to M^{rs} Wharton, & the little Gentry

[Oct 10, 1751]²⁰

¹⁶ *An Inquiry into the Right of Appeal from the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in matters of Discipline Addressed to a Fellow of a College*, Lond., 1751, 8vo Chapman, who was Master of Magdalene (see Letter 135, n 17), maintained that Ansell had no right of appeal

¹⁷ Gray, no doubt, is referring to *The Opinion of an Eminent Lawyer concerning the Right of Appeal from the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge to the Senate; supported by a short historical account of the Jurisdiction of the University In answer to a late Pamphlet entitled an Inquiry into the Right of Appeal*. By a Fellow of a College, Lond., 1751, 8vo This was by Richard Hurd, afterwards Bishop of Worcester (see Letter 231*, n 1) It was printed in the collected edition of his *Works*, vol viii, pp 185 ff

According to Nichols (*Literary Anecdotes*, vol ii, p 230), who describes this answer as 'rather discourteous at the commencement', the eminent lawyer was Lord Hardwicke

¹⁸ Chapman published his reply, *A further Inquiry into the Right of Appeal from the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in matters of Discipline, in which the objections of the author of a late pamphlet intitled The Opinion of an Eminent Lawyer are fully obviated*, Lond and Camb., 1752, 8vo

Chapman here maintained that the appeal lay only in civil cases His *Further Inquiry* was answered by John Smith, Fellow of King's Copies of all these pamphlets are in the Gough Collection in the Bodleian (see Wordsworth's *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century*, pp 630-1).

¹⁹ *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* Publié Par M de Francheville conseiller antique de sa Majesté, & membre de l'académie royale des sciences & des belles lettres de prusse A Berlin, Chez C F Henning, Imprimeur du Roi M.DCC.LI. Tomes 1, ii.

²⁰ Wharton's endorsement is 'Mr Gray 10 Oct 1750 or 1751', but he has cancelled the latter, which is obviously the correct date.

164 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Tuesday [Nov 26, 1751]¹ Camb.^{se}

IF Etouge² had any such Paper trusted to his Hands, I don't at all doubt, but it has been shew'd to some one here. it is about three Weeks ago, that he was here with his Budget of Labels (for it is his constant Practise twice in a year to import a Cargo of Lyes, & scandalous Truths mix'd) but his Confidants are caution'd against me, who have had more Squabbles than one either with him, or about him, so that *directly* it would be impossible for me to come at it, or even to hear of any of the Contents but I have a round-about Way, or two in my head if I succeed, you shall be sure to know immediately, but this will take up a Week, or a Fortnight, for I must not seem too eager about it I am amazed at the Impudence of the Fiend, (as much a Fiend as I knew him)³ you say you took him to task,⁴ I am impatient to know in what Manner. for I imagine you sent to him, & that this has given him an Opportunity of writing those impudent Letters you mention to you there are three Methods of taking him properly to task, the Cudgel, the Blanket, & the Horse-pond if you are present at the Operation, you may venture to break a Leg or an Arm *en attendant*, & when I see you, I may possibly give you some Reasons, why you ought to have broke t'other Leg & t'other Arm also. for it is too long to stay, till he is a Bishop

I do not wonder at their Rage venting itself on M^r Chute⁵ they think him easier to come at, & more open to Injury I am glad he hears so little of the Matter what my insipid L^d H^l⁶ could poke out of his Memory against him, I don't conceive. would to God anything I could do, might make all the World

LETTER 164.—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 177

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year has been inserted in the original by Mason This letter evidently refers to the affair of Miss Nichol, to which Gray reverts in the next letter

² See Letter 144, n 50

³ So in the postscript of Letter 144 he refers to Etouge as 'a Fiend of a Parson', and in his Epigram (quoted in Letter 144, n 50) described him as 'the grinning Fiend'

⁴ Walpole had written to Etouge (see Letter 165)

⁵ See Letter 165, n 1

⁶ This name was written by Gray partly above the line, the first part has been blotted out and is now illegible The name may have been Haddington, Hamulton, Harrington, Hartington, or Huntingdon

Letter 164

Gray to Walpole

Nov. 1751

think of him as I do. but the way you propose, would signify very little Adieu, S^r, I am

Yours ever

T G.

Addressed To the Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London
Postmark. SAFFRON WALDEN 27 NO

165 GRAY TO WALPOLE

C[ambridge] Dec 31 [1751]¹

Y^{ou} have probably before now met with the Paper² I enclose, itself, tho' when you wrote last, you had only heard of it from others it must not be known on any account, that it came from me, for by that means it might easily be discover'd, whom I had it from, w^{ch} might be the Ruin of a Gentleman I do not see any one End it can answer, but that of putting M^r C in a silly Light to such, as do not know him the Exactness of Dates, Hours, & Minutes with the Observation of his different Tones of Voice, betray it to be the Work of a Listener, placed on purpose I am told, that old H³ does not deny his Design of getting her for D W,⁴ after my L^d O had refused her he insists he was not once at C^{rs} Chambers, while she was in his

LETTER 165 — First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 178

¹ The date of the year is determined by the reference to the affair of Miss Nichol Walpole, in his letter to Mann of 1 April 1751, informing him of the death of Francis Whithed (see Letter 160, n 2), says that Chute 'had brought about a match for him, that was soon to be concluded with a Miss Nicoll, an immense fortune' The lady was Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Nichol, of Minchendon House, Southgate After Whithed's death in March of this year (1751), Chute, who according to Walpole's 'Narrative' (see n 5) was 'as near a relation to the young lady as any that she has', endeavoured to arrange a marriage between Miss Nichol, who was said to have a fortune of above £150,000 (see Walpole to Mann, 30 May 1751, and *Short Notes* for that year), and Horace Walpole's nephew, the Earl of Orford, who had just succeeded to the title But the match fell through, owing, as Walpole believed, to the intrigues of his uncle, Horatio Walpole (see n 5), who tried to secure the lady for one of his own sons In the event Miss Nichol married (in 1753) James Brydges, Marquess of Carnarvon, subsequently (1771) third Duke of Chandos

² No doubt that mentioned at the beginning of the previous letter

³ Old Horace, Walpole's uncle, Horatio Walpole (see Letter 152, n. 2).

⁴ Probably Dick Walpole, that is, his third son, Richard, who eventually (1758) married a daughter of Sir Joshua Vanneck, Bart

⁵ Walpole wrote a 'Narrative of the Proceedings in the intended Marriage between Lord Orford & Miss Nicholl In a Letter addressed to M^{rs} Harris, My Lord's Grandmother' A copy of this narrative, presumably sent to John Chute, is now at the Vyne From the narrative it is clear that 'C^r' was Capper, a solicitor and conveyancer recommended by Walpole's uncle 'a

Dec. 1751

Gray to Walpole

Letter 165

Hands, & that the Story of the 10,000*£* is a manifest Lye. he affects to treat it as a Fact asserted by M^r C, tho' no such thing appears, even in the Paper itself. I can't find for certain, that Et.⁶ (tho he has been here a second time with his Budget) has given any Copies of this Paper about, yet I do not doubt but He has this I know; he has shew'd your Letter to him, & his own Answers to a few People here, tho' I have not seen them I am in hast, but shall write again soon pray tell me, as soon as you receive this

165 * GRAY TO MASON

* * * * *

[c Dec 1751]¹

DEAR SIR—

LETTER I

VERY bad¹

I am Yours—equally bad¹² it is impossible to conciliate these passages to nature and Aristotle

'Allowed to modern caprice'³—It is *not* caprice, but good sense

fat headed Fellow, exceedingly mean & cringing in his Appearance and dull in his Intellects' —Walpole suspected his uncle of underhand dealings (see letter to Mann, 31 Aug 1751 'The affair of Miss Nicoll is blown up by the treachery of my uncle Horace and some lawyers, that I had employed at his recommendation')⁶ Etough (see Letter 164)

LETTER 165* —First printed by Mitford (1835-43), vol iv, pp 1-5, with the heading 'Mr Gray's Remarks on the Letters prefixed to Mason's Elfrida' The 'Remarks' were no doubt part of a letter sent to Mason Mitford gives no information as to the source of his copy

¹ Mason's *Elfrida* was published in March, 1752 Five 'Letters concerning the following Drama', addressed to a real or imaginary correspondent, were prefixed These were dated 'Pemb Hall 1751' Mason and Gray were both in residence until the second week of December, when Mason left Cambridge, and it is probable that towards the end of this month Mason submitted the letters to Gray's criticism Warburton, in a letter of 16 January 1752, wrote that he 'had just received our amiable friend's letters, which are to be prefixed to his *Elfrida*' (*Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends* (1808), pp 73-4), and this was presumably after Mason had received Gray's criticisms

² In his printed text Mason omitted the conventional beginnings and endings of the letters

³ In the first letter Mason, after explaining his design, proceeds 'According to this notion, every thing was to be allowed to the present taste, which nature and Aristotle could possibly dispense with' He must have originally written 'caprice' and substituted 'taste' to meet Gray's objection Tovey, vol ii, pp 293 ff, points out in his notes other passages in Mason's *Letters*, which were the subject of Gray's criticism Mason revised the *Letters* and increased the number to five, when he printed them

that made these alterations in the modern Drama. (A greater liberty in the choice of the fable, and the conduct of it, was the necessary consequence of retrenching the Chorus.⁴ Love, and tenderness delight in privacy The soft effusions of the soul, Mr Mason, will not bear the presence of a gaping, singing, dancing, moralizing, uninteresting crowd And not love alone, but every passion is checked and cooled by this fiddling crew How could Macbeth and his wife have laid the design for Duncan's murder? What could they have said to each other in the Hall at midnight, not only if a chorus, but if a single mouse had been stirring there? Could Hamlet have met the Ghost, or taken his mother to task in *their* company? If Othello had said a harsh word to his wife before *them*, would they not have danced to the window, and called the watch?

The ancients were perpetually confined and hampered by the necessity of using the Chorus, and, if they have done wonders notwithstanding this clog, sure I am they would have performed still greater wonders without it For the same reason we may be allowed to admit of more intrigue in our drama, to bring about a great action, it is often an essential requisite and it is not fair to argue against this liberty, from that misuse of it, which is common to us, and was formerly so with the French, namely, the giving into a silly intricacy of plot, in imitation of the Spanish Dramas We have also since Charles the Second's time, imitated the French (though but awkwardly) in framing scenes of mere insipid gallantry But these were the faults of the writers, and not of the art, which enables us with the help of a little contrivance, to have as much love as we please, without playing the petits maitres, or building labyrinths.

I forgot to mention that Comedy contrived⁵ to be an odd sort of Farce, very like those of the Italian theatre, till the Chorus was dismissed When Nature and Menander brought it into that beautiful form which we find in Terence Tragedy was not so happy till modern times)

* Mason described *Elfrida* as 'A Dramatic Poem Written on the Model of The Antient GREEK TRAGEDY', and the *Letters* profess to answer objections to the form of the drama and especially to the introduction of the Chorus This subject he had discussed with Gray at an early stage, see Gray's letter to Walpole, of 20 Feb 1751 (Letter 158)

⁵ Tovey substituted 'continued' for 'contrived', which is in Mitford's text but the emendation is not necessary.

II

(I do not admit that the excellencies of the French writers are measured by the verisimilitude, or the regularities of their Dramas *only*. Nothing in them, or in our own, even Shakespeare himself, ever touches us, unless rendered *verisimile*, which by good management may be accomplished even in such absurd stories as the Tempest, the Witches in Macbeth, or the Fairies in the Midsummer Night's Dream. and I know not of any writer that has pleased chiefly in proportion to his *regularity*. Other beauties may indeed be heightened and set off by its means, but of itself it hardly pleases at all Venice Preserved,⁶ or Jane Shore,⁷ are not so regular as the Orphan,⁸ or Tamerlane,⁹ or Lady Jane Grey¹⁰

III

Modern Melpomene — Here are we got into our tantarums! (It is certain that pure poetry may be introduced without any Chorus) I refer you to a thousand passages of *mere* description in the Iambic parts of Greek tragedies, and to ten thousand in Shakespeare, who is moreover particularly admirable in his introduction of pure poetry, so as to join it with pure passion, and yet keep close to nature. This he could accomplish with passions the most violent, and transporting, and this any good writer may do with passions less impetuous, for it is nonsense to imagine that Tragedy must *throughout* be agitated with the furious passions, or attached by the tender ones. The greater part of it must often be spent in a preparation of these passions, in a gradual working them up to their height, and must thus pass through a great many cooler scenes and a variety of *nuances*, each of which will admit of a proper degree of poetry, and some the purest poetry. (Nay, the boldest metaphors, and even description in its strongest colouring, are the natural expression of some passions, even in their greatest agitation.) As to moral reflections, there is sufficient room for them in those cooler scenes that I have mentioned, and they make the greatest ornaments of such parts, that is to say, if they are well joined with the character. If not, they had better be left to the audience, than put into the mouths of a set of professed moralists,

⁶ By Thomas Otway (1652–85), first produced in 1682.

⁷ By Nicholas Rowe (1674–1718), first produced in 1714

⁸ By Otway (1680)

⁹ By Rowe (1702)

¹⁰ By Rowe (1715)

who keep a shop of sentences, and reflections, (I mean the chorus) whether they be sages, as you call them, or young girls that learnt them by heart, out of their samples and primers

There is nothing ungracious or improper in Jane Shore's reflections on the fate of women,¹¹ but just the contrary, only that they are in rhyme, and in like manner it is far from a beautiful variety when the Chorus makes a transition in the —¹² from plain Iambics to high flown lyric thoughts, expressions and numbers, and when their vagaries are over, relapse again into common sense and conversation. A confidante in skilful hands, might be a character, and have both sense and dignity. That in Maffei's¹³ *Merope* has as much as any Chorus

The Greeks might sing better than the French, but I'll be burnt if they *danced* with more grace, expression, or even pathos, yet who ever thought of shedding tears at a French Opera?)

IV

(If modern music cannot, as you say, express poetry, it is not a perfection, but a deterioration, you might as well say that the *perfectionment* of poetry would be the rendering it incapable of expressing the passions)

166 GRAY TO WHARTON

[Thursday, April 9, 1752]¹

My dear Wharton

I SHOULD not have made this little Journey to Town, if I had not imagined the Situation of your Affairs (after the Loss² you have lately had) would have prevented your Design of coming to Cambridge³ the Pleasure I have here, is not sufficient, I am sure, to ballance a much slighter, than I shall

¹¹ At the end of Act I of Rowe's play—

'Such is the fate unhappy women find,' etc

¹² Unless Gray had Mason's *Elfrida* in mind, he perhaps left a blank for the title of a Greek play which might suit his purpose

¹³ Scipione Maffei (1675-1755), his tragedy *Merope* was first performed in 1713

LETTER 166 —First printed by Mitford (1816), vol II, p 230, now reprinted from original

¹ See n 10

² The death of his father, which had occurred a few weeks before

³ To take his degree. He signed the Registrary's book as M.D. on 14 April

Apr. 1752

Gray to Wharton

Letter 166

have in seeing you again my Stay therefore, will at farthest not be longer than Wednesday next,⁴ when [your]⁵ Businefs will be over, & we shall have time, I hope, to ma[ke up] in some Degree for so many Year's⁶ Separation⁷

My Thanks to M^r Brown for his Letter, and I wi[ll trou]ble you to tell him, I see no Reason why the Person⁸ he mentions should refuse the Proposal made him he must necesarily & I think, in Prudence sooner or later enter into the Profefsion, that qualifies him for it & this is perhaps as creditable a Way of doing it, as ever will offer, besides that it need not oblige him to any thing he dislikes, & may perhaps lead to great Advantages . . .⁹ if he be return'd. I need not tell you that [I am]

Ever Yours,
T GRAY

Postmark [1]0¹⁰ AP

⁴ 15 April (see n 10)

⁵ Here and elsewhere in the letter there are tears in the paper of the original, and the words missing have been supplied conjecturally

⁶ Sic

⁷ They seem to have met just five years before, in April 1747, at Stilton, when Wharton was on his way south with his bride (see Letter 137, n 3)

⁸ This most probably refers to Mason, who, as may be gathered from a letter of Warburton to Hurd, dated 9 May 1752, had had an offer made to him on behalf of Lord Rockingham. The proposal may have been that Mason should take Holy Orders and become domestic chaplain to his Lordship. Warburton wrote 'Convey a word or two to M^r Mason. You know how the thing stands with his Northern Lord, and you know my sentiment on it. A little after M^r Mason had left us, M^r C Yorke . . . chanced to mention that affair. He said he had met the Earl of Rockingham at some public place, and complimented him on his disposition to M^r Mason, saying what he thought most advantageous to him. He thinks M^r Mason is likely to attach the Lord's liking to him, as he is a young nobleman of elegance, and loves music and painting. In a word [he] thinks M^r Mason should not refuse the offer' (*Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends* (1808), pp 78-9). Mason, however, did not accept the offer, and was not ordained till 1754

⁹ Two or three words are missing owing to a tear in the paper (see n 5). It may be conjectured that there should be a full-stop after 'Advantages' and that the missing words conveyed a greeting to Tuthill, who had recently been out of Cambridge

¹⁰ The first figure of the date is illegible, but the postmark must have been 10, as the College books show that Gray, who left Cambridge c. 1 April, returned on 15 April ('Wednesday next'), 9 April therefore would be the date of the letter. It is endorsed by Wharton 'Mr Gray Apr 1752 to me at Cambridge'.

167. GRAY TO WALPOLE

May 28 Camb.^{se} 1752.

I AM sorry I am forced to tell you, that I can not have the Satisfaction of seeing you now at Strawberry¹ here is a D^r Wharton (whose Name you remember) a particular Friend of mine, that I have not seen in several Years' his Errand hither has been chiefly to see me, & till he leaves the Place, it will be impossible for me to stir.

I wish your Invitation had been some Weeks later,² but as it is, I must be content to lose that Pleasure, as I do most others, & only send my Love to M^r Chute, & Compliments to M^r Bentley

I am
Yours ever,
T. GRAY

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London

168 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Wednesday—[July 8, 1752]¹ Stoke

I AM at present at Stoke, to w^{ch} I came at half an Hour's Warning upon the News I received of my Mother's Illness, & did not expect to have found her alive but as I found her much better, & she continues so, I shall be very glad to make you a Visit at Strawberry, whenever you give me Notice of a convenient time I am surprized at the Print,² w^{ch} far surpasses my Idea of London Graving the Drawing itself was so finished, that I suppose, it did not require all the Art I had imagined to

LETTER 167—First printed in *The Times* of 15 May 1922, from copy of the original then owned by Messrs Knight, Frank, and Rutley

¹ Gray's presence at Strawberry Hill was probably desired by Walpole in connexion with Bentley's drawings (see Letter 161, n 2) On 6 June Walpole wrote to George Montagu 'M^r Bentley is with me finishing the drawings, for Gray's Odes'

² The postponed visit came off in the summer, as appears from Gray's letter to Walpole of 8 July, and Walpole's to Montagu of 28 Aug of this year

LETTER 168—First printed in part (in a garbled text, and in combination with a portion of another letter—see n 4) by Mason in *Memoirs*, pp 224-6, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 179.

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year is determined by the reference to the illustrations which Bentley was preparing for Gray's *Six Poems* (n 2)

² A proof print of the Cul de Lampe, which Mr Bentley designed for the Elegy in a country church-yard, and which represents a village-funeral; this occasioned the pleasant mistake of his two aunts Mason—This design,

July 1752

Gray to Walpole

Letter 168

copy it tolerably. my Aunts¹ just now, seeing me open your Letter, take it to be a Burying-Ticket enclosed, & ask, whether any body has left me a Ring² and so they still conceive it to be, even with all their Spectacles on heaven forbid they should suspect it to belong to any Verses of mine, they would burn me for a Poet Mr Bentley (I believe) will catch a better Idea of Stoke-House from any old Barn he sees, than from my Sketch but I will try my Skill I forbid no Banes; but am satisfied, if your Design succeed so well as you intend it and yet I know, it will be accompanied with something not at all agreeable to me ³ Adieu ⁴ I am

Yours ever

T G

Addressed To The Honble Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London

Postmark 9 IV

169 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Stoke, July, 1752]¹

YOUR pen was too rapid to mind the common form of a direction, and so, by omitting the words *near Windsor*, your letter has been diverting itself at another Stoke,² near Aylesbury, and came not to my hands till to-day The true original chairs were all sold, when the Huntingdons broke,³ there are nothing now but Halsey-chairs,⁴ not adapted to the squareness of a

which is placed at the end of the *Elegy*, and is the last in the book, was engraved by Charles Grignion the elder (1717-1810) Gray's admiration for Bentley's work prompted him to write the 'Stanzas to Mr Bentley' printed by Mason (*Memoirs*, p 227)

¹ Mrs Rogers (Ann Antrobus) and Mrs Olliffe (Jane Antrobus), Mrs. Gray's two surviving sisters, the unmarried sister, Mary Antrobus, having died in November 1749

² Mason here inserts '—While I write this, I receive your second letter—' and then prints as part of this letter a garbled text of Gray's letter of 13 Feb 1753 (Letter 173)

LETTER 169 —First printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol v, pp 392-3

³ This letter must have been written soon after Letter 168, at a time when Bentley was making his drawing to illustrate the *Long Story*

⁴ Stoke Mandeville

⁵ Gray is referring to the Manor House at Stoke Poges, the 'ancient pile of building' of the *Long Story*, which, according to Lysons (*Magna Britannia*, vol 1, p 635), had been built by Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and had soon afterwards been seized by the Crown for a debt

⁶ Lady Cobham, the owner of the Manor House at this time, was the

Gothic dowager's rump And by the way I do not see how the uneasiness and uncomfortableness of a coronation-chair can be any objection with you every chair that is easy is modern, and unknown to our ancestors As I remember, there were certain low chairs, that looked like ebony, at Esher,⁵ and were old and pretty Why should not Mr Bentley improve upon them?— I do not wonder at Dodsley⁶ You have talked to him of six *odes*, for so you are pleased to call every thing I write, though it be but a receipt to make apple-dumplings He has reason to gulp when he finds one of them only a long story⁷ (I don't know but I may send him very soon (by your hands) an ode to his own tooth, a high Pindarick upon stilts,⁸ which one must be a better scholar than he is to understand a line of, and the very best scholars will understand but a little matter here and there. It wants but seventeen lines of having an end, I don't say of being finished) As it is so unfortunate to come too late for Mr. Bentley, it may appear in the fourth volume of the *Miscellanies*,⁹ provided you don't think it execrable, and suppress it Pray, when the fine book is to be printed, let me revise the preface, for you know you can't,¹⁰ and there are a few trifles I could wish altered

I know not what you mean by hours of love,¹¹ and cherries, and pine-apples I neither see nor hear anything here, and am daughter of Edmund Halsey (see Letter 155, n 3) Walpole had evidently been asking for details of the furniture at the Manor House for the purposes of Bentley's drawing

⁵ Esher Place, in Surrey, the seat of Henry Pelham Gray visited it probably in Walpole's company in 1747 or 1748 (see Letter 191, n 22)

⁶ Robert Dodsley (1703–64), the publisher of the *Six Poems*

⁷ Gray was having qualms about the book (see Letter 168 *ad fin*) and especially about the *Long Story* Mason, *Memoirs*, p 227, states that 'it was for the sake of the Design which Mr Bentley made for the Long Story, that Mr Gray permitted it to be printed yet not without clearly foreseeing that he risked somewhat by the publication of it'

⁸ The *Progress of Poesy*, first printed at Strawberry Hill in 1757 Although Gray describes it as wanting but seventeen lines of having an end, he did not finish it for two years or more (see Letter 194) It may be assumed that its final form was very different from the first draft mentioned here

⁹ Dodsley's *Collection of Poems by Several Hands* (see Letter 161, n 6)

¹⁰ Walpole, when writing to Mason on 15 May, 1773, may have had this passage in mind 'I have not the patience necessary for correcting the press Gray was for ever reproaching me with it, and in one of the letters I have just turned over, he says, "pray send me the proof sheets to correct, for you know you are not capable of it"'

¹¹ Doubtless Walpole had made some allusion to Gray's relations with Miss Speed (see Letter 155, n 1)

July 1752

Gray to Walpole

Letter 169

of opinion that is the best way My compliments to Mr Bentley,
if he be with you

I am yours ever,
T GRAY.

I desire you would not show that epigram I repeated to you,
as mine. I have heard of it twice already as coming from you ¹²

169* GRAY TO WHARTON

Sept 29 [1752] ¹ Stoke

My dear Wharton

I SHALL certainly be in Town on Monday next,² for Mr Brown informed me you would arrive there on the 30th, & I order'd my Matters here accordingly you will see me the Instant I come, having (I need not tell you) not only nothing I like better to do there, but literally nothing else, than to see you I have not time to enlarge, as I send this by a Person who is just going from our House to Uxbridge, tho' to my Shame I stand indebted to you for a very kind Letter I received long ago Adieu, I am always

Very truly Yours,
T GRAY

Addressed To Dr Wharton, M D at Mr Espalin's, Barber, in Southampton Building's Holborn *Postmark* LONDON 30 SE

169** Dodsley to Gray

[*Nov* 1752]

[In his letter to Walpole of 17 Dec 1752 (Letter 170) Gray speaks of having received a letter from Dodsley, written by Walpole's

¹² Miss Berry states that she was unable to discover the epigram alluded to It is possible that this was the epigram on Etough (Letter 144, n 50), which Cole, in his letter of 11 December 1769, states was written 'twenty years ago' Cole's round number might be approximate

LETTER 169*—First printed by Mitford (1816), vol II, p 243, now reprinted from original.

¹ This letter has hitherto been placed among letters of 1753, owing to Wharton's having so dated it, but as Gray was at Durham during the whole of September 1753 (see Letters 180, 182), and in Sept 1754 Wharton was at another address (see Letter 192), the letter obviously belongs to 1752 It should be noted here that since the date (July 1752) of the last letter, the Calendar had been altered from Old to New Style, by the omission of eleven days from Sept 3 to 13, N S beginning on 14 Sept 1752

² 2 Oct

Letter 169**

Dodsley to Gray

Nov 1752

directions, with regard to the volume of Gray's *Six Poems*, with Bentley's designs, which Dodsley was preparing for publication]

169*** Gray to Dodsley

[Nov. 1752]

[In his letter of 17 Dec Gray tells Walpole that he had sent to Dodsley 'some time since' a reply to the above]

169**** Dodsley to Gray

[c Dec 15, 1752]

[In his letter to Walpole of 17 Dec Gray refers to a letter he had just received from Dodsley to say that he could have the volume of *Six Poems* finished in a fortnight, if Gray were to be in town]

170 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Camb ^{re} Dec 17 Sunday [1752]¹

I SENT to Dodsley some time since, who wrote to me by your order, what little alterations^{1a} I had to make, & should be glad to know, whether you thought them for the better or the worse. he tells me now, he could finish in a fortnight, if I were in town, but this would be very inconvenient to me at present, so I must

LETTER 170 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 181

¹ The date of the year (which has been inserted in the original by Mason) is determined by the reference to the volume of *Six Poems* in preparation by Dodsley (see Letter 169)

^{1a} See Letter 169 'there are a few trifles I could wish altered'

Four of the poems had been published before, a comparison of the earlier texts with the texts in the Bentley edition shows that three of the poems were now revised, and given the final form, which was kept in later editions. The *Eton Ode* was unchanged, the *Ode to the Spring* had one amendment (see Letter 125, n 6), there are small changes in the *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat*, but the *Elegy* was submitted to a careful revision. Corruptions which had appeared in some of the earlier editions were corrected, and it is worthy of note that Gray introduced new readings. The three manuscripts of the poem all have 'wind' in line 2, this was printed for the first time in place of 'winds', which had been the reading of all the published texts. Some variations that were now introduced were written on the margin of the manuscript in Gray's Commonplace-book, and it may be suggested that they were probably inserted after Gray had made his improvements for the Bentley edition. The Eighth Edition of the *Elegy*, which was published in December of this year, follows (with one error) the text now adopted, and the title-page describes it as 'Corrected by the AUTHOR'

Dec. 1752

Gray to Walpole

Letter 170

have the Sheets sent me to correct hither, & I suppose, it may come out in less than a Month² . . .

* * * * *
* * * * *

. you may imagine, I do not expect any thing very particular on either of these subjects, but some sort of satisfaction you will easily know how to give me in a letter; as it will be a good while, before I can see you Adieu, I am ever

Yours
T G.

Have you read Mad Maintenon's Letters²⁴ or the Micro-megas,⁵ or the dull Life of D^r Tillotson⁶ I have gone thro' the 3^d Vol of the Biographia,⁷ w^{ch} will be a great Relief to you after Bayle's⁸ pedantic bawdy all the Lives, mark'd with an E or a C, have something curious in them, those with a G are abominable foolish

I have just received the first Proofs from Dodsly I thought it was to be a Q^{to}, but it is a little Folio⁹ the Stanzas are number'd, w^{ch} I do not like¹⁰

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London
Postmark SAFFRON WALDEN 18 DE

² Walpole, writing to Montagu on 28 Aug 1752, had expressed the hope that the book would appear 'this winter'

³ A piece, containing about five lines of text, has here been cut out and Gray's allusion cannot be explained

⁴ *Les Lettres de Madame de Maintenon* (see Letter 171, n 13) had been published in two volumes by L. A. de la Beaumelle in this year (1752)

⁵ A satirical romance by Voltaire published in this year An English translation was published in 1753 Chesterfield wrote to his son on 1 Jan 1753 'A most poor performance, called *Micromegas* . . . is said to be Voltaire's, but I cannot believe it, it is so very unworthy of him, it consists only of thoughts stolen from Swift, but miserably mangled and disfigured'

⁶ By Thomas Birch (see Letter 149, n 20), published in this year

⁷ *Biographia Britannica or, the Lives of the most Eminent Persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland in the manner of Mr Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary* (see Letter 147, n 2) The third volume was published in 1750 The articles are signed C, T, E, G, X, &c

⁸ An English edition of Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (first published in 1696-7) was published in 1710

⁹ As published the volume was a small folio, measuring 15 × 10½ inches of 45 leaves, the plates and poems printed on one side only

¹⁰ The numbering of the stanzas was omitted

171. GRAY TO WHARTON

[Dec 19, 1752]¹

* * * * *

* * coming² I am sorry to tell you a sad story of our friend over the way³ young V⁴ who is now Chaplain to your new Bishop,⁵ & has had the promise of it for some time, applied to his little red L^{dash}ship,⁶ as a friend to him & to his family, to put him into orders he begun by a direct Lie, & told him, he knew the B^P was absolutely engaged to two People of Oxford, whom he named. then he drill'd⁷ him on with various trifling pretences, & at last went to town without ordaining him, or appointing any time, when he would in the mean time V being pref'd by Letters from home, went to town & was immediately ordain'd by the A^P of York,⁸ & soon after appointed Chaplain. he was inform'd from a very sure hand, that all this time his friend of Ch^{ro} had been making interest for R—fs¹⁰ against

LETTER 171 — First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 223–4, first printed in full (as far as preserved) by Mitford (1816), vol 11, pp 231–3, now reprinted from original

¹ The date was supplied by Wharton

² MS mutilated, about half a folio missing

³ Keene, Master of Peterhouse, and since March of this year Bishop of Chester (see Letter 143, n 3) Gray, himself a member of the College 'over the way', writes as if he belonged to Pembroke, Wharton's College, on the other side of the street

⁴ This was Henry Vane (b c 1725) (not to be confounded with his relative of the same name, afterwards first Earl of Darlington—see Letter 143, n 6), second son of George Vane, of Long Newton, co Durham, admitted at Inner Temple, 1744, matriculated Trinity College, Cambridge, 1746, BA 1750, Fellow, 1752, MA 1753, LL D 1761, Deacon, Nov 1752, Chaplain to Bishop of Durham, 1752, Priest, 1754, Rector of Great Stainton, co Durham, 1754–60, Prebendary of Durham, 1758, cr Baronet, 1782, d 1794

⁵ Richard Trevor (1707–71), who had been translated from St David's to Durham in October of this year, in succession to Butler, of the *Analogy*, who died in June

⁶ Keene

⁷ That is, put him off, perhaps a reminiscence of Addison's paper in the *Spectator* on the sect of women he calls 'demurrers' 'Strephon appears . . . irrevocably smitten with one that demurs out of self interest He tells me she has bubbled him out of his youth, that she has drilled him on to five and fifty, and that he verily believes she will drop him in his old age' (No 89)

⁸ Matthew Hutton (1693–1758), formerly Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, Bishop of Bangor, 1743–7, Archbishop of York, 1747–57, of Canterbury, 1757–8

⁹ Keene, Bishop of Chester.

¹⁰ John Ross, Fellow of St John's (see Letter 149, n 13).

him, & particularly had said, that V could not have it, for he was a young man, *not in Orders* yet I assure you, they are very angry (& with reason), at R¹¹ Castle; * * *

* * * * *
Birch, * * * * *
between great Fact* * * * *

of none however it is to be read [I am reading Mad-]¹² de Maintenon's Letters, they are undoubtedly genuine they begin very early in her Life, before she married Scarron,¹³ & continue after the King's Death to within a little while of her own they bear all the Marks of a noble Spirit, (in her adversity particularly) of Virtue, & unaffected Devotion, insomuch that I am almost persuaded she indulged Lewis the 14th in no Liberties, till he actually married her, & this not out of Policy & Ambition, but Conscience, for she was what we should call a Bigot, yet with great good-sense in short she was too good for a Court, Misfortunes in the beginning of her Life had form'd her Mind (naturally lively & impatient) to reflexion, & a habit of piety, she was always miserable, while she had the care of Mad de Montespan's¹⁴ children, timid & very cautious of making Use of that unlimited Power she rose to afterwards for fear of trespassing on the King's Friendship for her, & after his death, not at all afraid of meeting her own I don't know what to say to you with regard to Racine. it sounds to me as if any body should fall upon Shakespear, who indeed lies infinitely more open to Criticism of all kinds, but I should not care to be the person that undertook it if you don't like Athaliah, or Britannicus, there is no more to be said I have done

¹¹ Raby Castle was the seat of Henry Vane, afterwards Earl of Darlington (see n 4)

¹² MS. mutilated, about half a folio missing The last four words are supplied conjecturally, the lower part of 'I am' being visible The reference to Birch is doubtless in connexion with his *Life of Tillotson*, which is mentioned with Mme de Maintenon's Letters, in PS to Letter 170

¹³ Françoise d'Aubigné, Marquise de Maintenon (1635-1719), under stress of poverty in 1651, at the age of sixteen, she married the poet Scarron, who had just published his masterpiece *Le Roman Comique* (see Letter 140) In 1669 she was given secret charge of the King's children by Mme de Montespan, and in 1674 the King bestowed upon her the marquissate of Maintenon By her influence over Louis she succeeded in detaching him from Mme de Montespan, and a year or two after the death of the Queen (1683) she was secretly married to him

¹⁴ Françoise Athénaïse de Rochechouart, Marquise de Montespan (1641-1707), she had eight children by Louis XIV, two of whom died in infancy

Letter 171

Gray to Wharton

Dec 1752

Rols bears, or dissembles his disappointment better, than I expected of him: perhaps indeed it may not turn out to his disadvantage at the end he is in London about something. have you seen Bishop Hall's Satires, call'd *Virgidemæ*, republish'd lately ¹⁵ they are full of spirit & poetry, as much of the first, as Dr Donne, ¹⁶ & far more of the latter. they were wrote at this University, when he was about 23 years old, in Q Elizabeth's time ¹⁷ Adieu [Brown & Tuthill] ¹⁸ send their best Compliments, with mine, to you & M^r Wharton. I am ever

Very sincerely yours,
T G.

Addressed To Dr Wharton M D at Durham Postmark CAMBRIDGE

171* Walpole to Gray

[c Feb 11, 1753]

[From Gray's letter to Walpole of 13 Feb 1753 (Letter 173) it is evident that Gray had received a letter from Walpole telling him of the proposal to prefix his portrait to the *Six Poems* This letter, which Gray no doubt answered at once, has not been preserved]

¹⁵ Joseph Hall (1574-1656), Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (1595), successively Bishop of Exeter, 1627-41, and of Norwich, 1641 until his ejection in 1647 His satires were first published in two volumes in 1597-8 *Virgidemæ*, *Six Bookes* First three bookes of *Toothlesse Satyrs*, and *Three last bookes of byting Satyres* (Lond 12mo) The edition referred to by Gray was that edited by the Westmorland poet, William Thompson, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, which was published at Oxford with the date 1753

¹⁶ John Donne (1573-1631), the famous Dean of St Paul's, 1621-31

¹⁷ Mason, who omits the conclusion of the letter, inserts here the following paragraph, which he doubtless transferred, *more suo*, either from the lost beginning of this letter, or from some other letter of Gray to Wharton 'You do not say whether you have read the *Crito* I only recommend the dramatic part of the *Phædo* to you, not the argumentative The subject of the *Erastæ* is good, it treats of that peculiar character and turn of mind which belongs to a true philosopher, but it is shorter than one would wish The *Euthyphro* I would not read at all'

These four dialogues are among those annotated by Gray in the notes on Plato printed from his Commonplace-book by Mathias in vol 11 of his edition of the *Works of Gray* (Lond 1814)

¹⁸ See Letter 120, n 2 Mitford's restoration is not sufficient to fill the gap

172. GRAY TO DODSLEY

Sr

Feb 12 Camb^{re} [1753]

I AM not at all satisfied with the Title to have it conceived, that I publish a Collection of *Poems* (half a dozen little Matters, four of w^{ch} too have already been printed again & again) thus pompously adorned would make me appear very justly ridiculous I desire it may be understood (w^{ch} is the truth) that the Verses are only subordinate, & explanatory to the Drawings, & suffer'd by me to come out thus only for that reason therefore if you yourself prefix'd this Title, I desire it may be alter'd, or if M^r W^{ar} order'd it so, that you would tell him, why I wish it were changed in the manner I mention'd to you at first, or to that purpose for the more I consider it, the less I can bear it, as it now stands I even think, there is an uncommon sort of Simplicity, that looks like affectation, in putting our plain Christian & Surnames without a M^r before them,¹ but this (if it signifies any thing) I easily give up, the other I can not you need not apprehend, that this Change in the Title will be any prejudice to the Sale of the book a showy title-page may serve to sell a Pamphlet of a shilling or two, but this is not of a price for chance-customers, whose eye is caught in passing by a window, & could never sell but from the notion the Town may entertain of the Merit of the Drawings, w^{ch} they will be instructed in by some, that understand such things

I thank you for the Offer you make me, but I shall be contented with three Copies, two of w^{ch} you will send me, & keep the third, till I acquaint you where to send it if you will let me know the exact day they will come out a little time beforehand, I will give you a direction you will remember to send two copies to D^r Thomas Wharton, M D at Durham perhaps you may have burnt my Letter, so I will again put down the Title

Designs by M^r R Bentley

for six Poems of

M^r T. Gray²

I am, S^r,

Your humble Serv^t

T G

Addressed To M^r Dodsley

LETTER 172 —First printed by Mitford (1835-43), vol iv, pp 103-4, now reprinted from original

¹ See Walpole's remarks on this in Letter 174

² This was the title of the book when published (with the alteration of 'by Mr T Gray' for 'of Mr T Gray')

173 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Camb^{re} Feb 13 1753

SURE You are not out of your Wits¹ this I know, if you suffer my Head to be printed,¹ you infallibly will put me out of mine I conjure you immediately to put a stop to any such design who is at the Expence of engraving it, I know not, but if it be Dodsley, I will make up the Loss to him the thing, as it was, I know will make me ridiculous enough, but to appear in proper Person at the head of my works, consisting of half a dozen Ballads in 30 Pages, would be worse than the Pillory. I do assure you, if I had received such a Book with such a frontispice without any warning, I believe, it would have given me a Palsy therefore I rejoice to have received this Notice, & shall not be easy, till you tell me all thoughts of it are laid aside I am extremely in earnest, & can't bear even the Idea¹

I had wrote to Dodsley to tell him, how little I liked the Title he had prefix'd, but your letter has put all that out of my Head if you think it necessary to print these Explanations² for the use of People that have no eyes, I could be glad, they were a little alter'd I am to my shame in your debt for a long letter, but I can not think of anything else, till you have set me at ease Adieu, I am

Yours ever,
T G³

LETTER 173 —First printed in part (in a garbled text, and in combination with part of Letter 168) by Mason in *Memoirs*, pp 225–6, first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 182

¹ Dodsley had proposed to prefix Gray's portrait, engraved from the painting by Eckhardt in Walpole's possession, to the book Mason (*Memoirs*, p 225) states that the plate was actually more than half engraved, but was suppressed in consequence of Gray's protest After Gray's death Mason, as he wrote to Walpole on 5 Nov 1772 (*Walpole-Mason Correspondence*, vol 1, p 42), found 'a proof of the unfinished head from your picture of Eckarts' This proof he sent to Walpole and it is now in the possession of Dr Rosenbach It is inscribed in Walpole's hand 'M^r Gray, from the picture at Strawberry Hill, the plate of which M^r Gray destroyed v p 225' (the reference being to Mason's *Memoirs*) It seems probable that the plate was not destroyed, and at some later date J S Muller, who had engraved it originally, finished the plate (or engraved another plate) and many copies of his engraving are known to be in existence

² Four pages, containing *Explanation of the Prints* (written by Walpole), are printed at the end of the volume as published

³ There was apparently a postscript in the original which has been torn off

Feb. 1753

Walpole to Gray

Letter 173*

173*. Walpole to Gray

[c Feb 15, 1753]

[In his letter to Gray of 20 Feb 1753 (Letter 174) Walpole refers to a note he had written to Gray to allay his uneasiness in reply to his protest (Letter 173) against the proposal to prefix his portrait This note was written in haste, as Walpole explains]

173** Gray to Walpole

[c Feb 17, 1753]

[Walpole's note (Letter 173*) in reply to Gray's protest (Letter 173), instead of appeasing Gray, had, as appears from Letter 174, had 'quite the contrary effect' from what he intended, and had evidently elicited a further letter of complaint from Gray]

174 WALPOLE TO GRAY

Arlington Street Feb 20 1753

I AM very sorry that the haste I made to deliver you from your uneasiness the first moment after I received your Letter, should have made me express myself in a manner to have the quite contrary effect from what I intended. You well know how rapidly and carelessly I always write my Letters, the note¹ you mention was written in a still greater hurry than ordinary, & merely to put you out of pain I had not seen Dodsley, consequently could only tell you that I did not doubt but he would have no Objection to satisfy you, as you was willing to prevent his being a Loser by the plate ² Now, from this declaration how is it possible for you to have for one moment put such a construction upon my words, as would have been a downright stupid brutality, unprovoked? It is impossible for me to recollect my very expression, but I am confident that I have repeated the whole substance

How the bookseller would be less a Loser by being at more expense, I can easily explain to you. He feared the price of half a guinea would seem too high to most purchasers, if by the expence of ten guineas more he could make the book appear so much more rich & showy (as I beleive I said) as to induce people to think it cheap, the profits from selling many more

LETTER 174 — First printed in part in *Works of Lord Orford* (vol. v, pp 353–5), first printed in full by Toynbee (1915), No 183

¹ See non-extant Letter 173*

² See Letter 173, n. 1.

copies would amply recompense him for his additional disbursement.

The thought of having the head engraved was entirely Doddsley's own, & against my opinion, as I concluded it would be against yours, which made me determine to acquaint you with it before it's appearance

When you reflect on what I have said now, you will see very clearly, that I had & could have no other possible meaning in what I wrote last you might justly have accused me of neglect, if I had deferr'd giving you all the satisfaction in my power, as soon as ever I knew your uneasiness

The Head I give up The Title I think will be wrong, & not answer your purpose, for, as the Drawings are evidently calculated for the poems, why will the improper disposition of the Word *Designs* before *Poems*, make the Edition less yours? I am as little convinced that there is any affectation in leaving out the *M^r* before your Names, it is a barbarous addition, the other is simple & classic, a rank I cannot help thinking due to both the Poet and Painter Without ranging myself among Classics, I assure you, were I to print any thing with my name, it should be plain Horace Walpole *M^r* is one of the Gothicisms I abominate ³ The Explanation⁴ was certainly added for people who have not Eyes—such are almost all who have seen *M^r* Bentley's drawings, & think to compliment him by mistaking them for prints Alas! the generality want as much to have the words *a Man, a Cock*, written under his drawings, as under the most execrable hieroglyphics of Egypt or of sign post painters!

I will say no more now, but that you must not wonder if I am partial to you & yours, when you can write as you do & yet feel so little Vanity. I have used freedoms enough with your writings to convince you I speak truth I praise & scold *M^r* Bentley immoderately as I think he draws well or ill; I never think it worth my while to do either, especially to blame, where there are not generally vast Excellencies goodnight—dont suspect me when I have no fault but impatience to make you easy

Yrs ever,
HW

³ It is a strange commentary on Walpole's 'abomination' that his own works were published as 'By Mr Horace Walpole'

⁴ See Letter 173, n. 2

175 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Stoke Feb. 27 [1753]¹

I AM obliged on the sudden to come hither to see my poor Mother who is in a condition between Life & Death, tho' (I think) much nearer the latter yet I could not help telling you, I had received your Letter, & am pleased to find, I was in the wrong. you may be sure, I was not willing to think you so do what you please about the title, if it is time, but it seems to me the less of Puff or Ostentation it has, the better it will be, even for Dodsley² excuse my brevity, Adieu, I am ever

Yours
T G

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London
Postmark 1 MR

176 GRAY TO WHARTON

March 15 [1753]¹—Stoke

My dear Wharton

I JUDGE by this time you are in town the reason that I thought I would have deprived me of the pleasure of seeing you is now at an end my poor Mother, after a long & painful Struggle for life, expired on Sunday morning² when I have seen her buried, I shall come to London, & it will be a particular satisfaction to me to find you there if you can procure me a tolerable lodging near you, be so good (if you can conveniently) to let me know the night you receive this, if not, I shall go to my old Landlord in Jermyn Street³ I believe, I shall come on

LETTER 175 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 184

¹ The Letter is obviously an answer to Letter 174

² The book was published on 29 March, price half a guinea

LETTER 176 —First printed by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 235-6, now reprinted from original

¹ Date of year added by Wharton

² Mrs Gray died on 11 March 1753, aged 68 (not 67, as Gray inscribed on her tomb) She was buried in the churchyard at Stoke Poges in the same tomb in which her sister Mary Antrobus had been laid in 1749, and in which Gray himself was laid eighteen years later In the inscription on her tomb Gray described her as 'the careful tender mother of many children, one of whom alone had the misfortune to survive her'

³ Mitford (*Works of Gray* (1836-43) vol I, p cx) quotes the following note

Letter 176

Gray to Wharton

March 1753

Tuesday,⁴ & stay a few days, for I must return hither to pay my Aunt⁵ her Arrears, w^{ch} she will demand with great Exactness. Adieu, dear S^r, I am

Ever yours,
T GRAY.

To me, at M^{rs} Rogers's of Stoke, near Windsor Bucks.

177. GRAY TO WHARTON

Camb June 28 1753
Thursday

My dear Doctor¹

Y^{ou} may well suppose me no longer here, as I have neglected thus long to answer two very kind letters, & (w^{ch} is more) to congratulate you on what most of your friends regard as a very happy event but to me, I own, it has another face, as I have a much greater regard for you than for the young Gentleman, whom I never saw, & foresee, that from this time you will never part with your bottle, w^{ch} is properly the father of this boy² all my rhetorick will be thrown away, the Gout may groan at you, & brandish its crutches, the Stone rattle, & the Palsy shake its head unheeded we shall be no match for Claret, if it can get an heir, as well as carry an election now I talk of elections, we

by Norton Nicholls 'Mr Gray, when he came to town, lodged in Jermyn Street, St James's, at Roberts's, the hosier, or at Frisby's, the oilman They are toward the East end, on different sides of the street' As appears from the address of Letter 509*, Roberts was a hosier and hatter, and his shop was called 'The Three Squirrels' While Wharton was living in London Gray often stayed with him or took lodgings near him (see Letters 271, 285, 293) After Wharton left London in 1759 Gray for more than two years had rooms in the house in Southampton Row where Wharton had been living (see Letter 296)

⁴ 20 March

⁵ Presumably Mrs Olliffe, the aunt from whom probably the £100 was borrowed to meet the cost of rebuilding his house in Cornhill after the fire of March 1748 (see Letter 145, n 7)

LETTER 177.—First printed by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 236–7, now reprinted from original

¹ From this time onwards Gray not infrequently addresses Wharton by this title

² This was Robert, familiarly known as 'Robin', his first son ('the ejected statesman' of PS to Letter 209), who only survived until the spring of 1758 (see Letter 270) Wharton's second son, also Robert and 'Robin', was born in 1760 (see Genealogical Table).

June 1753

Gray to Wharton

Letter 177

have a report here that your friend M^r V[·] (I mean L^d Barnard)³ means to bring in his Son-in-law⁴ at Durham. is this true?⁵ H[·] Vane⁵ sets out for the North on Saturday, so I suppose the Bishop's⁶ entry will be over next week. and next Monday fortnight I hope to set out myself with Stonhewer, who is going down to his fathers,⁷ in a Post-chaise. we shall not come very fast, as I propose to see Burleigh,⁸ Bevoir-Castle,⁹ &c by the way but I shall write again before I come, to tell you exactly what day we shall be at York if the time does not suit you, you will inform me as soon as possible I did not run away from his Grace,¹⁰ but follow'd your advice, had a very affectionate squeeze by the hand, & a fine Complement in a corner many people here have been curious to know what it was; but I have kept my own secret, for indeed I do not know myself only I remember it felt warm, & sweated a little ¹¹ Adieu! you will not fail to present my Complements to M^{rs} Wharton if she drank as much Claret, as you have done, we shall have the Boy stand for the County, as soon as he can walk alone M^r Brown

³ Henry Vane, the elder, had succeeded his father as third Baron Barnard on 27 April in this year, he was created Viscount Barnard and Earl of Darlington in 1754 (see Letter 143, n 6)

⁴ This was probably Ralph Carr, of Cocken, co Durham, who in 1752 married Vane's daughter Mary Vane, however, was followed in the representation of Durham, by his son Henry Vane, the younger, who held the seat from 1753 to 1758, when he succeeded his father as second Earl of Darlington

⁵ Rev Henry Vane, chaplain to the Bishop of Durham (see Letter 171, n 4)

⁶ See Letter 171, n 5

⁷ That is, to Houghton-le-Spring, Durham, of which his father was Rector (see Letter 120, n 38).

⁸ Burleigh House, Northants, near Stamford, seat of the Earl of Exeter

⁹ Belvoir Castle, Leicester, near Grantham, seat of the Duke of Rutland

¹⁰ Cooper in his *Annals of Cambridge* under the year 1753 records (pp 290-1) 'The Duke of Newcastle the Chancellor of the University arrived at Clare Hall on the 14th of June On the 16th, he held a levee at Clare Hall. . . On the 18th, his Grace left Cambridge' Gray no doubt attended the levee

¹¹ Tovey quotes Macaulay's description of Newcastle (at the end of his Edinburgh essay on Walpole's Letters to Mann) 'Whatever was absurd about him stood out with grotesque prominence from the rest of the character. He was a living, moving, talking caricature His gait was a skuffling trot, his utterance a rapid stutter, he was always in a hurry, he was never in time, he abounded in fulsome caresses and in hysterical tears All the able men of his time ridiculed him as a dunce, a driveller, a child who never knew his own mind for an hour together, and he overreached them all round.'

Letter 177

Gray to Wharton

June 1753

(I believe) will be engaged here with Plummer¹² greatest part of the Summer [he and Tuthill]¹³ desire to be remember'd to you both. I am ever

Truly Yours
T G

Addressed To Dr Thomas Wharton, MD, at Durham By Caxton Postmark
CAMBRIDGE

178 GRAY TO WHARTON

Cambridge

Saturday, July 14 1753

My dear Doct^r

THIS is only to tell you, that we set out on Monday-Morning, & shall travel leisurely, not by the direct road, for we intend to see several houses & places, as we go, on Thursday we shall see York, & next morning as early as we can (certainly before ten o'clock) shall hope to meet you at Studley¹ you will understand all this with Arch-Bishop Potter's² Proviso, God willing, & provided nothing hinder, for if we are overturn'd, & *tous fracasés*, or if the Mob at Leeds cut us off, as friends to Turnpikes;³ or if the Waters be out, & drown us, or (as Herodotus

¹² William Plumer was entered at Pembroke in October 1752 as a Fellow-commoner 'sub Tutore Mr^o Brown Praeside'

¹³ See Letter 120, n. 2

LETTER 178—First printed by Mitford (1816), vol II, p 238, now reprinted from original

¹ Studley Roger and Studley Royal (with Studley Park and the ruins of Fountains Abbey) are both a few miles SW of Ripon, where Gray slept on the Friday (20 July) (see Letter 179). He visited Studley again, and Fountains Abbey, in Nov 1762 (see Letter 363)

² John Potter (c 1674–1747), D D, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, Regius Professor of Divinity, 1708–37, Bishop of Oxford, 1715–37, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1737–47

³ Tovey notes 'Those who travelled in post-chaises would be friends to turnpikes, for only roads maintained by turnpikes were practicable for these vehicles' He refers to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for this year, which gives accounts of serious riots in Yorkshire three weeks before the date of this letter

'York, June 24 A great number of persons having assembled in a riotous manner, in the west riding of this county, and cut down and destroy'd several turnpike gates, and burnt the toll houses, a party of Hawley's regiment of dragoons quarter'd here are march'd to suppress them' (vol. XXII, p 294).

'Leeds, June 25 This morning a message was sent to Edw^m Lascelles Esq^r that the rioters concern'd in cutting down the turnpikes, intended to demolish the turnpike bar at Harwood-Bridge, and pull down his house. Accordingly, in the afternoon, about 300, armed with swords and clubs, appeared Mr Lascelles armed about 80 of his tenants and workmen,

July 1753

Gray to Wharton

Letter 178

says) if we can go no farther *for feathers*,⁴ in all these cases, & many more, we may chance to fail you. my respects to M^r Wharton, I am ever

Yours

T GRAY

Addressed To D^r Thomas Wharton M D at Durham By Caxton Bag Post-mark CAMBRIDGE

179 GRAY TO BROWN¹

Durham July 24 Tuesday [1753]

Dear S^r

WE² perform'd our journey, a very agreeable one, within the time appointed,³ & left out scarce any thing worth seeing in or near our way the Doctor & M^r Wharton had expected us about two hours when we arrived at Studley⁴ on Friday, we pass'd that night at Rippon, & the next at Richmond, and on Sunday Evening⁵ got to Durham I can not now enter into the particulars of my travels, because I have not yet gather'd up my Quotations from the Clafsicks to intersperse, like M^r Addison⁶ but I hope to be able soon to entertain you with a dish of very choice erudition I have another reason too, w^{ch} is, that the Post is just setting out suffice it to tell you, that I have one of the most beautiful Vales here in England to walk in with prospects that change every ten steps, & open something new wherever I turn me, all rude & romantic, in short the sweetest

resolved to defend the bar, and march'd himself on foot at the head of them, to meet the rioters After some skirmishing, in which several were wounded on both sides, he took about 30 prisoners, of whom ten were committed to York Castle the next day' (p 343)

⁴ The reference is to Herodotus, iv 7 'Above, to the northward of the farthest dwellers in Scythia, the country is said to be concealed from sight and made impassable by reason of the feathers which are shed abroad abundantly' (tr Rawlinson) 'Feathers', as Herodotus explains later (iv. 31), must be interpreted as 'snow flakes' Mitford quotes Swift's humorous application of this passage in his *Tale of a Tub* (57) to the number of authors in England

LETTER 179 —First printed by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 13-16, now reprinted from original

¹ See Letter 115, n 1 Mitford gave Mason as the addressee, and corrected the error in the Appendix (p 491) to his second edition (1855)

² He was accompanied by Stonhewer (see Letter 177)

³ See Letter 178

⁴ See Letter 178, n 1

⁵ 22 July.

⁶ In his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703*, Lond., 1705 See Walpole's burlesque of Addison's style in Letter 17

Letter 179

Gray to Brown

July 1753

Spot to break your neck or drown yourself in that ever was beheld I have done neither yet, but I have been twice at the Races,⁷ once at the Assembly, have had a visit from Dr Chapman⁸ & dined with the Bishop⁹ I am very shabby, for Stonhewer's Box with my Coat in it, w^{ch} went by Sea¹⁰ is not yet arrived you are desired therefore to send Lee the Bedmaker at Pet house to the Master of the Lynn-boats¹¹ to enquire, what Vessel it was sent by, & why it does not come it was directed to Dr Stonhewer of Houghton¹² to be left with the Rector of Sunderland another trouble I have to give you, w^{ch} is to order Barnes to bring any Letters Stonhewer or I may have to you, & direct 'em hither the Doctor & M^{rs} Wh desire their particular Compliments to you, & are sorry you could not be with us. Adieu, I am ever Sincerely

Yours
T G

P S I have left my Watch hanging (I believe) in my bed-room. will you be so good to ask after it

Addressed To The Rev^d M^r Brown, M A President of Pembroke Hall
Cambridge By Caxton Postmark DURHAM

180 GRAY TO MASON

Dear Mason,

Durham Sept 21 [1753]¹

It is but a few days, since I was inform'd by Avison,² that the alarm you had on your sister's³ account served but to prepare

⁷ The race-course was near Old Elvet (see Letter 143, n 1)

⁸ The Master of Magdalene, who was a Prebendary of Durham (see Letter 135, n 17)

⁹ Dr Richard Trevor, the 'new Bishop' (see Letter 171, n 5)

¹⁰ It would go by the Cam and Ouse to King's Lynn (see n 11), and thence by sea to Sunderland

¹¹ In *Cantabrigia Deputa*, under the heading of 'Stage-Waggons and other Carriers' is the following notice 'Lynn Passage-Boats, go down from hence every Tuesday Morning, and return on Sundays'

¹² Houghton-le-Spring is about five miles SW of Sunderland (see n 10)

LETTER 180—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, p 229, first printed in full by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 16-17, now reprinted from original

¹ The date of the year was inserted by Mason

² Charles Avison (c 1710-70), musician, of Newcastle, where in 1736 he was appointed organist of St Nicholas's Church, a post which he held till his death For many years he was the chief of a small circle of musical amateurs in the north of England, among whom was Mason, and he seems

Sept. 1753

Gray to Mason

Letter 180

you for a greater Loss,⁴ w^{ch} was soon to follow. I know, what it is to lose a Person,⁵ that one's eyes & heart have long been used to, & I never desire to part with the remembrance of that loss, nor would wish you should it is something, that you had a little time to acquaint yourself with the Idea beforehand (if I am inform'd right) & that He probably suffer'd but little pain, the only thing that makes death terrible

It will now no longer be proper for me to see you at Hull⁶ as I should otherwise have tried to do I shall go therefore to York with intention to make use of the Stage-Coach either on Friday or Monday⁷ I shall be a week at Cambridge,⁸ & then pass thro' London into Buckinghamshire if I can be of any use to you in any thing it will give me great pleasure let me have a line from you soon, for I am very affectionately

Yours

T GRAY

181 MASON TO GRAY

Dear Mr Gray,

You have been rightly informd that I have lost a most affectionate Father I have felt for him, all that a heart not naturally hard, & at the time already softend by preceeding anxiety could feel But my Greifs rest not on him alone, only last tuesday my most intimate friend D^r Prickett¹ followd him, a Man who to have been a friend of Wharton's (see Letter 184) In 1752 he published his *Essay on Musical Expression*, to which Mason contributed a note on the difference between ancient and modern music (Mason, *Works*, 1811, vol iii, p 396) For Avison's collaboration with Garth in the English version of Marcello's *Psalms*, see Letter 195, n 10

³ His half-sister Anne, then a child

⁴ His father, Rev William Mason, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Kingston-upon-Hull, 1722-53, had died, as Mason records, a few weeks before, on 26 Aug (See 'Dates of the principal events relative to myself', printed from Mason's MS, in *Hurd-Mason Correspondence*, p xxx)

⁵ His own mother

⁶ Mason's home (see n 4)

⁷ That is, Friday, 28 Sept, or Monday, 1 Oct (see PS to Letter 182)

⁸ In the event he only stayed a single day at Cambridge, being called to Stoke by the news of the illness of his aunt, Mrs Rogers (see Letter 183)

LETTER 181 —First printed by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 18-21, now reprinted from original

¹ Dr Marmaduke Prickett, a young Physician of my own age, with whom I was brought up from infancy, who died of the same infectious fever [as my Father] Mason —Marmaduke Prickett, who was born at Hull in 1724, where he subsequently practised as a physician, was admitted as a pensioner at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1742, Scholar, 1743, MB 1748, admitted at Leyden, 1749, died 18 Sept 1753

I assure you had more good Qualities of the Heart, than the brightest of the Head could outballance either in mine or your estimation, we were brought up together from infancy & ever livd in the sincerest affection, in my long illness at London he attended me with a Care and assiduity almost unparralleld. I endeavord to repay that Care in my turn but alas his Fate did not give me time to discharge half the debt, yet what I could, I did

O M^r Gray how dreadful is it to sit besides a Dying Friend¹ to see as I did, reason withdraw herself gradually, often return by starts, to a Memory evry Minute less capable of furnishing her with Ideas, and a tongue less able to give them utterance. I talk nonsense I beleive, but let me do it, it gives me some relief, what makes his Loss to me more deplorable is, that I am afraid either the Physician who constantly attended him mistook his Case, or that the other who was calld in afterwards hastend his End, for a sudden change ensued the alteration of his medicines. But I will check myself till I see you and then you must bear with me, if I am even a Child or a Woman in my complainings. I must add however that in a Will he made five year ago his Friendship bequeathd to me two hundred pounds w^{ch} when my Debt is dischargd to his executor will be reduced to one, yet the sum will come at present as oportunly as any thing of the kind possibly could, as My Father by the Strangest disposition of his affairs that can be conceivd has left all my paternal estate to my Mother in Law² for her life and entaild it so on my little sister, that I can take up no Money upon it, so that without this Legacy I should not have had a Shilling at present. I beleive I shall be obligd to take a journey to Mr Huttons³ near Richmond and may perhaps be at York next

¹ Here, as often in the eighteenth century and earlier, in the sense of step-mother. Sarah Mason, Mason's own mother, died within a year of his birth.

² In his 'Dates of the principal events relative to myself' (see Letter 180, n 4), Mason records 'John Hutton Esq of Marske, near Richmond Yorkshire, died Jan^y 12th 1768 by whose death an estate in the East Riding came to me in reversion †' This John Hutton married as his second wife in 1726 Elizabeth, daughter of James D'Arcy, first Baron D'Arcy, of Navan, co Meath, of the same family as Lord Holderness, through which marriage Mason was a distant connexion of the latter.

Mason also records (*loc cit*) 'Arch Bishop Hutton gave me the Prebend of Holme in the Church of York Dec 6th 1756' Matthew Hutton (1693-

† Probably from the family of Hutton's first wife, Barbara Barker, who was a distant cousin of Mason's.

Sept. 1753

Mason to Gray

Letter 181

sunday,⁴ but this is so exceedingly uncertain that I only just name it but would not have you alter your schemes upon it for the sake of a meeting Because my Mother is at present in a fever with three blisters but I hope on the recovery, yet I cannot leave her till there appears a greater certainty. Tom⁵ has been also in a feavor and got out only to day, therefore I dont know whether he'll be in a condition to travel, and I cant easily relinquish the pomp of travelling with a Servt all on a sudden; and my Father's Servt, a Lad of the same age, died the week after his Master of a Fever also from all this you may guess what a time I have gone thro lately yet I am well myself at present except that my hands tremble, and my spiritts often, very often sink. yet have they supported me hitherto supprizingly. Pray tell M^r Brown when you see him that I fear I cannot be up at College by the tenth of October,⁶ yet I shall get there as soon as ever I can make any end of my perplext [affairs]⁷ here I wish you had told me how long you would stay in Buckinghamshire I hope it will be short, and that we may meet again at Cambridge soon adieu My best compl^{ts} to D^r Wharton I am D^r Sir

yours with sincerity and affection

W MASON

Hull Sept 23^d—53

Do write to me again very soon

Addressed To Thomas Gray Esquire at D^r Whartons in Durham

182 GRAY TO MASON

My dear Mason,

I HAVE just received your Letter, & am both surprized, & angry (if you will suffer me to say so) at the weaknefs of your father perhaps I ought not to use such words to a person, whose

1758), successively Bishop of Bangor, 1743-7, Archbishop of York, 1747-57, and of Canterbury, 1757-8, was the younger brother of the above John Hutton

⁴ 30 Sept

⁵ His servant, possibly the 'Tom' mentioned eight years later (see Letter 35¹)

⁶ 'October-Term begins October the 10th, divides November the 13th, and ends December the 16th' (Carter, *Hist Univ Camb*, p 10)

⁷ MS torn, text supplied by Mitford

LETTER 182—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 229-30, first printed in full by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 21-3, now reprinted from original

affliction for him is perhaps heighthen'd by that very weaknefs, for I know, it is poffible to feel an additional sorrow for the faults of thofe we have loved, even where that fault has been greatly injurious to ourfelves. this is certain, he has been (whether from his illnefs, or fome other caufe) at leaft guilty of a great weaknefs, & it is as fure, that there muft have been a great fault fome-where, probably in the Perfon¹ who took advantage of his weaknefs, upon whom your care & kindnefs is very ill-beflow'd tho' you do not at prefent fhew any refentment, nor perhaps ever will, at leaft let me defire you not to expofe yourfelf to any farther danger in the midft of that fcene of ficknefs & death, but withdraw as foon as poffible to fome place at a little diftance in the country, for I do not at all like the place you are in I do not attempt to confole you on the fituation your fortune is left in if it were far worfe, the good opinion I have of you tells me, you will never the fooner do anything mean or unworthy of yourfelf, & confequently I can not pity you on this account but I fincerely do fo on the new lofs you have had of a good & friendly Man, whose Memory I honour may I remind you, how, like a Simpleton, I ufed to talk about him? it is foolifh to mention it, but it feels I don't know how like a fort of guilt in me tho' I believe you knew, I could not mean any thing by it I have feen, what you describe, & know how dreadful it is, I know too, I am the better for it we are all idle & thoughtlefs things, & have no fenfe, no ufe in the world any longer than that fad impreffion lafts, the deeper it is engraved, the better I am forced to break off by the Poft Adieu, my dear Sr, I am ever
yours,

T G

P S I fhall be at York on Sunday² at the Place the Stage-Coach goes from, having a place taken for Monday pray remember James's Powder,³ I have great faith in its efficacy,

¹ Presumably Gray meant Mason's ftep-mother

² 30 Sept

³ This powder, which had a great vogue at this time, had been patented in 1746 by Robert James, M D, the author of a *Medicinal Dictionary* published in 1743, the dedication of which to Dr Mead was written by his friend, Dr Johnson, who alfo contributed to the work The powder, which was recommended by the patentee for ufe 'in acute continual Fevers, the Small-Pox, Measles, Acute Rheumatisms, Colds, Headach, and all Inflammatory Dif eases', was made up in packets, each containing fix powders, three for ufe in the morning, and three for night The price was 2s 6d a packet, the

Sept 1753

Gray to Mason

Letter 182

& should take it myself here is a malignant Fever in the town

Sept 26 Durham [1753]

183 GRAY TO WHARTON

Oct 18 Stoke [1753]

My dear Doctor

You will wonder not to have heard sooner of me the reason has been the instability of my own situation as soon as I arrived at Cambridge,¹ I found a letter informing me my Aunt Rogers had had a stroke of the Palsy, so that I stay'd only a single day,² & set out for this place I found her recover'd surprisingly from the greatest danger her speech only is not yet quite restored, but it is easily intelligible to such as are used to her is not this something extraordinary at seventy seven?³

I met Mason at York, & pass'd that evening⁴ with him * * * s he has absolutely no support at present but his fellowship, yet he looks more like a Hero, than ever I knew him, like one that can stare poverty in the face without being frighted, & instead of growing little & humble before her, has fortified his Spirit & elevated his brow to meet her like a Man. in short if he can hold it, I shall admire him, for I always maintain'd, that no body has occasion for Pride but the Poor, & that every where else it is a sign of folly my journey was not so bad as usual in a Stage-Coach there was a Lady Swinburne,⁶

sole authorized agents for its sale, being the owners of the patents, John and Francis Newbery (father and son), the publishers in St Paul's Churchyard (See *The Times*, 24, 28, 30 Dec 1929)

LETTER 183—First printed by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 239-42, now reprinted from original

¹ On 3 Oct He left York on Monday 1 Oct (see PS to Letter 182), and, as he says below, left Stilton on the third day, and got to Cambridge that night

² He had intended to stay a week (see Letter 180)

³ She survived until September 1758

⁴ 30 Sept (see PS to Letter 182)

⁵ A piece, containing two words in one line and the two lines following, has been cut out, carrying with it the text on the other side (see n 11). 'has' and 'great' begin the two lines that are missing

⁶ This was the widow of Sir John Swinburne, third Baronet (1716), of Capheaton, co Northumberland, to whom she was married in 1721, and who died in 1745 She was Mary, only daughter of Edward Bedingfield, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-law, youngest son of Sir Henry Bedingfield, first Baronet,

a Roman-Catholick, not young, that had been much abroad, seen a great deal, knew a great many people, very chatty & communicative, so that I pass'd my time very well, & on the third day left them at Stilton, & got to Cambridge that night. as I know, & have heard mighty little to entertain you with, I can only tell you my observations on the face of the Country & the Season in my way hither, that you may compare them with what you see at Durham till I came to York I thought the face of every thing rather alter'd for the worse, certainly not better than that corner of the Bishoprick about Darlington at Topcliffe⁷ I saw a large Vine full of black Grapes, that seem'd ripe at Helperby⁸ met a flock of Geese *in full song* if their person had not betray'd them, one might have taken them for Nightingales at York Walnuts ripe, 20 for a penny from thence, especially South of Tadcaster, I thought the Country extremely beautiful, broke into fine hills cover'd with noble woods, (particularly toward the East) & every thing as verdant almost, as at Midsummer this continued to Doncaster; the Hazle & White-thorn were turning yellow in the hedges, the Sycamore, Lime, & Ash (where it was young, or much exposed) were growing rusty, but far greener than in your County The old Ash, the Oak, & other Timber shew'd no signs of winter some few of the Lands were in stubble, but for the most part they were plough'd up, or cover'd with Turneps I find Mr Evelyn in his book of Forest-trees⁹ publish'd in Q. Anne's time takes notice 'That Shropshire & several other Counties, and rarely any beyond Stamford to Durham, have the Vernacula, (or French Elm) or the Mountain-Elm, (w^{ch} is what you call the English Elm,) growing for many miles together' I cannot say I saw any, but about Scrubey¹⁰ in Nottinghamshire,

of Oxburgh, co Norfolk, and brother of the second Baronet (also Sir Henry), by Mary, youngest sister of Sir Clement Fisher, third Baronet, of Great Parkington, co Warwick She had four sons, and seven daughters, of whom the third, Mary, became the wife in 1754 of Gray's friend and correspondent, Edward Bedingfield (see Letter 210, n 1) See Genealogical Table

⁷ Gray (who may have travelled by post-chaise from Durham to York) followed the main road as far as Topcliffe (twelve miles from Northallerton)

⁸ From Topcliffe he went about four miles to Helperby, and from there must have taken some by-road to join the road from Easingwold to York

⁹ John Evelyn (1620-1706) published his *Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees and the Propagation of Timber* in 1664, it being the first book printed by order of the Royal Society Gray quotes from the edition published in 1706 (p 48)

¹⁰ Scrooby, about two miles S of Bawtry on the Yorkshire border

& they were young ones newly planted near a hedge-row he also mentions 'the Elm of a more scabrous Leaf, harsh, & very large, w^{ch}

* * * * *
* * * * * for my part, *

* o sort *¹¹ at least of any size, or growing in a wld way, till I came into Northamptonshire I thought the winter more advanced in Lincolnshire, & so on, till I had pass'd Huntingdon, than it was in the W Riding of Yorkshire. in Northamptonshire I first observed the appearances of a long drough, w^{ch} continued quite hither the Turf is every where brown & burnt up, as in Italy, even the low Meadows want their usual verdure at Cambridge the finest Grapes I ever saw there; the Lime-trees were only changing colour, but had drop'd few of their leaves in the smoke of London they had almost lost their old leaves, but made fresh shoots, as green as in April & here before my window are two young Sycamores, w^{ch} have done the same, but still retain all their old leaves too without any change of colour at Trompington the new Rye was green in the fields, & three inches high it is the same in this County we are here upon a Loam with a bed of Gravel below, & Ragstone beneath that the Hay is usually all in by old Midsummer this year it was all cut by new Mids^r,¹² but a great deal of it lost for want of rain, w^{ch} likewise spoil'd the Tares & Peas in the beginning of August was rain for near three weeks, w^{ch} saved the Corn Oats were in some places cut before the wheat, w^{ch} was all got in by the 20th of August Barley, Beans, &c, by the 7th of Sept^r I came hither the 6th of October, & they had then within a mile of the Thames (where the soil is better, than here) begun to sow wheat for six weeks before my arrival it had been continued fine weather, & the air till Sunset was like July never almost was such a year known for fruit the Nectarines & best Peaches had been all gather'd three weeks before the Grapes were then perfectly ripe, & still continue the best I ever eat in England Oct 9th it began to rain, & we have had showers every day since, with brisk winds in the S & S W, today it is in the North, clear sunshine, but cold & a little wintry & so ends

¹¹ Piece cut out (see n 5) The passage from Evelyn's *Sylva*, p 46 (see n 9) which Gray presumably transcribed continues 'becomes a huge tree mentioned in the Statute-Books under the name of the Wych-Hasel' After this Mitford restored 'for my part [I could find n]o sort [but the last]'

¹² That is, eleven days later, that being the difference between O S and N S in the eighteenth century

Letter 183

Gray to Wharton

Oct 1753

my Georgick in prose excuse me, if I had nothing better to send you it is partly from my own eyesight, & partly from the report of such as have no prejudices in favour of their county, because they hardly know, there is any other

I write chiefly to draw on a letter from you, for I am impatient to know many things, but remember, this election time¹ letters are apt to be open'd at the offices pray, make my sincere acknowledgements to my *kind Hostess* I trust, she was not the worse for her journey I hope, you know, that I am ever

Yours
T G

P S Every thing resounds with the Wood-Lark, & Robin, & the voice of the Sparrow is heard in our land remember me to all, that remember there is such a person Adieu!

At M^{rs} Rogers's of Stoke near Windsor, Bucks

Addressed To D^r Thomas Wharton, M D at Durham *Postmark* 19 oc

184 GRAY TO MASON

Stoke—Nov 5 [1753]¹

My dear Mason,

I AM not in a way of leaving this place yet this fortnight, & consequently shall hardly see you in town I rejoice in the mean time to think, that you are there, & have left (I hope) a part of your disagreeable reflections in the place, where they grew Stoke has revived in me the memory of many a melancholy hour, that I have pass'd in it,² & tho' I have no longer the same cause for anxiety, I do not find myself at all the happier for thinking, that I have lost it as my thoughts now signify nothing to any one, but myself, I shall wish to change the scene, as soon as ever I can

I am heartily glad to hear M^r Hutton³ is so reasonable, but

¹ 'All England is gone over all England electioneering', writes Walpole to Mann on 21 July 1753 The Parliament of 1747 was drawing near its term, and the constituencies were busy preparing for the dissolution, which took place at the beginning of April

LETTER 184—First printed by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 23-5, now reprinted from original

² Date of year inserted by Mason

³ At the time of his mother's illness and death (see Letters 168 and 176)

⁴ See Letter 181, n 3.

Nov 1753

Gray to Mason

Letter 184

am rather sorry to find that design⁴ is known to so many. Dr Wharton, who (I suppose) heard it from Avison,⁵ mentions it in a letter to me were I you, I should have taken some pleasure in observing people's faces, & perhaps in putting their kindness a little to the trial it is a very useful experiment, & very possibly you will never have it in your power to put it in practise again pray, make your bargain with all the circumspection, & selfishness of an old Hunk, when you are grown as rich as Cræsus, do not grow too good-for-nothing a little good-for-nothing to be sure you will grow every body does in proportion to their circumstances, else indeed what should one do with one's money? my third *Sentence* is, don't anticipate your revenues, & live upon air, till you know what you are worth you bid me write no more than a scrall to you, therefore I will trouble you, as you are so busy, with nothing more Adieu!

I am very sincerely & affectionately

Yours
T G

turn over

I should be obliged to you, if you had time to ask at Roberts's,⁶ or some place in Jermyn-street, whether I could be there about a fortnight hence I won't give more than $\frac{1}{2}$ a guinea a week, nor put up with a second floor, unless it has a tolerable room to the street will you acquaint me of this?

Addressed To William Mason Esq^{re}, at M^r Rowland Hosier's in Panton Square near the Haymarket London *Postmark* 6 NO

⁴ This may refer to a proposal, due to Hutton (see Letter 181, n. 3), who was a connexion of both parties, that Mason should become private secretary to Lord Holderness, at this time Secretary of State for the Southern Department. Mason appears to have held this post for a time at the beginning of 1754, he was absent from Cambridge from about the middle of January till towards the end of March, and Walpole writes to Bentley on 6 March 1754 (the day of the Prime Minister, Henry Pelham's death) 'Lord Holderness had but just taken M^r Mason the poet into his house to write his deserts' Further confirmation is supplied by a remark of Mason printed in the *Harcourt Papers* (vol vii, p. 191) 'I remember when first I went from Cambridge into Lord Holderness's family, Gray who went up to town in the same stage coach, told people in London "that he was come to put Mason apprentice to a Secretary of State"'

⁵ See Letter 180, n. 2

⁶ See Letter 176, n. 3

184* GRAY TO BROCKETT¹[c 1754]²

MR GRAY sends his Compliments to Mr Brocket shall be extremely obliged to him, if he would make inquiry (when he has occasion to go into Trin Library) after the following old English Books

Paradise of dainty Devices 1578 4^{to} & 1585

England's Helicon 4^{to}

W Webbe's Discourse of Eng Poetrie 1585 4^{to}

Fr Mercers' Wit's Commonwealth 1598 Lond & 1634

Sam Daniel's Musa or Defence of Rhyme 16[11] [8]^{vo}³

Steph Hawes Pastime of Pleasure 1555 4^[to]³

Gawen Douglas' Palace of Honour 1553 Lond [15]79 Ed[in]³

Earl of Surrey's Ecclesiastes 1567 4^{to}

2^d & 4th Books of the Æneid 1557 12^{mo}

Gascoign's Works 2 V 4^{to} 1577 & 1587

If they should not be in the Library, Mr Gray believes that Professor Torriano⁴ could favour him with a sight of some of them for a few days he will take all imaginable care of them

185 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Dear S^rFriday [Feb 15 1754]¹ Cambridge

I SEND you my Story,² that you may not wait longer for it, tho' it does not at all satisfy me, but I do not know how to make it intelligible in fewer words

LETTER 184*—First printed in Tovey's *Gray and his Friends*, pp 190–1, now reprinted from original It was folded as a note and presumably sent by hand

¹ See Letter 149, n 7

² Date conjectural, the reference to Professor Torriano (see n 4), who was elected Regius Professor of Hebrew in 1753, in succession to Thomas Harrison (d 3 July 1753), and resigned his Professorship 20 Oct 1757, gives the limits within which the letter can be dated As Gray's *Progress of Poesy* (in the notes to ll 69 ff of which he mentions Surrey) was in course of composition during 1754, and was completed by the end of this year (see Letter 194), this request for the loan of Surrey's works and of other contemporary poets may well have been made sometime in 1754

³ MS damaged by damp, text restored conjecturally

⁴ Charles Torriano, of Trinity, Scholar, 1746, BA 1749, MA 1752, Fellow, 1751, Regius Professor of Hebrew, 1753–7, Rector of Chingford, Essex, 1757, d c 1778

LETTER 185—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 185

¹ The date has been inserted in the original by Walpole, that of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year by reference to the next letter (see n 6), which is dated in full

Feb 1754

Gray to Walpole

Letter 185

Bianca Capello,¹

Veneta, adolescenti nupsit nobili Florentino, quem ideo a patre domo expulsum uxor suâ operâ⁴ diu sustentabat, donec Franciscus Medicus M. Hetruriæ Dux, mulieris formâ captus eam in aulam perduxit, maritum ad summos honores extulit, qui potestate insolentér usus cum sæpe in crimina incurrisset, sæpé conjugis gratiâ (quam tamén asperius tractaverat) supplicium effugisset, novissimé suâ manu hominem confodit. Biancâ Ducis clementiam implorante, juravit Franc^{cus} se de marito pœnas non sumpturum, sed nec de illis, qui eum ipsum occidissent. quo audito, vir ab inimicis interfectus est. viduam Franciscus justum in matrimonium duxit. hos ambos uno in convivio Ferdinandus Cardinalis, Fr^{ater} frater, veneno sustulit, ipse deinceps Hetruriæ Dux, cognomento Maximus.

I am collecting what I can about the two Marriages⁵ & will send it you next week,⁶ tho' I find the Chronicles of latter times do little more than copy Fabian⁷ they are excellent writers, & I thank you for bringing us acquainted I am ever

Yours

T G

Addressed To The Hon^{ble} Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London
Postmark ROYSTON 16 FE

186. GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge] March 3^d 1754

You are to dispatch forthwith an Expres to Angers to fetch the windows of S^t Bonaventure's Chappel in the Church of

² Walpole had asked Gray to supply him with a brief account in Latin of Bianca Capello, for his picture of her by Vasari (see his letter to Mann of 28 Jan 1754), which in the *Description of Strawberry Hill* is said to have been 'bought out of the Vitelli palace at Florence by sir Horace Mann, and sent to Mr Walpole' (*Works of Lord Orford*, vol 11, p 469). Bianca's story, 'written in a cartouche on the frame', is there given in English, which, however, is obviously based on the Latin version supplied by Gray in this letter.

³ A Venetian (d 1587), who was first the mistress, and subsequently the wife, of the Grand-Duke Francis I of Tuscany.

⁴ Gray wrote first, 'suis laboribus'.

⁵ Of Henry VI and Henry VII (see next letter).

⁶ Actually, in the letter of 3 March.

⁷ Robert Fabyan (d 1513), author of a Chronicle from the time of the arrival of Brutus in England down to the death of Henry VII. It was first printed by Pynson in 1516.

LETTER 186—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 186 On the

the Cordeliers there, in them are painted Margaret of Anjou herself kneeling; her Mother Isabella, Dutcheſs of Lorraine, first Wife of René, K of Sicily, Joan de la Val, his second wife; Yolande, his eldest daughter, also D^{cs} of Lorraine, & John, Duke of Calabria, his eldest Son these are not mobbled Queens¹ upon a tomb, but fair & flourishing figures with entire faces. the hair of the four Women is dishevel'd below their girdle, w^{ch} one would think was a fashion peculiar to them, for no other cotemporary Lady have I ever seen, that did not wear hers trussed up & plaited, or quite hid to stay your stomach till the return of the Courier, you may see them all in Montfaucon's Antiquities, (Tom 3 Plates 47, & 63) I think you have the Book, & pray observe, if the Mother does not resemble that figure in the Picture² with the large sleeves & hair at length on the foreground now for the time, place, & circumstances of the marriage, here begins Wylliam Wyrcester³ (p 462) 'A D 1444, & anno Regis Hen 6^{ti} 23^o, Rex accepit in uxorem dominam juvenem, filiam Regis Neapolis, Cecilæ, & Jerusalem, quæ desponsata erat in abbaciâ de Tycchefield in Comitatu Suthampton A D 1445 Coronacio uxoris Henr 6^{ti} apud Westmonast^m 30^{mo} Maii' next comes M^r Alderman Fabian⁴ 'A D 1444 the Marques of Suffolke soon after with his wyfe & other honourable Personages as well of men as of women with great Apparayll of chayris and other costious ordenaunce for to convey the forenamed Lady Margerete into Englande sayled into Fraunce, & so tarried there all this Mayres year A.D 1445 This 23^d Year (of Henry 6th) & month of the

original has been written in pencil, 'Containing large quotations relative to the subject of the historic doubts', but this is an error, for Walpole did not begin his *Historic Doubts on Richard the Third* until the winter of 1767 (see *Short Notes*, under 1 Feb 1768) The extracts in fact relate to the marriages of Henry VI and Henry VII, about which Walpole was anxious for information in order to identify the personages in two pictures of these subjects which he had recently acquired (see nn 2, 23)

¹ *Hamlet*, II 2

² This was 'an ancient and valuable piece, representing the marriage of Henry VI', which afterwards hung 'over the chimney' in the Library at Strawberry Hill This picture, which is in possession of the Duke of Sutherland, is figured and described in the second chapter of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (see *Works of Lord Orford*, vol III, pp 37-9)

³ William of Wyrcester or Worcester (c 1415-82), author of *Annales Rerum Anglicarum* It was first printed by Hearne in 1728

⁴ See Letter 185, n 7 He was Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without

foresayd Lady Margerete came over into Englande, & in the monthe of . . following she was maryed at a towne called Southwyke in the countre of Hamshyre, and from thence she was convey'd by the Lordes & Estates of this Lande, w^{ch} mette with her in sundry places with great retynewe of men in sundry Lyveryes with their slevys browderyd & some betyn with goldsmythe's werkes in most costly maner, & specyally (of) the D^y of Glouceter mette with her with 500 Men in one lyverye, & so was convey'd unto Blackhethe, where upon the 18th of Maye she was mette with the Mayer, Aldⁿ & Sheryffes of the Citie & the Craftes of the same in *Browne* blew with brawderyd slevys, that is to meane, every maister or crafte with the conysaunce of his *maister* (read, *mystery*) & red hoodes upon eyther of their heddes, and so the same day brought her unto London, where for her were ordeyned sumptuous & costly Pagentes & resemblaunce of dyverse old hystories to the great comfort of her & such as came with her—& so with great triumphe she was brought unto Westminstre, where upon the 30th of May, the day after Trinitie Sunday she was solcmly crowned' (fol 199) As to Grafton,⁵ Hall,⁶ Speed,⁷ Hollingshed,⁸ & other Chroniclers^{8a} of Q Eliz^a time I transcribe nothing from them, because they add nothing new to Fabian's account, indeed only copy him, or one another Stow⁹ only, as he is more particular, I shall make use of 'This noble Company (L^d Suffolk, & others not named) came to the City of Towers in Touraine, where they were honourably received & entertain'd both of the 'French King & Duke Reiner, where the Marquefs of Suffolke, as Procurator to K Henry, espoused the said Lady in the Church of S^t Martin at w^{ch} marriage were present the Father & Mother of the Bride, the French King who was¹⁰ Uncle to

⁵ Richard Grafton (d c 1572), author of an *Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (1562), and of a *Chronicle at Large* (1568)

⁶ Edward Hall (d 1547), author of the *Unon of the Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York* (1542).

⁷ John Speed (c 1552–1629), author of the *History of Great Britaine* (1611).

⁸ Raphael Holinshed (d c 1580), author of *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1578)

^{8a} In the Pembroke College Library Register Gray's name is entered as borrowing in Jan and Feb 1754, Strype's *Annals*, Wood's *Institutes*, and Rymer's *Fadera*

⁹ John Stow (c 1525–1605), author of a *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (1565), and of the *Chronicles of England* (1580)

¹⁰ This is a mistake he was indeed Uncle to K. Henry 6th, but Cousin only to Ren , K. of Sicily, & c Gray

Duke Reiner, & the French Queen¹¹ Aunt to the Dutcheſs his Wife. alſo the Dukes of Orleans,¹² of Calabre,¹³ of Alanson¹⁴ & of Brytaine,¹⁵ 7 Earls, 12 Barons, 20 Biſhops, beſides Knights & Gentlemen, when the feaſt, triumphs, banquets, & juſts were ended, the Lady was deliver'd to y^e Marqueſs of Suffolk, w^{ch} in great eſtate convey'd her thorow Normandy unto Diepe, where awhile they remained the Lady, being transported from Diepe, landed at Portcheſter, from whence ſhe was convey'd by water to Hampton, & reſted there in a place call'd Gods-Houſe,¹⁶ from thence ſhe went to Southwicke,¹⁷ & was married to the King in the Abbey of Tichfield¹⁸ on the 22^d of April &c

Now you are to determine whether the Picture repreſent the marriage at Tours, (w^{ch} may be, & yet Henry 6th may be introduced, tho' not there in perſon) this muſt be the caſe, if one of thoſe women be the Queen of Sicily, for neither ſhe, nor any of the family accompanied Margaret to England they took leave of her at Bar-le-Duc with abundance of tears, & at Rouen ſhe was conſign'd to her Engliſh attendants, who made their entry with great pomp into that city I can tell you exactly, who they were, & what they did there ſhall I? if it is nothing to your purpoſe, you may paſs it over

'Le Roy Henry envoya pluſieurs Seigneurs & Dames de ſon pays au dit lieu de Rouen fort hautement & richement habilléz, c'eſt a ſcavoir le Duc d'Jorcq, le Comte de Suffort, le Seigneur de Tallebot, le Marquis de Suſalby, (Salisbury) le Seigneur de Clif (L^d Clifford) le Baron de Gruisot, Meſſires Jamet d'Ormont,

¹¹ Another miſtake ſhe was Rene's own Siſter, & Aunt to the Bride *Gray*

¹² Charles, who had been priſoner 25 years in England & return'd home about four years before this marriage *Gray*

¹³ Brother to the Bride *Gray*

¹⁴ John, the 2^d of the name *Gray*

¹⁵ Francis, firſt of the name he had married Margaret's Aunt *Gray*

¹⁶ An Hoſpital for poor folkes at Southampton (Leland V 3 p 92) *Gray* —Gray's references are to Hearne's edition of Leland's *Itinerary* John Leland in 1533 was appointed 'King's antiquary', an office created for him In the ſame year a commiſſion was granted to him to ſearch for Engliſh antiquities in the libraries of all cathedrals, abbeys, colleges, &c

¹⁷ It is a good big thoroughfare, but no celebrate market the ſame of it ſtood by the Priory of the black Chanons there, & a pilgrimage to our Lady (Leland 1b p 98) *Gray*

¹⁸ It was a monaſtery of Premonſtrés, founded by Henry 3^d, given at the reformation to Mr Wriotheſley, who pull'd it down, & built a right ſtately houſe there (Leland, p 95) *Gray*

Jean Bolledit, Guil Bonnechille, Rich Rios, Jean Secalay, Ed. Hoult, Rob: de Willeby, Rob de Harcourt, & plusieurs autres Chevaliers & Ecuyers de grand etat au regard des Dames y estoient la Comtesse de Suffort, la Dame de Talbot, la Dame de Salsebery, la Dame Marguerite Hoult, & autres en grand nombre il y avoit aussi des chariots couverts & plusieurs haquenées housées de si riches habillemens, que peu avoient été veus de pareils, venans du susdit royaume d'Angleterre, sur tout a leur entrée de Rouen, ou ils pouvoient bien estre 1500 chevaux or faut il declarer la maniere comment les Seign^{rs} & Dames devant dits & leurs gens entrerent en bel ordre en ladite ville premierement pour l'Estat de la Reyne y estoient les premiers entrans les defsus nommez (here he names all the Men again, but the 3 first) & avec eux Mefire Huy Coquesin, lesquels tous en leur compagnie avoient quelque 400 Archers pour l'estat de la maison d'icelle Reyne, tous vestus d'une meme parure de gris après lesquels suivoient les Ecuyers & Officiers d'icelui Estat, & outre ce il y avoit avec les defsusdits 200 Archers de la grande Garde du Roi d'Angleterre, portans ses couleurs & livrées, c'est a scavoir, sur chacune de leurs manches une couronne d'or, lesquels estoient très richement habillez après les Chevaliers defsusdits venoient 6 Pages montéz sur six haquenées, richement vestus de robes & de chaperons noirs, chargez d'orfèvrerie d'argent doré, qui estoient tous fils de Chevaliers, & menoit le premier Page par la main une haquenée de son costé dextre, que ledit Roy d'Anglet^e envoyoit a la Reyne sa femme, ornée d'une selle & de paremens, tels que le tout en estoit de fin or, & les paremens des autres haquenées estoient tous d'argent doré après suivoit le chariot, que le dit Roy lui envoyoit, lequel estoit le plus richement orné & paré que depuis très long tems il n'en estoit party du Royaume d'Ang^{re} un pareil, car il estoit couvert d'un très riche drap d'or, & armoyé des armes de France & d'Angleterre lequel chariot estoit tiré par 6 chevaux blancs de grand prix, & estoit icelui chariot figuré par dedans & dehors de plusieurs & diverses couleurs, dans lequel estoient la Comtesse de Suffort, les Dames de Talbot, & de Salsebery, & estoit ladite Comtesse en l'estat de la Reyne pareil au jour qu'elle espousa les autres dames ensuivans de degré en degré venoient après ce chariot montées sur haquenées au plus près d'icelui chariot estoit le Duc d'Jorcq d'un costé, & le S^{er} de Talbot de l'autre, tenant maniere et contenance, comme si la Reyne eust

été dedans le Comte de Suffort alloit chevauchant devant le chariot représentant la personne du Roy d'Ang^{re}, & après luy il y avoit 36 tant chevaux qu'haquenées de grand parage tous houséz de vermeil armoyé de ses armes après icelui chariot il y avoit encore 5 chevaux richement ornéz, dont 2 estoient couverts de velours vermeil battu à or, seméz de roses d'or dedans, & les autres estoient couverts de drap de damas cramaisy après tout ce que dit est, venoit encore un chariot richement orné, dedans lequel estoient la Dame de Talbot la jeune, la Dame Marg^e Hoult, & autres, lesquelles estoient toutes ordonnées & destinées pour recevoir icelle nouvelle Reyne d'Angleterre' (Matth^e de Coucy,¹⁹ a Cotemp^{re} p 553)

Out of these, if the Scene of the Picture lies in England, you may pick & chuse, for it is likely they all waited upon her to Southwick I am sorry Duke Humphrey could not be there, but you see he did not meet her till after the marriage in her way to London much less could his Wife Jaqueline appear, as that marriage was set aside 18 years before indeed his Dutcheſs Eleanor Cobham was now in prison, & had been so (in spite of Shakespear²⁰) 3 or 4 years, before Margaret came over the Cardinal Beaufort, then at least 70 years old, one would think should have the honour of joining their hands, especially in his own Diocese, but I recollect no marks of a Cardinal, & what I take for the Pallium, w^{ch} he holds over their hands, is (I believe) peculiar to Archbishops so it may be John Stafford, Archb^p of Canterbury, who certainly crown'd her the next month I could tell you many small particulars, as the name of the Ship she came over in, w^{ch} was *Coq Johan de Charburgh*, Thomas Adams, Master the Ring she was married with, w^{ch} was a fair Ruby, sometime given unto us (says the King) by our bel Uncle the Cardinal of Englande, with the w^{ch} we were sacred in the day of our Coronacion at Parys, & w^{ch} was broke, thereof to make another ring for the Quene's wedding the Jewels he gave for New-year's gifts before the marriage to the D^{ch} of Gloucester, the Cardinal, the D^{ch} of Exeter, the Archbishop, Dutcheſs of Buckingham, Earl of Warwick, &c the George he wore himself, w^{ch} cost 2000 Marks, the Puseon of Golde, call'd *Iklyngton Coler*, garnish'd with 4 Rubes, 4 greet Saphurs, 32 greet Perles & 53 other Perles, & the

¹⁹ Otherwise Matthieu d'Escouchy, he continued Monstrelet's *Chroniques* (see n 21) down to the accession of Louis XI (1461)

²⁰ 2 Henry VI, ii 3

Mar 1754

Gray to Walpole

Letter 186

Pectoral of Golde garnished with rubees, perles & diamondes, & also the greet Oweche garnished with diamondes, rubees & perles, that cost 2000 Marcs, w^{ch} the Quene wore at the solempnitee of hir Coronation if these suit your palate, you may see them all, & many other curious Papers, in Rymer's Fœdera, V 11 some dated from the Priory of Southwyk, & witnes'd by the Marquefs of Suffolk, the Tresorer of Englande (w^{ch} was S^r Ralph Boteler, L^d Sudeley,) & the Privy-Seal (Adam Moleyns, Dean of Salisbury, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, & murther'd by the Mob at Southampton)

Now I shall set down the ages of the parties concern'd the King was barely 23 years old (what shall we do with this stubborn date?) the Queen was in her 15th Year her mother Isabella was probably about 35 René, her father, was 36. (see his picture, when old, done by himself, in Montfaucon). Mary, Q of France, her aunt, was 40 (see her, *ibid* with a very odd face, an odder Coif, & high, but not pointed bonnet, from an original) Charles the 7th of France was 41 (see him in the same plate) John, her brother, D of Calabria, was about 19 Yolande, her Sister, was not a year older than herself

There is so particular a description of the dreses in use about the middle of the 15th Century extant, that (long as it is) I must send it you 'En ceste année delaisserent les dames & damoiselles les queues a porter a leurs robes & en ce lieu meirent bordures a leurs robbes de gris de lestices, de martres, de veloux & d'autres choses si larges, comme d'un veloux de haut ou plus. & si meirent sur leurs tetes bourrelets a maniere de bonnet rond, qui s'amenuisoient par defsus de la hauteur de demie aulne, ou de trois quartiers de long tels y avoit & aucunes les portoient moindres, & deliez couvrechefs par defsus peindans par derriere jusques a terre, les aucuns & les autres & prendrent ausi a porter leurs ceintures de soye plus larges beaucoup qu'elles n'avoient accoutumé & de diverses façons; & les ferrures plus somptueuses assez, & coliers d'or a leurs cols autrement & plus cointement beaucoup qu'elles n'avoient accoutumé et en ce temps ausi les hommes se prendrent a vestir plus court, qu'ils n'eurent onques fait, tellement que l'on veoit la façon de leurs culs & de leurs genitoires, ainsi comme l'en souloit vestir les singes, qui estoit chose tres malhonnête & impudique & si faisoient les manches fendre de leurs robbes & de leurs pourpoints pour monstrier leurs chemises deliées, larges, & blanches portoient ausi leurs cheveux si longs,

qu'ils leur empêchoient leurs visages, mesmement leurs yeux. & sur leurs testes portoient bonnets de drap hauts & longs d'un quartier ou plus. portoient aussi, comme tous indifferemment, chaines d'or moult somptueuses chevaliers & escuyers. les varlets mêmes, pourpoints de soye, de satin & de veloux et presque tous, especialement és cours des Princes, portoient poulaines a leurs souliers d'un quartier de long; et á leurs pourpoints gros mahoitres á leurs espaules pour monstres, qu'ils fussent larges par les espaules, qui sont choses moult vaines, & par adventure fort haineuses a Dieu & qui estoit huy court vestu, il estoit le lendemain long vestu jusques a terre.'

(Monstrelet ²¹ V 3 après P 130)

The Date he assigns to these new fashions is 1467. yet it is sure the sugar-loaf caps, the long close Hose, & long-pointed shoes, are seen in paintings a good while before as in Montfaucon, (V 3 Plate 46) where one of the Lords has a Hawk on his fist, *marque d'une grande qualité dans ces tems lá* Charles the 6th used to go to Council, *l'épervier sur le poing* (ibid. p 189) Mary, the Heiress of Burgundy, is the last Lady with a high Cap that I meet with she died 1481, & from what I recollect of the dresses in your picture, they are all older than that date, for about this time very different fashions came in I even believe it was painted soon after 1445, & the Glory about the King's head might be added afterwards, tho' Jo Blackman,²² a Carthusian, who has wrote a short account, as an eye-witness, of Henry 6th's private Life, treats him already as a sort of Saint the Pomegranates are only a fashionable Pattern for Embroidery & Brocades about that time Philip, D of Burgundy made his entry into Ghent in such a robe, & Charles the 7th into Paris (V 3 Pl 39, & 45) &c

This is what I have yet met with to your purpose at all, tho' perhaps little to your satisfaction, with regard to that picture now for the other,²³ I must tell you my disappointment, w^{ch} has

²¹ Enguerrand de Monstrelet (c 1390-1453), author of *Les Chroniques de France, d'Angleterre et de Bourgogne*. The edition used by Gray was that published at Paris in 3 vols, fol, in 1572, with continuations down to 1516 (see Letter 543, n 10). Monstrelet's own work covers the period from 1400 to 1444

²² Otherwise Blakman or Blakeman (fl 1436-48), his memoir of Henry VI, which was written in Latin, was printed in 1732 by Hearne in his *Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*

²³ The 'Marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, by Mabeuse',

been the reason why I have made you & *the world* wait so long for this first volume of my *Antiquities* a Senior-Fellow of Trinity, I was told, had got a M^{ss}, in w^{ch} were painted Henry 7th, & many of his court he was absent, & I have stayed with impatience for a sight of it I have now met with him, but the painting is at his living in Cheshire it is not a M^{ss}, but a Roll of Vellom, as long as the Room (he says) in w^{ch} are represented that King and all his Lords going to Parliament this must be a great curiosity, but we are not like to be the better for it. another disappointment¹ in reading Thomas of Otterbourne's²⁴ Chronicle I found mention of a Sainte-Ampoule kept in Westm^r Abbey he speaks of Henry 4th's being inunctus sancto oleo, quod S^c Thomæ martyri dedit beatiss^a Virgo Maria in exilio ejus this seem'd to account for S^c Thomas' attending Elizabeth of York as the future anointed Queen of England. but alas! on second thoughts these words must mean S^c Thomas Becket

Immediately after the Battle of Bosworth, Aug 22, 1485, the King sent S^r Rob Willoughby to the Castle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire with orders to conduct the Princess Elizth to her Mother at London he himself enter'd the City 5 days after; was crown'd, Oct 30, by Card^l Tho Bouchier, Archb^p of Canterbury, & married Jan 18, 1486, at Westminster, being then in his 31st year, & Elizabeth turn'd of 20 he (you see) is in his kingly ornaments, but he would not suffer her to be crown'd till almost two years after, when she had brought him a Son if you are sure the Person who accompanies the King is a Cardinal, it must be Bouchier, who died very soon after this marriage, for the Writ, de custodiâ commissâ to Jo Morton, B^p of Ely, who succeeded him, is dated July 13 1486 Bouchier was not Legate de latere, but perhaps may bear the Legatine double-Crofs as Archb of Canterbury, for both our Archbishops were styled *Apostolicæ Sedis Legati* (see Rymer V: 12. p 208 & 245) but I take the Person there represented to be James, Bishop of Imola, who granted the Dispensation for this marriage (they being in the 4th degree of Consanguinity to one

which afterwards hung at the east end of the Gallery at Strawberry Hill. The picture, which is now at Sudeley Castle, is figured and described in the third chapter of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (see *Works of Lord Orford*, vol III, pp 50-1)

²⁴ Thomas Otterbourne (fl 1400), author of a Chronicle extending to 1420, which was printed by Hearne in 1732

another) & was then *Orator & Commisarius cum potestate Legati de latere in regnis Angliæ et Scotiæ* (see the Bull, in Rymer, V. 12 p. 213.) and somewhere, tho' I can not turn to the place, I found the King returning the Pope thanks for honouring the solemnity with the presence of his *Ambasador* 'tis true, this Legate was no Cardinal, but (I believe) as Legate he might wear the Purple tho' I am not sure, his dress is any thing more, than a Dr in Divinity's scarlet robe, & the hood, as usual, lined with Meniver it is certain, there is no hat, tho' this was the distinction of a Cardinal long before these times

This is all at present complied by the painful hand & symple engyne of your honour's pour bedesman

T G

My Love to M^rC, pray tell me about him, & about the Vine.²⁵ I have not found his Dugdale²⁶ yet, it is not in Emanuel, nor the Publick Library

187 GRAY TO WALPOLE

[Cambridge, March 17, 1754]¹

Dear S^r

I DO not at all wonder at you for being more curious about an interesting point of modern history,² than a matter that happen'd 300 years ago³ but why should you look upon me as so buried in the dust of an old Chronicle, that I do not care what happens in George, 2^d, reign² I am still alive (I'd have you to know) & tho' these events are indeed only subjects of speculation to me, feel some difference still between the present & the past you are desired therefore to look in the annals of Strawberry, March 1754 & when you can find time, please to transcribe me a little paragraph or two, that when I come,

²⁵ Gray, no doubt, had heard of the serious illness of John Chute's elder brother, Antony, owner of the Vine, with whom he was on bad terms, and was anxious to know whether John Chute was likely to succeed to the family estates. Antony Chute died on 20 May of this year (see Letter 189, n. 1)

²⁶ See Letter 188, nn. 2, 3

LETTER 187 — First printed by Toynbee (1915), No. 187

¹ The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year by the reference in the letter to the current year

² Henry Pelham, the Prime Minister, died on 6 March, and a new administration was in course of formation under his brother, the Duke of Newcastle. At the ensuing General Election Walpole was elected (20 April) M P for Castle Rising

³ The marriage of Henry VI (1445), discussed in the previous letter

Mar 1754

Gray to Walpole

Letter 187

like the rest of my brethren here, to ask for some little thing,
I may know at least, what door to knock at. Adieu, I am ever

Yours

T G:

Addressed To The Honble Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London

Postmark SAFFRON WALDEN 18 MR

188 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Dear S^r

Camb^{8c} April 11 1754

I AM very glad my objections serve only to strengthen your first opinion about the subject of your picture ¹ if I casually meet with any thing more, I shall send it you the reason I trouble you at present is to tell you, that I have got into my hands the Dugdale M^r Chute enquired after ² a great number of the arms are blazon'd in the margin, not very neatly, but (I suppose) they are authentic, tho' in it I find written in an old hand

This volume no Errata's has,
The Whole may for Errata's pass
If to correct them you intend,
You'll find it labour without end
'Tis therefore better let them goe
God only 'tis knows, who gets who

Whether this is wit only, or a censure upon Dugdale's work, or upon the Heraldry added to it, I leave you to judge the arms were done by a Sergeant-Surgeon to K Charles 2^d, who made this art his particular Study, & the book belongs to Caius-College ³ you are desired to send your queries forthwith, for I can not keep it a great while

I return you thanks for the civilities you have shew'd Mason, who is here, & speaks much of your politeness to him Adieu, I am

Ever Yours

T G

Addressed To The Honble Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London

Postmark CAMBRIDGE 12 AP

LETTER 188 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 188

¹ See Letter 186, n 2

² See Letter 186 (postscript) The work in question was Dugdale's *Baronage of England*, London, 1676, 2 vols, fol

³ This copy of Dugdale is still preserved in the Library of Caius College. The arms are painted by hand on the margins, in some cases 'not very neatly'. The verses quoted by Gray (who has not transcribed them quite accurately) are written on the reverse of the leaf, in the second volume, bearing the dedication to Charles II

189. GRAY TO WALPOLE

My dear S^r

I HAVE scarce time to thank you for your kindness in immediately telling me the unexpected good news ¹ I must trouble you to send this² to the Vine, as I do not rightly know the direction Adieu, I am

Ever Yours
T G

May 23 [1754]³ Cambridge

189* Gray to Chute

[23 May 1754]

[Gray wrote to congratulate Chute on succeeding to the Vyne See Letter 189]

190 Gray to Wharton

[20 July 1754]

[In MS Brit Mus *Egerton*, 2400, between Gray's letter to Wharton of 18 Oct 1753 (Letter 183) and that of 13 Aug 1754 (Letter 191) there is a blank sheet of paper, similar to that used by Gray, which has Wharton's endorsement 'Mr Gray 20 July 1754' This evidently belonged to a letter which cannot now be traced]

191 GRAY TO WHARTON

Stoke Aug 13 [1754]¹

My dear S^r

HAVING been some little time absent from hence² I misfed of your letter, or I had answer'd it as soon as you desire me the opportunity of a good House³ I hope you will not suffer to escape you whether the rent be too high, you alone can pro-

LETTER 189—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 189

¹ Anthony Chute died on 20 May 1754, intestate His estate of the Vyne passed to John Chute, his only surviving brother

² Evidently an enclosure for John Chute (see Letter 189*)

³ The date of the year is determined by the reference to Chute (see n 1)

LETTER 191—First printed in part in Mason's *Memoirs*, p 232, first printed in full by Milford (1816), pp 245-7, now reprinted from original.

¹ Date of year added by Wharton

² There is nothing to show where Gray had been

³ Wharton was looking for a house in London, where he proposed to practise as a physician

perly judge there is great comfort to be sure in a good house. some appearance of Economy I should think would give you credit in that part of the town you are to be well with they pride themselves in living much within their income upon the whole I seem to have a partiality for M^r Crumpe, but be sure never to repent if you think, you shall, by all means settle yourself in the great house besides I do not know but some great old Doctor may come & squat himself down there at your elbow (for I suppose there may be some convenience in succeeding to a house of the same Profession) & then you would be horridly out of humour in short you see with your own eyes, you know the Quarter, & must necessarily be best qualified to decide D^r Fothergill's⁴ invitation is very civil as to the depth of Science, w^{ch} you seem to dread, it always grows shallower, as one comes nearer, tho' it makes a great noise at a distance the design of the Society⁵ at least is a good one but if they are warm & profess'd Enemies of the College,⁶ I should think the same reason, that makes Hebⁿ ⁷ withdraw himself, should prevent your admision into it it will be easy to delay it however on various pretences without obliging any one

I am glad you agree with me in admiring M^r Southcote's Paradise,⁸ w^{ch} whenever you see it again, will improve upon

⁴ John Fothergill (1712-80), quaker physician, M D Edin 1736, he began practice in London in 1740, was admitted licentiate of the College of Physicians in 1744, and was elected F R S in 1763 He was in attendance on Lord Clive at the time of his death (see Walpole to Lady Ossory, 23 Nov 1774)

⁵ 'The Medical Society to which D^r Wharton was invited by D^r Fothergill, was the Medical Society of Physicians, founded in 1752 by Fothergill This Society met at the Mitre Tavern, and was composed mainly of Licentiates of the College of Physicians who were violently opposed to the Fellows of the College on account of their action in refusing to elect as Fellows those Licentiates who were not Doctors of Medicine of either Oxford or Cambridge Later this dispute came into the Courts, where Fothergill, who was a Licentiate, figured prominently' (extract from letter of Dr Arnold Chaplin, Harveian Librarian of the Royal College of Physicians)

The Society, at whose meetings medical communications were read, was formed for the purpose of 'collecting and publishing all such observations and inquiries in medicine, that seemed to deserve public notice' (see Lettson's *Memoirs of John Fothergill*, Lond, 1786, p 254 n)

⁶ The Royal College of Physicians in Warwick Lane (see Letter 114, n 7).

⁷ Dr William Heberden, one of the most distinguished Fellows of the College of Physicians (see Letter 135, n 20)

⁸ Woburn Farm, near Weybridge, in Surrey Of this, which Lord Bath in his *Ballad of Strawberry Hill* terms 'but a dainty whim', Walpole writes 'Phulp Southcote Esq a Roman Catholic gentleman, . . . was the first

you do you know, you may have it for 20,000£ but I am afraid, the Lands are not very improveable you do not say enough of Esher⁹ it is my other favourite place it was a Villa of Cardinal Wolsey's,¹⁰ of w^{ch} nothing but a part of the Gate-way¹¹ remain'd M^r Kent¹² supplied the rest, but I think with you, that he had not read the Gothic Clafsicks with taste or attention^{12a} he introduced a mix'd Style, w^{ch} now goes by the name of the *Batley Langley Manner*¹³ he is an Architect, that

Designer of the Ferme Ornée, but tho That appellation is more humble than That of garden, the composition is rather less natural, at least as M^r Southcote exhibited It Wooburn farm near Weybridge in Surry where Mr Southcote displayed his peculiar Style with happiness & Taste, is the habitation of such Nymphs & Sheperds as are represented in landscapes & novels, but do not exist in real life' (*Notes on Mason's Satirical Poems*, ed Toynbee, pp 39-40)

⁹ Esher Place, Surrey, the seat of the recently deceased (6 March) Henry Pelham, which he bought in 1729, and, with the aid of Kent, greatly improved Pope in *Epilogue to the Satires* writes of

Esher's peaceful Grove
(Where Kent and Nature vie for Pelham's Love)
(*Dialogue*, II 66-7)

Walpole writes to Montague (11 Aug 1748) 'Esher I have seen again twice, and prefer it to all villas, even to Southcote's, Kent is Kentissime there'

¹⁰ It was a house belonging to his Bishopric of Winchester, hither he retired by the King's order in Oct 1529, after he had been deprived of the great seal

¹¹ The gatehouse, known as Wolsey's Tower, but apparently part of the mansion founded by William of Waynflete, c 1450, is still standing

¹² 'William Kent, Painter & Architect in the reign of George the 2^d was Author of the modern taste in English gardening, or in other words, the First who discovered that the Imitation of Nature was the true Style in gardening, as in all other Arts' (Walpole, *Notes on Mason's Satirical Poems*, ed cit, p 39, he gives a full account of Kent and his science in his essay *On Modern Gardening*, published in the fourth volume of his *Anecdotes of Painting*)

Kent (1684-1748) was employed by Sir Robert Walpole on the decoration of Houghton, and was the architect, among other buildings, of Lord Leicester's house at Holkham, of Devonshire House, Piccadilly, and of the Horse Guards and Treasury Buildings

^{12a} Gray means that Kent had not studied the classical examples of Gothic Architecture

¹³ Batby Langley (1696-1751), writer on architecture, 'who endeavoured to adapt Gothic architecture to Roman measures, and (for he never copied Gothic) invented five orders for that style All that his books achieved, has been to teach carpenters to massacre that venerable species, and to give occasion to those who know nothing of the matter, and who mistake his clumsy efforts for real imitations, to censure the productions of our ancestors' (Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, chap 22, in *Works of Lord*

Aug 1754

Gray to Wharton

Letter 191

has publish'd a book of bad Designs if you have seen M^r W¹⁴ pray let me hear your opinion, w^{ch} I will not anticipate by saying any-thing about it to be sure its extreme littleness will be the first thing, that strikes you by all means see L^d Radnor's¹⁵ again he is a simple old Phobus,¹⁶ but nothing can spoil so glorious a situation, w^{ch} surpasses every thing round it. I take it ill, you should say any thing against y^e Mole¹⁷ it is a reflection, I see, cast at the Thames do you think, that Rivers, w^{ch} have lived in London & its neighbourhood all their days, will run roaring & tumbling about, like your Tramontane Torrents in the North no, they only glide & whisper in your next expedition you will see Claremont,¹⁸ & L^d Portmore's,¹⁹ w^{ch} joins my L^d Lincoln's,²⁰ & above all M^r Hamilton's, at Cobham²¹ in Surrey, w^{ch} all the world talks of & I have seen

Orford, vol III, p 485) 'Batty Langley Gothic' came to be a by-word The work referred to by Gray was probably his *Gothic Architecture, improved by Rules and Proportions in many grand Designs*

¹⁴ Walpole's house at Strawberry Hill The allusion in the next letter suggests that Wharton had then visited 'Strawberry Castle' When Wharton went to reside at Old Park, the family mansion, and was busy renovating it, Gray sent him details of the decorations at Strawberry Hill (see Letters 302, 373)

¹⁵ John Robartes (c 1686-1757), fourth and last Earl of Radnor of that name His fantastic residence, Radnor House, known to Walpole and Bentley as 'Mabland', at Twickenham, adjoined Strawberry Hill (see Walpole to Conway, 8 Nov 1752, to Mann, 12 June 1753, and to Bentley, 18 May 1754)

¹⁶ 'Fobus', a vulgar term of abuse, frequently applied by Gray and Mason to the former's pet aversion, the Duke of Newcastle (see Letters 212, 261, 262, 263, 275, 313, 314, 334, 335, 547), occurs in Wycherley's *Plain Dealer*, a play with which Gray was familiar (see Letter 3, n 5), whence no doubt he borrowed it II i 'Widow Blackacre Wouldst thou make a candle-maker, a nurse of me Oldfox O heavens! Jerry Blackacre Ay, you old fobus, and you would have been my guardian, would you?'

¹⁷ The tributary of the Thames which drains the district in which the various country-seats mentioned in this letter are situated

¹⁸ Claremont Park, near Esher, seat of the Duke of Newcastle, after whose death in 1768 the place was bought and the house rebuilt (to the plans of Lancelot Brown) by Lord Clive

¹⁹ Ham Haw Park, Weybridge, belonging to Charles Colyear (1700-85), second Earl of Portmore

²⁰ Oatlands Park, near Weybridge, belonging to the Duke of Newcastle, at this time the residence of his nephew, and successor in the dukedom, Henry Fiennes Pelham-Clinton (1720-94), ninth Earl of Lincoln (1730) The estate was bought in 1788 by the Duke of York

²¹ This was Painshill, the seat of the Hon. Charles Hamilton, fifth son (d 1787) of the sixth Earl of Abercorn In his letter to Montagu of 11 Aug.

Letter 191

Gray to Wharton

Aug. 1754

seven years ago²² the Year indeed does not behave itself well. but think, what it must be in the North I suppose the roads are impassable with the deep snow still

I could write abundance more, but am afraid of losing this Post. pray, let me hear from you as soon as you can, & make my Compliments to M^{rs} Wharton Mason is by this time in Town again [Tuthill * * *]²³ Brown, I believe, at Cambridge. Adieu, I am ever

Yours
T G

I am obliged to you for sending the Tea, w^{ch} is excellent.

Addressed To D^r Thomas Wharton M D in Pancras-Lane²⁴ near Cheapside
London Postmark 14 AV

192 GRAY TO WHARTON

Stoke, Sept 18 1754

Dear S^r

I REJOICE to find you at last settled¹ to your heart's content, & delight to hear you talk of *giving your house some Gothic ornaments* already if you project any thing, I hope it will be entirely within doors, & don't let me (when I come gaping into Coleman-street²) be directed to the Gentleman's at the ten Pinnacles, or with the Church-porch at his door (I am glad you enter into

1748 Walpole writes 'I have been to see Mr Hamilton's near Cobham, where he has really made a fine place out of a most cursed hill' See also Walpole's *Essay on Modern Gardening* (*Works of Lord Orford*, vol II, p 541) Mitford says that Hamilton 'formed many of the beautiful scenes in the grounds at Painshull from the Pictures of Poussin and the Italian Masters'

²² If Gray had visited Painshull (and the other places mentioned in this letter) 'seven years ago', his visit would have been in 1747 but it seems probable that he was a year out in his reckoning, and that it was in the summer of 1748 that he made his tour of the Surrey houses, in the company of Walpole Walpole, in a letter to Montagu of 11 Aug 1748, in which he mentions that Gray had been at Strawberry Hill, speaks of having recently visited Painshull, Esher, and Claremont

²³ See Letter 120, n 2

²⁴ Pancras Lane runs on the south, and parallel to Cheapside, from Queen Street to Bucklersbury

LETTER 192—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 230-1, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 247-51, now reprinted from original

¹ See Letter 191, n. 3.

² As appears from the address of the next letter, Wharton's new abode was in King's Arms Yard, Coleman Street (see Letter 193, n. 6)

the Spirit of Strawberry-Castle it has a purity & propriety of Gothicism in it (with very few exceptions,) that I have not seen elsewhere. the eating-room & library³ were not compleated, when I was there, & I want to know, what effect they have my L^d Radnor's Vagaries⁴ (I see) did not keep you from doing justice to his situation, w^{ch} far surpasses every thing near it, & I do not know a more *laughing* Scene, than that about Twickenham & Richmond (D^r Akenside⁵ (I perceive) is no Conjuror^{5a} in Architecture, especially when he talks of the Ruins of Persepolis, w^{ch} are no more Gothic, than they are Chinese) the Egyptian Style (see D^r Pococke,⁶ not his discourses, but his prints) was apparently the Mother of y^e Greek, & there is such a similitude between the Egyptian, & those Persian Ruins, as gave room to Diodorus⁷ to affirm, that the old buildings of Persia were certainly perform'd by Egyptian Artists as to the other part of his opinion, that the Gothic manner is the Saracen or Moorish, he has a great Authority to support him, that of S^r Christ^r Wren,⁸ & yet (I can not help thinking) is undoubtedly wrong the Palaces in Spain I never saw but in description,

³ In his *Description of Strawberry Hill* Walpole says 'the library, and refectory or great parlour, were entirely new built in 1753'

⁴ See Letter 191, n 15

⁵ See Letter 115, n 2 Akenside's remarks on the ruins of Persepolis have not been traced

^{5a} 'No conjurer' was used as an ironical description of one who was far from clever Congreve, *Love for Love*, II, ix has 'By the account I have heard of his education, [he] can be no conjurer' (*OED*) Gray uses the phrase again in Letters 296, 353

⁶ Richard Pococke (1704-65), the well-known traveller He visited Egypt and Palestine in 1737-8, and in 1743-5 published *A Description of the East* (Lond, 2 vols, fol, with 178 Plates), the first volume containing his 'Observations on Egypt' Gray's notes (dated 25 April 1745) on Part I of vol II, are in the possession of Hon Geoffrey Howard, at Castle Howard

⁷ Mitford refers to Lib I, c 46, where Diodorus says, that the Royal Palaces in Persepolis, in Susa, and those in Media, were built by Egyptian architects, when Cambyses burnt the temples of Egypt, carried their riches into Asia, and transported their artificers there

⁸ Wren's opinion is recorded in a 'Memorial, by Sir Christopher Wren, to the Bishop of Rochester, in 1713, in connexion with the restoration of Westminster Abbey', printed in *Parentalia or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens but chiefly of Sir Christopher Wren . . . compiled by his son Christopher Wren* (Lond, 1750, p 297) 'This we now call the Gothick manner of Architecture (so the Italians call'd what was not after the Roman style) tho' the Goths were rather destroyers than builders, I think it should with more reason be call'd the Saracen style, for those people wanted neither Arts nor Learning, and after we in the West had lost both, we borrowed again from them.'

w^{ch} gives us little or no Idea of things, but the Doge's Palace at Venice I have seen⁹ (w^{ch} is in the Arabesque manner) & the houses of Barbary you may see in Dr Shaw's book,¹⁰ not to mention abundance of other eastern Buildings in Turkey, Persia, &c. that we have views of, & they seem plainly to be corruptions of the Greek Architecture, broke into little parts indeed, & cover'd with little ornaments, but in a taste very distinguishable from that we call Gothic. there is one thing, that runs thro' the Moorish Buildings, that an Imitator would certainly have been first struck with, & would have tried to copy, & that is the Cupola's, w^{ch} cover everything, Baths, Apar[t]ments, & even Kitchens yet who ever saw a Gothic Cupola? it is a thing plainly of Greek original I do not see any thing but the slender Spires, that serve for steeples, w^{ch} may perhaps be borrowed from the Saracen Minarets on their Mosques

I was in Northamptonshire,¹¹ when I received your Letter, but am now returned hither I have been at Warwick, w^{ch} is a place worth seeing the Town is on an eminence surrounded every way with a fine cultivated Valley, thro' w^{ch} the Avon winds, & at the distance of 5 or 6 miles, a circle of hills well wooded, & with various objects crowning them, that close the Prospect out of the town on one side of it rises a rock, that might remind one of your rocks at Durham, but that it is not so savage, or so lofty, & that the river, w^{ch} washes its foot, is perfectly clear, & so gentle, that its current is hardly visible upon it stands the Castle, the noble old residence of the Beauchamps & Neville's, & now of Earl Brooke¹² he has sash'd the

⁹ He was in Venice from May to July, 1741

¹⁰ Thomas Shaw (1694-1751), the African traveller From 1720 to 1733 he was chaplain to the English factory at Algiers, during which time he travelled in Egypt, Palestine, and N Africa In 1738 he published at Oxford his *Travels, or Observations relating to several Parts of Barbary and the Levant* (fol., with maps and Plates) Gray's abstract (dated 6 Dec 1744) of this work, consisting of more than fourteen closely written 4to pages, is in the possession of Hon Geoffrey Howard, at Castle Howard

¹¹ Perhaps with Frederick Montagu (see Letter 216, n. 8), whose father, Charles Montagu was M P for Northampton, in the representation of which borough Frederick succeeded him in 1759 George Montagu had a house at Greatworth, near Brackley, in this county at this time (see Walpole to Montagu, 22 May 1753, and 7 Oct 1755)

¹² Francis Greville (1719-73), eighth Baron Brooke (1727), created Earl Brooke of Warwick Castle, 1746, and Earl of Warwick, 1759

There had been six Earls of Warwick of the Beauchamp family, from 1268 to 1446, the only Earl of the Nevill family was Sir Richard, 'the King-

great Appartment, that's to be sure, (I can't help these things) & being since told, that square sash-windows were not Gothic, he has put certain whim-wams withinside the glafs, w^{ch} appearing through are to look like fretwork then he has scooped out a little Burrough in the mafsy walls of the place for his little self & his children,¹³ w^{ch} is hung with Paper & printed Linnen, & carved chimney-pieces, in the exact manner of Berkley-square or Argyle-Buildings what in short can a Lord do now a days, that is lost in a great old solitary Castle, but sculk about, & get into the first hole he finds, as a Rat would do in like case. a pretty long old stone-bridge leads you into the town with a Mill at the end of it, over w^{ch} the rock rises with the Castle upon it with all its battlements & queer ruin'd towers, & on your left hand the Avon strays thro' the Park, whose ancient Elms seem to remember S^r Philip Sidney,¹⁴ (who often walk'd under them) and talk of him to this day the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick¹⁵ lie under stately Monuments in the Choir of the great Church, & in our Lady's Chappel adjoining to it. there also lie Ambrose Dudley, E. of Warwick,¹⁶ & his Brother, the famous L^d Leicester, with Lettice, his Countess¹⁷ this Chappel is preserved entire, tho' the Body of the Church was burnt down 60 years ago, & rebuilt by S^r C. Wren. I had heard often of Guy-Cliff two miles from the town, so I walked to see it, & of all improvers commend me to M^r Greathead,¹⁸ its present Owner. he shew'd it me himself, & is literally a fat young Man with a head & face much bigger than they are usually worn it was

Maker', who was created Earl of Warwick in 1430, and was killed at the battle of Barnet, 1471, leaving no son

¹³ He had at this time six children, of whom the eldest was eleven

¹⁴ The famous soldier, statesman, and poet (1554-86), he was nephew of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, 1561-89, and of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1564-88, whose guest he was at Kenilworth when Leicester entertained Queen Elizabeth there in 1576

¹⁵ See n 12

¹⁶ See n 14

¹⁷ Leicester (see n 14) married in 1578, Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, K G , and widow (1576) of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex (1572), she died at the age of 95 in 1634

¹⁸ This was Samuel Greathed (d 1765), who married in 1748 Lady Mary Bertie (d 1774), eldest daughter of second Duke of Ancaster Walpole, writing to Chute on 4 Aug 1753, speaks of him as 'that foolish Greathed, who quarrelled with me (because his father was a gardener) for asking him if Lord Brook had planted much' When Lady Ossory visited Warwick Castle in 1777 Walpole asked her, 'Did you go to Guy's Cliffe, and see how Lady Mary Greathed had painted it straw-colour, and stuck cockle-shells in its hair?'

naturally a very agreeable rock, whose Cliffs cover'd with large trees hung beetleing over the Avon, w^{ch} twists twenty ways in sight of it. there was the Cell of Guy, Earl of Warwick, cut in the living stone, where he died a Hermit¹⁹ (as you may see in a penny History, that hangs upon the rails in Moorfields)²⁰ there were his fountains bubbling out of the Cliff; there was a Chantry founded to his memory in Henry the 6th's time²¹ but behold the Trees are cut down to make room for flowering shrubs, the rock is cut up, till it is as smooth & as sleek as sattin, the river has a gravel-walk by its side, the Cell is a Grotta with cockle-shells²² and looking-glass, the fountains have an iron-gate before them, and the Chantry is a Barn, or a little House²³ even the poorest bits of nature, that remain, are daily threatned, for he says (& I am sure, when the Greatheads are once set upon a thing, they will do it) he is determined, it shall be *all new* These were his words, & they are Fate I have also been at Stow,²⁴ at Woburn²⁵ (the Du[ke] of Bedford's), and at Wroxton²⁶ (L^d Guilford's) but I defer these Chapt[ers] till we meet I shall only tell you for your Comfort, that th[e] part of Northampt^{re}, where I have been, is in fruits, in flowers [& in] corn very near a fort-

¹⁹ The story of Guy of Warwick, which is mentioned by Chaucer in his *Rime of Sir Thopas* (c. 1380), and was adopted as authentic history by the fourteenth-century chroniclers, was versified by Lydgate about 1450, and became popular as a prose romance and in ballads, one of which was included by Bishop Percy in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) (*DNB*)

²⁰ The hanging of their wares by catchpenny ballad-mongers on the railings in Moorfields, where was the asylum known as Bethlehem (or Bedlam) Hospital, and elsewhere, is alluded to by Pope in his *Imitations of Horace* ('Epistle to Augustus', Bk. 11, Epist. 1)

And when I flatter, let my dirty leaves
(Like Journals, Odes, and such forgotten things
As Eusden, Philips, Settle, writ of Kings)
Clothe spice, line trunks, or, flutt'ring in a row,
Befringe the rails of Bedlam and Soho (ll. 415-19)

²¹ The Beauchamp Earls of Warwick, the second of whom was named Guy, claimed descent from Guy of Warwick, and in 1422-3 Earl Richard, the fifth Earl, erected a chantry or chapel for the repose of the souls of the legendary Guy and others of his ancestors, and provided endowment for the maintenance of two priests

²² See Walpole's description quoted in n. 18

²³ A privy.

²⁴ Stowe, the seat of Richard Grenville-Temple, second Earl Temple, in Buckinghamshire

²⁵ Woburn Abbey, in Bedfordshire, the seat of John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford

²⁶ Wroxton Abbey, near Banbury, in Oxfordshire, the seat of Francis North, first Earl of Guilford

Sept 1754

Gray to Wharton

Letter 192

night behind this part of Buckinghamshire, that they have no nightingales, & that the other birds are almost as silent, as at Durham it is rich land, but upon a Clay, & in a very bleak, high, exposed situation I hope, you have had some warm weather, since you last complained of the South I have thoughts of seeing you about Michaelmas, tho' I shall not stay long in town I should have been at Camb^{re} before now, if the D^o of Newc^{astle}¹⁶ & his foundation-stone²⁷ would have let me, but I want them to have done before I go²⁸ I am sorry M^r Brown should be the only one, that has stood upon Punctilio's with me, & would not write first pray tell him so Mason is (I believe) in town, or at Chiswick²⁹ [no news of Tuthill]³⁰ I wrote a long letter to him in answer to one he wrote me, but no reply Adieu, I am ever Yrs,

T G.

Brown call'd here this morning, before I was up, & breakfasted with me

Addressed To D^r Thomas Wharton M D in Pancras-Lane, near Cheapside
London Postmark 20 SE

193 GRAY TO WHARTON

Oct [Nov] 10¹ Camb 1754

Dear Doctor

I AM clear, that you are in the right way & that you ought to make your excuses at the Queen's Arms² with all possible

²⁷ Plans for erecting a new front to the University Library were approved on 11 June 1754 and on 16 Sept the Duke of Newcastle, as Chancellor of the University, visited the site and inspected the trenches dug for the foundations The foundation stone was not laid until 30 April 1755 (see Willis and Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, vol III, pp 65-6)

²⁸ At this time, and on many other occasions, when the Duke paid his ceremonial visits to the University, Gray made plans to be out of Cambridge, so as to avoid meeting him

²⁹ With Lord Holderness, who, as appears from the note to Mason's 'Elegy addressed to Miss Pelham on the Death of her Father' (*Works*, ed 1811, vol I, p 97), written in March 1754, at that time 'rented a small villa at Chiswick' Mason's letter to Gray of 25 Dec 1755 (Letter 212) is dated from there

³⁰ See Letter 120, n 2 Mitford's restoration, which is printed above, is not enough to fill the space

LETTER 193 —First printed by Gosse in *Works of Gray*, vol II, pp 259-60, omitted by Mitford, now reprinted from original

¹ As the postmark is 11 Nov, Gray must have written 10 Oct. by mistake for 10 Nov

² Gray evidently intended 'the Queen's Arms' (which in the next letter

civility to Foth.^{11, 3} and perhaps the civillest excuse is to tell the truth, to him at least, that it would be neither grateful, nor prudent, to hazard disobliging the Gentlemen at the Mitre,⁴ among whom you have several Friends, & besides it will be always more in your power to recommend moderate measures, while you continue connected with one Party, than if you should lose yourself with both by seeming to divide yourself between them. but how far this is to be said, & to whom, you are best able to determine

* * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *

Addressed To D^r Thomas Wharton, M D in Kings-Arms Yard, Coleman Street⁶ London Postmark SAFFRON WALDEN 11 NO

194 GRAY TO WHARTON
 ODE, IN THE GREEK MANNER¹

Strophe 1

Awake, Æolian lyre, awake,
 And give to transport all thy trembling strings¹
 From Helicon's harmonious springs
 A thousand rills their mazy progreſs take

becomes 'the King's Arms') to represent Fothergill's Society, while by the 'gentlemen at the Mitre' he meant the Royal College of Physicians with which it was at variance. But this is a mistake or misunderstanding (which is repeated in the next letter), for it was Fothergill's Society which met at the Mitre Tavern (see Letter 191, n 5), so that he has said the opposite of what he intended, for it was clear that he was of opinion that Wharton should avoid being drawn into joining the Society lest he should embroil himself with the College. The representatives of the College would naturally meet in their own building in Warwick Lane

¹ Fothergill (see Letter 191, n 4)

⁴ This was presumably the well-known tavern of that name in Mitre Court, Fleet Street, frequented by Dr. Johnson, but it may have been the Mitre in Fenchurch Street

⁵ The rest of the letter has been cut away

⁶ Coleman Street runs from Lothbury to Fore Street, Cripplegate. King's Arms Yard extends from Coleman Street to Tokenhouse Yard

LETTER 194 —First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memours*, p 232, first printed in full (but without the *Ode*) by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 251-3, now reprinted from original

¹ This is the 'high Pindarick upon stilts' about which he wrote to Walpole in July 1752 (Letter 169). It had taken a long time to complete: he described it later to Bedingfield (Letter 215) as 'being wrote by fits & starts at very

The laughing Flowers, that round them blow,
 Drink life & fragrance, as they flow
 Now the rich stream of musick winds along
 Deep, majestic, smooth, and strong,
 Thro' verdant vales, & Ceres' golden reign
 Now rolling down the steep amain
 With torrent-rapture see it pour,
 The Rocks & nodding Groves rebellow to the roar.

(Antistrophe 1)

Oh Sovereign of the willing Soul,
 Parent of sweet & solemn-breathing airs,
 Enchanting Shell ' the sullen Cares,
 And frantic Passions hear thy soft controul
 On Thracia's hills the Lord of war
 Has curb'd the fury of his car,
 And drop'd his thirsty lance at thy command
 Perching on the sceptred hand
 Of Jove thy magick lulls the feather'd King
 With ruffled plumes, & flagging wing,
 Quench'd in black clouds of slumber lie
 The terror of his beak, & light'nings of his eye

Epode 1

Thee the Voice, the Dance, obey
 Temper'd to thy warbled lay.
 O'er Idalia's velvet-green
 The rosy-crowned Loves are seen
 On Cytherea's day
 With antick Sports, & blew-eyed Pleasures,
 Frisking light in frolick measures
 Now pursuing, now retreating,
 Now in circling troops they meet,
 To brisk notes the cadence beating
 Glance their many-twinkling feet
 Slow melting strains the Queen's approach declare,

different intervals' Gray's copy in his *Commonplace-book* is dated 'Finish'd 1754', the poem may have been finished some months before he sent it to Wharton, for the corrections made in the margin of the *Commonplace-book* are all shown in the copy printed here. The title 'Ode in the Greek Manner' is that given to the poem in the *Commonplace-book* in his agreement with Dodsley Gray called it *The Powers of Poetry* (see Letter 243, n 1). When it was first published (Letter 240) it was called 'Ode' in the *Poems* of 1768 it had the title 'The Progress of Poesy A Pindaric Ode'

Wher'e'er she turns, the Graces homage pay,
With arms sublime, that float upon the air,
In gliding state she wins her easy way.
O'er her warm cheek & rising bosom move
The bloom of young Desire, & purple light of Love.

(Strophe 2^{da}.)

Man's feeble race what Ills await,
Labour & Penury, the racks of Pain,
Disease, and Sorrow's weeping Train,
And Death, sad refuge from the storms of Fate?
The fond complaint, my Song, disprove,
And justify the laws of Jove
Say, has he given in vain the heavenly Muse?
Night, & all her sickly Dews,
Her Spectres wan, and Birds of boding cry,
He gives to range the dreary sky.
Till fierce Hyperion from afar
Pours on their scatter'd rear his glitt'ring shafts of war

(Antistrophe 2^{da})

In climes beyond the solar road,
Where shaggy Forms o'er ice-built mountains roam,
The Muse has broke the twilight-gloom
To cheer the shivering Native's dull abode,
And oft beneath the od'rous shade
Of Chili's boundless forests laid
She deigns to hear the savage Youth repeat
In loose numbers wildly sweet
Their feather-cinctured Chiefs & dusky Loves
Her track wher'e'r the Goddesses roves,
Glory pursue, and generous Shame,
Th' unconquerable Mind, & Freedom's holy flame.

(Epode 2^{da})

Woods, that wave o'er Delphi's steep,
Isles, that crown th' Egæan deep,
Fields, that cool Ilissus laves,
Or where Mæander's amber-waves
In ling'ring labyrinths creep,

How do your tuneful Ecchoes languish
Mute, but to the voice of Anguish?
Where each old poetic Mountain
Inspiration breath'd around,
Every Shade & hallow'd Fountain
Murmur'd deep a solemn sound
Till the sad Nine in Greece's evil hour
Left their Parnassus for the Latian plains
(Alike they scorn the pomp of tyrant Power,
And coward Vice, that revels in her chains)
When Latium had her lofty spirit lost,
They sought, oh Albion, next thy sea-encircled coast.

(Strophe 3^a)

Far from the Sun and summer-gale
In thy green lap was Nature's Darling laid,
What time, where lucid Avon stray'd,
To him the mighty Mother did unveil
Her awful face the dauntless Child
Stretch'd forth his little arms, & smiled
'This pencil take, (she said) whose colours clear
'Richly paint the vernal Year
'Thine too these golden keys, immortal Boy,
'This can unlock the gates of Joy
'Of Terror that, & thrilling Fears,
'Or ope the sacred Source of sympathetic tears

(Antistrophe 3^a)

Nor second He, that rode sublime
Upon the seraph-wings of Extasy
The secrets of th' Abyfs to spy
He pass'd the flaming bounds of Place & Time
The living Throne, the sapphire-Blaze,
Where Angels tremble while they gaze,
He saw but blasted with excess of light,
Closed his eyes in endless night
Behold, where Dryden's less presumptuous car
Wide o'er the fields of Glory bear
Two Coursers of ethereal race
With necks in thunder cloth'd, & long-resounding pace.

(Epode 3^a)

Hark! his hands the Lyre explore
 Full-plume'd Fancy, hov'ring o'er
 Scatters from her pictured Urn
 Thoughts, that breath, & Words, that burn
 But ah! 'tis heard no more—
 Oh Lyre divine, what daring Spirit
 Wakes thee now? tho' he inherit
 Nor the pride, nor ample pinion,
 That the Theban Eagle bear
 Sailing with supreme dominion
 Thro' the azure deep of air.
 Yet oft before his infant-eyes would run
 Such Forms, as glitter in the Muse's ray
 With orient hues, unborrow'd of the Sun
 Yet shall he mount, & keep his distant way
 Beyond the limits of a vulgar fate,
 Beneath the Good how far!—but far above the Great

~~~~~

If this be as tedious to You, as it is grown to me, I shall be sorry that I sent it you I do not pretend to *debellate*<sup>2</sup> any one's Pride I love my own too well to attempt it as to mortifying their Vanity it is too easy & too mean a task for me to delight in you are very good in shewing so much sensibility on my account but be assured, my Taste for Praise is not like that of Children for fruit if there were nothing but Medlars & Blackberries in the world, I could be very well content to go without any at all I dare say that M——n (tho' some years younger than I,) was as little elevated with the approbation of L<sup>d</sup> D and L<sup>d</sup> M<sup>3</sup>, as I am mortified by their silence I desire you would by no means suffer this to be copied, nor even shew it, unless to very few, & especially not to mere Scholars<sup>4</sup>, that can scan all the measures in Pindar, & say the Scholia by heart the oftener, &

<sup>2</sup> A reminiscence of *Aen* vi 853 'Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos')

<sup>3</sup> These two Lords have not been identified, 'L<sup>d</sup> D' may be Lord De La Warr, who was a friend of Mason See Letters 359, 383

<sup>4</sup> Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol v, p 615 n, quotes from a life of Dr. Taylor (see Letter 212, n 18) in *Some Account of the antient and present State of Shrewsbury School*, 1810 (pp 388 ff)

'The learned world at Cambridge at that time was divided into two parties, the polite scholars and the philologists The former, at the head of

(in spite of poor Trollope<sup>5</sup>) the *more* you write to me, the happier I shall be. I envy your Opera your Politicks I don't understand, but I think, matters can never continue long in the situation they now are *Barbarossa*<sup>6</sup> I have read, but I did not cry at a modern Tragedy it is sufficient not to laugh. I had rather the King's Arms<sup>7</sup> look'd askew upon me, than the Mitre; it is enough to be well-bred to both of them You do not mention L<sup>d</sup> Strathmore,<sup>8</sup> so that I doubt, if you received my little Letter about him Mas<sup>n</sup> is still here we are all mighty glad he is in Orders,<sup>9</sup> & no better than any of us pray inform me, if Dr Clerke<sup>10</sup> is come to Town, & where he is fix'd, that I may

which were Gray, Mason etc, superciliously confined all merit to their own circle, and looked down fastidiously on the rest of the world'

<sup>5</sup> See Letter 114, n 1

<sup>6</sup> This tragedy, which was produced anonymously at Drury Lane on 17 Dec 1754, was by Rev John Brown (see Letter 144, n 27) Garrick acted in *Barbarossa*, which had considerable success, and wrote the prologue and epilogue to it, but a line in the latter 'Let the poor devil eat, allow him that', gave Brown great offence

<sup>7</sup> See Letter 193, n 2

<sup>8</sup> John Lyon (1737-76), eldest son of Thomas Lyon, eighth Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn, who married in 1736 at Houghton-le-Spring, co Durham, the daughter and heiress of James Nicolson, of West Rainton, in that county Lord Glamis, as he was styled, succeeded as ninth Earl on the death of his father, 18 Jan 1753 In Feb 1767 he married Mary Eleanor Bowes (see Chesterfield's letter to his son, dated 13 Feb 1767 'the greatest heiress, perhaps, in Europe, and ugly in proportion'), daughter of George Bowes, of Streatlam Castle and Gidside, co Durham

Tovey quotes the following passage from a letter of Lord Chesterfield, written 10 Feb 1753, on hearing of the death of the eighth Earl 'The present Lord is seventeen, a good classical scholar, and with a turn to learning At this age Lady Strathmore will probably think it proper to send him either to an university or to travel, and if to an university, I should much prefer an university in Scotland to either of ours here' That he was sent to Cambridge, and to Pembroke College (see Letter 196, n 6) was perhaps due to Stonhewer (whose father was Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, where Lady Strathmore was married) and to Wharton, both of them natives of Durham, large estates in which county (lying between Houghton-le-Spring and Durham) had come to the Strathmore family through Lady Strathmore, with whom probably both Stonhewer and Wharton were acquainted Lady Strathmore's two younger sons, James Philip Lyon, and Thomas Lyon, followed their brother to Pembroke, the former in 1756, the latter in 1758 (see Letters 233, n 3, and 332, n 14)

<sup>9</sup> He had been ordained Deacon on 17 Nov, and Priest on 24 Nov of this year, and on 27 Nov he had been instituted Rector of Aston, Yorks, on the presentation of the Earl of Holderness, who appointed him domestic chaplain This was the occasion of Garrick's verses (published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1755, xxiv, p 179). 'An Address to the R—H—the Earl of H—ld—ss, on the Preferment of the celebrated Mr M—son'

<sup>10</sup> See Letter 79, n 11.



Letter 194

Gray to Wharton

Dec. 1754

write to him, angry as he is. my Compliments to my Friend Mrs. Wharton, to your Mother, & all the little Gentry. I am ever, dear D<sup>r</sup>, most sincerely

Yours

Camb Dec 26 1754

Dear S<sup>r</sup>

195 MASON TO GRAY

I AM gathering together my disjecta Membra<sup>1</sup> & as a specimen I send you the enclosed Ode,<sup>2</sup> of w<sup>ch</sup> perhaps you may remember one Stanza It is not what I can make it at present,<sup>3</sup> but I wont give myself any more trouble with it, till it has had your desp<sup>r</sup>ate Hooks<sup>4</sup> but spare it as much as you can, for I dont mean to draw you into any scrape by the conclusion of it but shall leave you quite at your liberty to write my Epitaph<sup>5</sup> or no, as you please As soon as you have interlined it send it me back again & dont let any body see it except the President<sup>6</sup> & Tuthill<sup>7</sup> and Old Cardale<sup>8</sup> & the Master<sup>9</sup>

Marcello<sup>10</sup> has set out from Newcastle & is travelling hither

LETTER 195—First printed by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 26–9, now reprinted from original

<sup>1</sup> A reminiscence of Horace, 1 *Sat* iv 62 *disjecti membra poetæ*

<sup>2</sup> This was the *Ode On Melancholy To a Friend*, one of the Odes which Mason published in the following year (see Letter 214, n 10), after a mention of 'pensive Gray', and a reference to the *Elegy*, it concludes

He, too, perchance, when these poor limbs are laid,

Will heave one tuneful sigh, and sooth my hov'ring shade—

lines which explain what Mason says as to Gray's writing his epitaph

<sup>3</sup> 'At present', in contrast to the time when he wrote the poem—Mason means he could do better now

<sup>4</sup> Not that I'd lop the Beauties from his book,  
Like slashing Bentley with his desp<sup>r</sup>ate hook

(Pope, *Imitations of Horace*, II 1, ll 103–4),

where the word 'hook' is used in the double sense of 'pruning-hook' and 'bracket', in allusion to Bentley's statement in the preface to his edition of *Paradise Lost* that his emendations of the text were 'printed in the Italic letter', and 'inclosed between two hooks'

<sup>5</sup> See n 2

<sup>6</sup> James Brown (see Letter 115, n 1), who had been appointed President (or Vice-Master) by the Master in 1749 after the death of Trollope

<sup>7</sup> This word, which has been heavily scored through in MS, is still legible. See Letter 120, n 2

<sup>8</sup> See Letter 163, n 11

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Long (see Letter 39, n. 2)

<sup>10</sup> Mitford ineptly conjectured that Marcello was a nickname for Edward Delaval There is no doubt that Mason was referring to a book Benedetto Marcello in 1724–7 published his musical setting of the first fifty Psalms (see Letter 374, n 5) An English version *The First Fifty Psalms, set to Music by Benedetto Marcello and adapted to the English Version*, by J Garth, 8 vols, was

Mar. 1755

Mason to Gray

Letter 195

as fast as a Northumberland Waggon<sup>11</sup> can bring him you must not expect him at Cambridge this fourthnight Pray is the Thane of Glamis<sup>12</sup> come

I wish I could put that good creature Fraser<sup>13</sup> up in his own frank, to transcribe your Ode for me for I want it vastly

I have no *Lueurs* yet about Hanover<sup>14</sup> My Lord<sup>15</sup> did speak to Lord Hertford<sup>16</sup> to make me Chaplain to his Embassy but he was preengaged, tell this to no Body but Old Cardale and the Master.

I send you also an Epistle w<sup>ch</sup> Folks say Voltaire<sup>17</sup> writ lately to himself, but you must Judge whether they are right in their Assertion \* \* \* <sup>18</sup> . you must return it in a Post or two I am (as you must say if youve any gratitude in you)

Your very obliging friend

W MASON

Arlington Street<sup>19</sup> March 1<sup>st</sup>—55

I am dissappointed of Voltaires Verses but you shall have them very soon <sup>20</sup>

published in 1757 To this work Charles Avison contributed 'Remarks' and a life of Marcello Avison was a Newcastle musician and a friend of Mason (see Letter 180, n 2) The book may have been in the press in 1754 (it was announced as forthcoming in Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* in 1753) It may be concluded as probable that Avison, at Mason's request, was sending proof-sheets to Gray

<sup>11</sup> Stage-wagons were used for the conveyance of goods and parcels

<sup>12</sup> Lord Strathmore (see Letter 194, n. 8)

<sup>13</sup> William Fraser, an official under Lord Holdernessee, at this time Secretary of State (see Letter 60, n 3), Fraser was subsequently for many years (from 1760) Under-Secretary of State and eventually (1782) Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs He often franked letters for Gray and Mason

<sup>14</sup> As to whether he should accompany Lord Holdernessee to Hanover; the King went over at the end of April, and Mason was there in June and wrote thence to Gray (see Letter 197)

<sup>15</sup> Holdernessee, whose chaplain Mason now was

<sup>16</sup> See Letter 60, n 2 On 8 Feb 1755 Walpole wrote to Bentley that an ambassador was to be sent immediately to Paris, and 'to my great satisfaction, my cousin and friend Lord Hertford is to be the man', but on 6 March he had to write, 'The state of affairs is much altered since my last epistle. . . that my Lord Hertford does not go' He went as Ambassador to Paris in 1763

<sup>17</sup> No doubt *Épître de M<sup>r</sup> de V\*\*\*. en arrivant dans sa Terre près du Lac de Genève, en Mars, 1755*

<sup>18</sup> Several words are here heavily scored through in MS and are illegible

<sup>19</sup> Lord Holdernessee's town-house was in this street

<sup>20</sup> Stonhewer some months later sent Gray a copy in manuscript (see Letter 204, n 3)

## 196 GRAY TO WHARTON

March, 9 1755 Camb<sup>re</sup>

My dear Doctor

ACCORDING to my reckoning M<sup>r</sup> Wh should have been brought to bed before this time, yet you say not a syllable of it (if you are so loth to publish *your productions*, you can not wonder at the repugnance I feel to spreading abroad mine but in truth I am not so much against publishing, as against publishing *this alone* I have two or three Ideas<sup>1</sup> more in my head what is to come of them? must they too come out in the shape of little six-penny flams,<sup>2</sup> dropping one after another, till M<sup>r</sup> Dodsley thinks fit to collect them with M<sup>r</sup> this's Song, and M<sup>r</sup> t'other's epigram, into a pretty Volume? I am sure Mason must be sensible of this, & therefore can never mean what he says to be sure, Doctor, it must be own'd, that Physick, & indeed all Professions, have a bad effect upon the Mind this it is my Duty, & Interest to maintain, but I shall still be very ready to write a Satyr upon the Clergy, & an Epode against Historiographers,<sup>3</sup> whenever you are hard prefs'd, & (if you flatter me) may throw in a few lines with somewhat handsome upon Magnesia alba, & Alicant-Soap as to Humanity you know my aversion to it, wh<sup>ch</sup> is barbarous & inhuman, but I can not help it God forgive me

I am not quite of your opinion with regard to Strophe &

LETTER 196—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 232-3, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 253-5, now reprinted from original

<sup>1</sup> His Ode on the progress of Poetry *Mason*—See Letter 194, n 1

<sup>2</sup> Mason states that one of these 'lyrical ideas' was the *Bard*, 'the exordium of which was at this time finished' (see Letter 199, n 9) and another was the Ode, of which Gray left a fragment, which Mason entitled *Ode on the Pleasure arising from Vicissitude* the plan of this Ode Mason found sketched in Gray's pocket-diary for 1754

<sup>3</sup> The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'flam' as a fanciful composition, a conceit, and quotes Swift to Pope (1725) 'Philips writes little flams (as Lord Leicester called those sort of verses) on Miss Carteret', but Gray uses the word, here and in Letter 230, in the sense of a pamphlet

<sup>4</sup> The reference is undoubtedly to Richard Stonhewer (Letter 120, n 38) In January 1755 Thomas Philips Jenkins, Historiographer to his Majesty, died (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol xxiv, p 92), and he was succeeded by Richard Stonhewer (*Rider's British Merlin*, 1756, p 79) The office carried a stipend of £200 a year

Antistrophe <sup>4</sup> setting aside the difficulties, methinks it has little or no effect upon the ear, w<sup>ch</sup> scarce perceives the regular return of Metres at so great a distance from one another. to make it succeed, I am persuaded the Stanza's must not consist of above 9 lines each at the most Pindar has several such Odes

L<sup>d</sup> S<sup>5</sup> is come, & makes a tall genteel figure in our eyes his Tutors<sup>6</sup> & He appear to like one another mighty well when we know more of him than his outside, You & the Historian<sup>7</sup> shall hear of it I am going to ask a favour of you, w<sup>ch</sup> I have no better pretence for doing, than that I have long been used to give you trouble it is, that you would go to the London Insurance Office in Birch Lane<sup>8</sup> for me, & pay two Insurances, one of my House at Wansted<sup>9</sup> (Policy, N<sup>o</sup> 9675 ) the other of

<sup>4</sup> He often made the same remark to me in conversation, which led me to form the last Ode of Caractacus in shorter stanzas But we must not imagine that he thought the regular Pindaric method without its use; though, as he justly says, when formed in long stanzas, it does not fully succeed in point of effect on the ear For there was nothing which he more disliked than that chain of irregular stanzas which Cowley introduced, and falsely called Pindaric, and which from the extreme facility of execution produced a number of miserable imitators Mr Congreve, who (though without any lyrical powers) first introduced the regular Pindaric form into the English language, made use of the short stanzas which Mr Gray here recommends See his Ode to the Queen *Mason*

<sup>5</sup> See Letter 194, n 8

<sup>6</sup> In the Pembroke College Admission Book is the following entry '1755 March 3 Honoratissimus Joannes Comes de Strathmore et Kinghorn admissus est ad mensam Sociorum [corrected in margin to 'in ordinem nobilium'] sub Tut<sup>bus</sup> Mr<sup>is</sup> Brown et Tuthill' Tuthill, who was not a College tutor, was doubtless Strathmore's private tutor

<sup>7</sup> This must be Stenhewer, see n 3

<sup>8</sup> Birch Lane runs from Cornhill, opposite the east end of the Exchange, to Lombard Street The premises of The London Assurance (the correct title of the office in which Gray's houses were insured) were situated at the time of the Cornhill fire in Castle Court (See Letter 145, n 6)

<sup>9</sup> See Letter 156, n 7 *Mason*, in *Memoirs*, pp 119-20, says of Gray's father that 'his indolence had led him to neglect the business of his profession, his obstinacy, to build a country-house at Wanstead, without acquainting either his wife or son with the design (to which he knew they would be very averse) till it was executed This building, which he undertook late in life, was attended with very considerable expence, which might almost be called so much money thrown away Since, after his death, the house was obliged to be sold for two thousand pounds less than its original cost' *Mason's* statement that the house was sold after Philip Gray's death needs explanation The house was owned by Gray as late as 1760 (as is known from Gray's pocket-diary for that year) It had been rented by Frederick Bull,

that in Cornhill<sup>10</sup> (N<sup>o</sup> 23470 ) from Lady-Day next to Lady-Day, 1756. the first is 20 Shillings, the 2<sup>d</sup>, 12 Shill<sup>g</sup> & be pleased to inclose the two Receipts (stamp'd) in a Cover, and send them to me, the sooner the better, for I am always in a little apprehension during this season of Conflagrations <sup>11</sup> I know you will excuse me, & therefore will make no excuses I can not think of coming to town, till sometime in April myself.<sup>12</sup>

I know, you have wrote a very obliging Letter [to Tuthill]<sup>13</sup> but as I have not seen it, & he is not in my way at present, I leave him to answer for himself Adieu, Dear S<sup>r</sup>, & make my Compliments to your Family, I am ever

Yours  
T GRAY

## 197 MASON TO GRAY

Dear Sir

**A**MONGST the variety of rational entertainments that Travel affords to a thinking mind, I have always rankd with the principal that fund w<sup>ch</sup> it presents of new Ideas, peculiarly proper to be thrown upon paper in order to form that w<sup>ch</sup> we call a free Epistolary correspondence <sup>1</sup> An easy Communication of Sentiments neither obscurd by a cloud of reserve, w<sup>ch</sup> is always dissagreeable to an amicable reader nor embarrassd by a Burthen of terms recherchés w<sup>ch</sup> is always full as displeasing to a negligent writer, is the very thing w<sup>ch</sup> I should always labor to attain in my productions of this kind, tho perhaps my aim

Alderman of the City of London (see Letter 556, n 7) since 1751, and was bought by him between 1760 and 1763 According to Mr C H Crouch ('Ancestry of Thomas Gray', in *Genealogists' Magazine*, vol iii, no 4, p 78) the house was built about 1736, and was known as Oak Hall. After his father's death (Nov 1741) the house seems to have come into Gray's possession, as did the house in Cornhill

<sup>10</sup> See Letter 145, n 2

<sup>11</sup> It was in March 1748 that the Cornhill fire took place in which Gray's house was destroyed

<sup>12</sup> In Gray's pocket-diary for 1755 (now at Pembroke College) under date April 24 is the entry 'Go to Town'

<sup>13</sup> Words heavily scored through in MS (see Letter 120, n 2)

LETTER 197 —First printed by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 29-34, now reprinted from original

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of the letter is written in a burlesque vein In the last paragraph Mason says 'how strangely is my stile changed since the beginning'

June 1755

Mason to Gray

Letter 197

is totally chimerical as the stile I speak of may be calld with the Poet

A faultless Monster w<sup>ch</sup> the world neer saw <sup>1a</sup>

Therefore without further apology I shall trust to the sincerity of your friendship for a plenary Absolution in this case And proceed in all the simplicity of Narration

Germany<sup>2</sup> is a country—But why should I tell my Friend who has seen France who has seen Italy what kind of a country is Germany And yet perhaps he will not dispise me for it For tho France is remarkable for its *savoir-vivre* and Italy for its *Virtù* Yet Germany is the reservoir of solid Litterature & therefore not unworthy of the attention of a Person who unites all these qualifications in his own particular and may be calld without flattery a Microcosm of the talents both of his own Island & the continent But Hard very hard is my fate that I cannot give him anysatisfactory account of the state of Germanic Learning Having only as yet had a single Interview with Myn-Herr Shite the Royal Librarian of this place MynnHerr Shite is of a roundish squab figure and of a face corresponding, that is as his Body is cylindrical, his face is rather circular than Oval, He apparells himself generally in a decent grass-green Suit With a fair full Peruke not too full to break upon the spherical form of his cheeks & yet full enough to add a graceful squariness on each side of them The Altitude of his square-toed-shoe heels the breadth of his Milk and waterd Rollups<sup>3</sup> and the size of his amber-headed Cane are all truly symbolical not only of his own Genius but of that of all his Compatriots When I say that Mynheer Shite is the only erudite person whom I have yet seen, I must be understood to mean in this place, for when I lately made a tour to Hamburg, I met with another tho of a different Sex, her name Madam Belcht Her person I will not attempt to describe But will endeavor to give you a morceau of Her Conversation, for I was honord with it, She askd me who was the famous Poet that writ the Nitt toats I replyd Doct<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1a</sup> From *Essay on Poetry* by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham

'Reject that vulgar Error which appears  
So fair, of making *perfect Characters*,  
There's no such thing in Nature, and you'll draw  
A faultless Monster which the world ne'er saw'

<sup>2</sup> Mason was now in Hanover (see Letter 195, n 14)

<sup>3</sup> See Letter 61, n 2

Yonge + She begd leave to drink his Health in a Glass of sweet wine adding that he was her favrite English Author We toasted the Doctor Upon w<sup>ch</sup> having a mund to give my Parnassian Toast, I askd Madame Belch if she had ever read La Petite Elegie dans La Cœmeterie Rustique, C'est Beaucoup Jolie je vous Assure<sup>1</sup> (for I had said fort jolie very often before) Oui Mons<sup>r</sup> (replyd Madame Belch) Je lu, & elle est bien Jolie & Melancholique mais elle ne touche point La Cœur comme mes tres cheres Nitt toats.

The Prudence you recommended to me at parting & w<sup>ch</sup> you yourself are so remarkable for I shall strictly observe & therefore will say nothing of the Place I am in Indeed I have nothing to say if I was not prudent, only that it is the noisiest Place I ever was in, & that I want to get out of it, w<sup>ch</sup> I hope is no treason I have sent Lord John Cavendish<sup>5</sup> a list of the Noises & their times of beginning w<sup>ch</sup> will give you some Idea if he shews you the Letter

Oh M<sup>r</sup> Gray<sup>1</sup> I bought at Hamburg such a piano Forte,<sup>6</sup> and so cheap, it is a Harpsichord too of 2 Unisons & the Jacks serve as mutes (when the Piano Forte stop is playd) by the cleverest mechanism imaginable<sup>7</sup> Wont you buy my Kirkman<sup>28</sup>

Pray M<sup>r</sup> Gray write soon (how strangely is my stile changd since the beginning<sup>1</sup>) and tell me about Rousseau or any thing It's great Charity, I do assure you, I would have writ to you before but Hamburg & Reviews prevented me White-

<sup>4</sup> Edward Young (1683–1745). Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, 1708, DCL 1719, author (1742–5) of *The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality*

<sup>5</sup> Fourth son (1732–96) of William Cavendish, third Duke of Devonshire, he was at Peterhouse, Cambridge (MA 1753), (where Mason was his private tutor), MP 1754–96, an adherent of Rockingham, he was a Lord of the Treasury in his first Ministry, 1765, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in his second Ministry, March–July 1782 Mason's *Elegy to a Young Nobleman leaving the University* ('Ere yet, ingenuous Youth, thy steps retire From Cam's smooth margin') was addressed to him Mitford quotes George Selwyn's description of him as 'the learned canary bird', on account of his fair little person, and the quaintness with which he untreasured, as by rote, the stores of his memory He was a friend of Gray, who in a letter to Mason (Letter 237) called him 'the best of all Johns'

<sup>6</sup> The earliest instance of this word in *OED* is dated 1767

<sup>7</sup> For explanation of this mechanism see Tovey's note, vol 1, p 265

<sup>28</sup> Jacob Kirckmann, a German, who anglicized his name as Kirkman, came to London, early in the eighteenth century, and set up as a maker of harpsichords at the sign of the King's Arms in Broad Street, London

June 1755

*Mason to Gray*

Letter 197

head is here with his two lordlings <sup>9</sup> You would delight in Lord Newnam,<sup>10</sup> he's so peevish & hates things so much & has so much sense. Lord Villiers<sup>11</sup> is Plumer<sup>12</sup> exceedingly polishd Whitehead talks rather too much of Princesses of the Blood in a way between jest & earnest that most people must mistake & take for Admiration The rest of the English are Earl<sup>13</sup> of Peterhouse, Sutton,<sup>14</sup> & just now Bagnal<sup>15</sup> of Trinity, With Grooms, Dogs, Tutors & all Whitworth<sup>16</sup> is also soon expected so that I think we shall soon have a pretty Partie enough O the Duke take that confounded Drum & fife it plagues me past endurance I cannot write a word more adieu & beleive me Yours

with the greatest Sincerity  
W MASON

Hanover June 27th 55

<sup>9</sup> William Whitehead (see Letter 44, n 8), he was travelling as tutor to Lord Villiers and Lord Nuneham, they left England in June 1754, and after a stay at Leipzig made a tour in Germany and Italy, returning home towards the end of 1756

<sup>10</sup> George Simon Harcourt (1736-1809), from 1749, when his father, second Viscount Harcourt, was created Viscount Nuneham and Earl Harcourt, till he succeeded to the Earldom in 1777, he was styled Viscount Nuneham He became the intimate friend of Mason, whose correspondence with him has been preserved (see the *Harcourt Papers*, vol vii, pp 7 ff) He paid Gray a visit at Cambridge at the beginning of April 1757 (see Letter 236)

<sup>11</sup> George Bussy Villiers (1735-1805), from 1742, when his elder brother died, until 1769, when he succeeded his father as fourth Earl of Jersey, he was styled Viscount Villiers He accompanied Lord Nuneham on his visit to Gray at Cambridge in April 1757 (see n 10)

<sup>12</sup> Presumably the Plummer of Gray's letter to Wharton of 28 June 1753 (see Letter 177, n 12)

<sup>13</sup> Erasmus Earle, of Pembroke, B A 1748, Fellow of Peterhouse, 1748-51, d 1768

<sup>14</sup> Richard Sutton (son of Sir Robert Sutton, K B, Ambassador at The Hague, Constantinople, and Paris) admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, from Westminster in 1750, M A 1753 He was created a baronet on retiring from the office of Under-Secretary of State in 1772, and died in 1802

<sup>15</sup> Beauchamp Bagenal, son of Walter Bagenal of Dunkirkney, co Carlow, admitted as a Fellow-commoner to Trinity in 1753 He had succeeded to the Carlow estate in 1745 He was subsequently member for co Carlow and a friend of Grattan He died in 1802

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps Henry Whitworth, of St John's, where he was a contemporary of Mason, B A 1745, priest, 1747, d 1768



## 198. GRAY TO WALPOLE

The Vine Tuesday July 22 [1755]<sup>1</sup>Dear S<sup>r</sup>

I SHALL be very sorry, if I have been the occasi<sup>o</sup><sup>2</sup> of interrupting any party or design of yours. when M<sup>r</sup> C<sup>3</sup> thought to carry me to the Vine, I was hardly recover'd from a fit of the Gout, & was obliged to delay my journey thither till the week afterwards; and the uncertainty of my own motions has made me defer answering your message without reflecting, that it might be troublesome to you my intention is to wait upon you tomorrow se'nnight at Strawberry if you go to Col Conway's,<sup>4</sup> or have any other design, that makes mine inconvenient to you at present, be so good to let me know, at this place, where I shall stay till the end of this week we return'd yesterday night from Portsmouth, Southampton, & Winchester I leave to M<sup>r</sup> Ch. (who will write next post) to display to you all the beauties of Netley-Abbey<sup>5</sup> the two Views<sup>6</sup> of this House go on apace, & grow every day under our eyes Adieu, I am ever

Yours

T G

*Addressed To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London**Postmark BASINGSTOKE<sup>7</sup> 23 IV*

LETTER 198—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 790

<sup>1</sup> The date of the year is determined by Gray's letter to Wharton from Stoke of 6 Aug 1755 (Letter 199), in which he speaks of being 'just returned from my Hampshire expedition' Gray's pocket-diary for 1755 (see Letter 196, n 12) has the following entries 'July 15 went into Hampshire to the Vine 19 Go to Portsmouth 21 Return to the Vine'

<sup>2</sup> So in MS, Gray not having left himself room for the *n* at the end of the line, made use of this sign of abbreviation to indicate the missing letter

<sup>3</sup> Mr Chute

<sup>4</sup> At Park Place, in Berkshire, opposite Henley, which Conway had purchased three years before

<sup>5</sup> See Letter 199, n 7 Walpole visited Netley Abbey with Chute a few weeks later (see his letter to Bentley of 18 Sept 1755)

<sup>6</sup> Painted by Muntz (a Swiss artist employed by Walpole) (see Letter 203, n 3), who was now at the Vyne (see Walpole to Bentley, 4 Aug 1755) A view of the Vyne by Muntz hung 'over the chimney' in Walpole's bed-chamber at Strawberry Hill (see *Description of Strawberry Hill*, in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol 11, 452)

<sup>7</sup> The stamp was not inked, but the impress is legible

## 199. GRAY TO WHARTON

Aug 6. 1755. Stoke.

Dear Doctor

I WAS just returned from my Hampshire expedition,<sup>1</sup> & going to enquire after your little family, & how they had got over the measles, when I found a Letter from Stonhewer, in w<sup>ch</sup> he says nothing on that head, whence I conclude they are out of danger, & you free from anxiety about them.<sup>2</sup> but he tells me, you expect me in town, for w<sup>ch</sup> I am at a loss to account, having said nothing to that purpose, at least I am sure, nothing with that meaning I said, I was to go to Twickenham,<sup>3</sup> & am now expecting a letter from Mr W to inform me, when he shall be there. my stay will be at farthest a week with him, & at my return I shall let you know, & if the season be better than it now is, enquire, if you continue inclined to visit Windsor & its Environs I wished for you often on the Southern Coast, where I have been,<sup>4</sup> & made much the same Tour, that Stonhewer did before me take notice, that the Oaks grow quite down to the Beach, & that the Sea forms a number of Bays little & great, that appear glittering in the midst of thick Groves of them add to this the Fleet (for I was at Portsmouth two days before it sail'd)<sup>5</sup> & the number of Vessels always passing along, or sailing up Southampton-River (w<sup>ch</sup> is the largest of these Bays I mention) and enters about 10 mile into the Land, & you will have a faint Idea of the *South* from Fareham to Southampton, where you are upon a level with the coast, you have a thousand such Peeps & delightful Openings, but would you see the whole at once, you must get upon Ports-Down 5 Mile on this side Portsmouth it is the top of a ridge, that forms a natural Terrafs

LETTER 199 —First printed by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 256–8, now reprinted from original

<sup>1</sup> See Letter 198, n 1

<sup>2</sup> For 'about them' Gray wrote originally 'on that head', a phrase he had used just before

<sup>3</sup> Strawberry Hill, where he went on Sept 3 as he records in his pocket-diary

<sup>4</sup> He visited Southampton and Portsmouth with Chute (see Letter 198)

<sup>5</sup> Sir Edward Hawke, K B, who, after having been in command of the home fleet for four years, struck his flag in November 1752, 'in February 1755 was again ordered to hoist it on board the St George at Portsmouth. On 16 July he was appointed to the command of the western squadron, with orders from the lords justices (22 July) to go to sea with sixteen sail of the line, and cruise between Ushant and Cape Finisterre in order to intercept a French squadron which had been cruising in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar and had put into Cadiz' (DNB).

Letter 199

Gray to Wharton

Aug 1755

3 Mile long, literally not three times broader than Windsor-Terrafs with a gradual fall on both sides & cover'd with a turf like New-Market to the North opens Hampshire & Berkshire cover'd with woods, & interspersed with numerous Gentlemen's Houses & Villages to the South, Portsmouth, Gosport, &c: just at your foot in appearance, the Fleet, the Sea winding, & breaking in bays into the land, the deep shade of tall Oaks in the enclosures, w<sup>ch</sup> become blue, as they go off to distance, Portchester-Castle, Carshot-Castle,<sup>6</sup> & all the Isle of Wight, in w<sup>ch</sup> you plainly distinguish the fields, hedge-rows, & woods next the shore, & a back-ground of hills behind them I have not seen a more magnificent or more varied Prospect I have been also at Tichfield, at Netly-Abbey,<sup>7</sup> (a most beautiful Ruin in as beautiful a situation) at Southampton, at Bevis-Mount,<sup>8</sup> at Winchester, &c my Gout is gone, but I am not absolutely well yet I hear Mason was expected on Monday last, but was not to speak of it, therefore you will say nothing till you see him I do not understand this, nor what he means by coming It seems wrong to me what did you think of the *Morceau*<sup>9</sup> I sent you, pray, speak your mind

My best Compliments to Mrs Wharton Adieu, I am

Ever Yours

T G

*Addressed* To Dr Thomas Wharton, M D in Kings-Arms Yard, Coleman Street London *Postmark* 7 AV

<sup>6</sup> 'Calshot-castle', the Tudor fortress of that name on a spit at the mouth of Southampton Water

<sup>7</sup> Netley was a Cistercian abbey, founded in 1237 by Henry III, the ruins include a great part of the cruciform church, abbot's house, chapter-house, and domestic buildings Gray visited Netley Abbey again in 1764 (see his description of it in Letters 392, 397)

<sup>8</sup> The name formerly of a house and grounds about a mile north of Southampton, outside the city walls The name is now applied to a small suburb on the site of the former estate In Gray's catalogue of sites, buildings, etc., which he wrote in the pages of a pocket Atlas (printed by Mason in 1773 with the title *Catalogue of the Antiquities, Houses, Parks, Plantations, Scenes, and Situations in England and Wales*, see Letter 267, n 4), among the places in Hampshire noted as particularly worth seeing is 'Bevis Mount, (Sir J Mordaunt's) near Southampton'—the owner at that time being General Sir John Mordaunt, K B

<sup>9</sup> A copy of the first part of the Bard, but which, I am sorry to say, is not preserved among Dr Wharton's MSS *Mitford*—This consisted of the first 56 lines, a second portion, consisting of lines 57 to 100, Gray sent to Stonbrower (to be communicated to Wharton) on 21 Aug (see Letter 204, n 4), a draft of lines 63–144 he sent subsequently direct to Wharton (see Letter 205A)

Aug. 1755

Gray to Walpole

Letter 200

200 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Aug 8 Stoke 1755.

I INTEND to be at Strawberry on Monday<sup>1</sup> before dinner but as Saints have the Diabetes,<sup>2</sup> you will not wonder if a miserable Sinner can not answer a day beforehand for his own constitution seriously it has not been fair weather within me, ever since I came into this country at M<sup>r</sup> Chute's I was not quite right, & since my return, particularly this morning, I am sensible of a feverish disposition, & little wandering pains, that may fix into the Gout, & confine me again if so, you will excuse the caprices of my distemper, & conclude, that it came upon me too suddenly for me to give you notice in time I am

Yours ever  
T G

*Addressed* To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London  
*Postmark* 9 AV

201 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Aug 10 1755 Stoke

As they have order'd me to bleed presently, I write to you, while I can make use of my arm, to desire you would excuse me I have had advice, as they call it, & am still as uncertain as ever, whether I am to expect the Gout or Rheumatism one thing is certain, that I am to expect medicines enough, & as I do not think it civil to bring an Apothecary's shop<sup>1</sup> to Strawberry, & am told besides, that it is not very safe, I hope you will forgive

Yours ever  
T G.

*Addressed* To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London  
*Postmark* 11 AV

LETTER 200 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 191

<sup>1</sup> August 11.

<sup>2</sup> Walpole had evidently repeated to Gray a *mot* which appears in his letter to Bentley from Strawberry Hill of 4 Aug 'We have been exceedingly troubled for some time with St Swithun's diabetes, and have not a dry thread in any walk about us'

LETTER 201 First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 192

<sup>1</sup> See his letters to Chute of 14 Aug (Letter 203), and to Wharton of 21 Aug (Letter 205)

## 202 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Stoke Aug 14. 1755.

WHEN you name a Fever & Rash in the middle of August,<sup>1</sup> I can not but enquire (as soon as I am able<sup>2</sup>) what you are doing to get rid of them, & how you are, since I heard from you. I do not at all expect an answer from yourself, but should be much obliged to you, if you would order Harry<sup>3</sup> or Louis<sup>4</sup> to write me a line of information I myself am a little better & a little worse for my *advice* the heats I felt in a morning are abated, if not gone, and in their room I have got the head-ach, w<sup>ch</sup> with me is a very unusual thing Adieu<sup>5</sup> I hope to hear a better account of you I am ever

Yours  
T G

If you easily get rid of your fever, pray, do not think of going so soon near the coast of Essex<sup>5</sup>

*Addressed* To The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Horace Walpole Esq in Arlington Street London  
*Postmark* 15 AV

## 203 GRAY TO CHUTE

Stoke Aug. 14 1755

Dear S<sup>r</sup>

I WRITE to the Vine imagining you may be still there to tell you, that I was to have gone to Strawberry on Monday last, but being ill was obliged to write the day before, & excuse myself M<sup>r</sup> W could not receive my letter till Monday afternoon, & had therefore sent a Mefsender from London early that morning to

LETTER 202 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 193

<sup>1</sup> See his letter to Chute of 14 Aug (Letter 203)

<sup>2</sup> He had been 'bloodied' recently (see Letter 201), when '10 or 11 oz of blood' had been taken from his arm (see Letter 205)

<sup>3</sup> Walpole's valet (Henry Jones)

<sup>4</sup> A Swiss servant of Walpole's, he died of drink in 1767 (see Walpole to Montagu, 14 Oct 1760, 8 April 1763, 13 Jan 1767)

<sup>5</sup> Walpole writes to Bentley on 15 Aug 'I am going to M<sup>r</sup> Rigby's for a week or ten days', that is, to Mistley Hall, near Manningtree, in Essex. 'The house stands on a high hill, on an arm of the sea, which winds itself before two sides of the house' (Walpole to Montagu, 25 June 1745)

LETTER 203 —First printed by Mitford in *Works of Gray* (1835-43), vol III, pp 133-4, now reprinted from original

Aug 1755

Gray to Chute

Letter 203

say, that he was very ill of a Fever & Rash, & unable to go himself to Twickenham. I know this is a dangerous season, & that malignant Fevers are now very common, & am therefore something alarmed at his situation. if you have heard anything, you will let me know, & particularly, if any thing should carry you soon to Town I myself have been ill, ever since I came out of Hampshire I have had *advice*, & have been bloodied, & taken draughts of salt of Wormwood, Lemons, Tincture of Guaiacum,<sup>1</sup> Magnesia, & the Devil you will immediately conclude, they thought me rheumatic & feverish no such thing<sup>1</sup> they thought me gouty, & that I had no fever all I can say is, that my heats in the morning are abated, that my foot begins to ach again, & that my head aches, & feels light & giddy. so much for me. my Comp<sup>ts</sup> to the Gentleman with the Moco<sup>2</sup>-smelling-bottle, the Muntz's,<sup>3</sup> the Betties, & the Babies Adieu, I am ever

[  
]<sup>4</sup>

*Addressed* To John Chute Esq, of the Vine near Basingstoke Hampshire  
*Postmark* 15 AV

<sup>1</sup> A drug made from the resin obtained from the *Lignum vitae* (*Guaiacum officinale*)

<sup>2</sup> Moco (otherwise mocho or mocha) is a kind of chalcedony of the nature of moss-agate

<sup>3</sup> John Henry Muntz (d 1775), in his letter to Mann of 9 Sept 1758, from Strawberry Hill, Walpole says of him 'I have a painter in the house, who is an engraver too, a mechanic and everything He was a Swiss engineer in the French service, but his regiment being broken at the peace, Mr Bentley found him in the isle of Jersey, and fixed him with me He has an astonishing genius for landscape, and added to that, all the industry and patience of a German' Muntz was employed at the Vyne for some weeks in the summer of 1755, and was there when Gray visited Chute in July (see Letter 198, n 6) It was probably at this time that he painted the oval portrait of Chute and the view of the Vyne which were formerly at Strawberry Hill, and are now at the Vyne Walpole, who had allowed him '100l a year, my house, table, and utmost countenance', dismissed him in 1759 (See his letter to Montagu of 17 Nov of that year)

<sup>4</sup> Signature cut off

## 204 GRAY TO STONHEWER

August 21, 1755

I THANK you for your intelligence about Herculaneum,<sup>1</sup> which was the first news I received of it I have since turned over Monsignor Baiardi's book,<sup>2</sup> where I have learned how many grains of modern wheat the Roman Congius, in the Capitol, holds, and how many thousandth parts of an inch the Greek foot consisted of more (or less, for I forget which) than our own. He proves also by many affecting examples, that an Antiquary may be mistaken. That, for any thing any body knows, this place under ground might be some other place, and not Herculaneum, but nevertheless, that he can shew for certain, that it was this place and no other place, that it is hard to say which of the several Hercules's was the founder, therefore (in the third volume) he promises to give us the memoirs of them all, and after that, if we do not know what to think of the matter, he will tell us. (There is a great deal of wit too, and satire and verses, in the book, which is intended chiefly for the information of the French King, who will be greatly edified without doubt.)

I am much obliged to you also for Voltaire's performance,<sup>3</sup> it is very unequal, as he is apt to be in all but his dramas, and looks like the work of a man that will admire his retreat and his Lemane-Lake no longer than till he finds an opportunity to leave it. However, though there be many parts which I do not like, yet it is in several places excellent, and every where above mediocrity. As you have the politeness to pretend impatience, and desire I would communicate, and all that, I annex a piece

LETTER 204 —First printed in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp. 240-1

<sup>1</sup> See Gray's account of his visit to the site in Letter 88

<sup>2</sup> Ottavio Antonio Baiardi (c. 1690-c. 1765), of Parma, Apostolic Notary—was in 1747 invited from Rome by the King of Naples (see Letter 76, n. 2) to describe the antiquities which were being collected from Herculaneum in the museum at Portici under the care of Camillo Paderni. By way of preliminary he published at Naples in 5 vols. 4to (1752-6) his *Prodromo delle Antichità d'Ercolano*, but the King, impatient of the delay, this work being no more than an introduction to the desired description, founded the *Accademia Ercolanese*, to whom he entrusted the task. This body published in 9 vols. fol. *Le Antichità di Ercolano* (Naples, 1757-92).

<sup>3</sup> See Letter 195, n. 17. In the Catalogue of the Sale of Gray's MSS. and books in 1751 there was included in lot 53 *Épître de M. de Voltaire en arrivant dans sa terre près du Lac Lemane*, described as in Stonhewer's Autograph.

Aug 1755

Gray to Stonhewer

Letter 204

of the Prophecy;<sup>4</sup> which must be true at least, as it was wrote so many hundred years after the events.

205 GRAY TO WHARTON

Aug 21 1755 Stoke.

Dear Doctor

INSTEAD of going to Twickenham I was obliged to send my excuses,<sup>1</sup> & the same day Mr W sent a mefsenger to say he was confined in Town with a Fever & a Rash<sup>2</sup> he has since wrote me word, that he is well again, but for me I continue much as I was, & have been but once out of the house to walk, since I return'd from Hampshire being much inclined to bleeding myself, I yet was fearful to venture, least it should bring on a regular fit of the Gout, so I sent for advice at last, & expected D<sup>r</sup> Hayes<sup>3</sup> should tell me presently, whether it were Gout or Rheumatism in his talk he treated it rather as the former, but his prescription appears to me to be meant for the latter you will judge he took away 10 or 11 Oz of blood, & order'd these draughts night & morning — *Sal Absinth Succ. Limon finitâ effervescentiâ add Aqu Alexit Simpl., Menth Piperit, Magnes alb, Tinct G Guaiac Spirituos* the quantities I can't read, only I think there is a Dram of the Tincture, &  $\frac{1}{2}$  a Dram of Magnesia in each draught the Blood had no sign of inflammation, but of a bright red the Serum of a dark yellow with little transparency, not viscid to the touch the draughts (w<sup>ch</sup> I took over night only) made me sweat almost immediately, & open'd a little in the morning the consequence is, that I have still many slight complaints broken & unrefreshing sleeps, as before less feverish than I was, in a morning instead of it a sensation of weariness and soreness in both feet, w<sup>ch</sup> goes off in the day a frequent dizziness & lightness of head

<sup>4</sup> The second Antistrophe and Epode, with a few lines of the third Strophe of his Ode, entitled the Bard, were here inserted *Mason* — This fragment consisted of lines 63 ('Mighty Victor, mighty Lord') to 100 ('The web is wove The work is done') This is not with the letter

LETTER 205 — First printed in part in *Mason's Memoirs*, p 244, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol 11, pp 258–63, now reprinted from original

<sup>1</sup> See Letter 201

<sup>2</sup> See Letters 202, 203

<sup>3</sup> This was Cherry Hayes, Scholar of Eton 1711, Scholar of King's College, Cambridge, 1716, B A 1720, M A 1723, M D 1728, Fellow of King's 1719–63, d 25 Oct 1763 He practised at Windsor He was in attendance on Gray's aunt, Mrs Rogers, at Stoke at the time of her death in Sept 1758 (see Letter 280).



easily fatigued with motion sometimes a little pain in my breast, as I had in the winter. these symptoms are all too slight to make an illness, but they do not make perfect health that is sure  
 (Tho' I allow abundance for your kindness & partiality to me, I am yet much pleased with the good opinion you seem to have of the *Bard* you may alter that *Robed in the Sable*, &c,<sup>4</sup> almost in your own words, thus

With fury pale, & pale with woe,  
 Secure of fate, the Poet stood &c-

Tho' *haggard*, w<sup>ch</sup> conveys to you the Idea of a *Witch*, is indeed only a metaphor taken from an unreclaim'd Hawk, w<sup>ch</sup> is call'd a *Haggard*, & looks wild & *farouche* & jealous of its liberty I have sent now Stonhe<sup>r</sup> a bit more of the *prophecy*,<sup>5</sup> & desire him to shew it you immediately it is very rough & unpolish'd at present Adieu, dear S<sup>r</sup>, I am ever

Truly Yours

TG

Addressed To Dr Thomas Wharton M D in Kings-Arms Yard Coleman Street London Postmark 22 AV

205A TEXT OF 'THE BARD', LL 57-144.

[Letter 205 is followed in the Wharton manuscripts by a copy, in Gray's handwriting, of part of *The Bard*. Sometime before 6 August 1755 Gray had sent Wharton a *Morceau*, which, it is assumed, was the first part of the Ode (see Letter 199, n 9). On 21 August, the same day that he wrote to Wharton, he sent to Stonhewer another piece of the *Prophecy* (ll 63-100), which was to be shown to Wharton (see Letter 204, n 4). The passage printed here contains from l 57 to the end of the poem. It obviously cannot have been written until nearly two years after the date of Letter 205, as it contains the conclusion of the Ode in a later recension than that which Gray sent to Mason in his letter of [31] May 1757 (Letter 238). It was probably earlier than the letter to Mason of [11] June (Letter 239). Gray went to London about the middle of June 1757, and may have given Wharton his rough copy, when he saw him.]

*Note*—Words and passages enclosed in square brackets represent cancellations made by Gray in the manuscript. The substituted readings, which in the manuscript are inserted for the most part overline, but occasionally in the margin or on the opposite leaf, are here printed, in smaller type, immediately above the cancellations which they replace.]

\* \* \*

<sup>4</sup> Lines 17-18, the alteration was not ultimately adopted

<sup>5</sup> See Letter 204, n 4

She-Wolf of France with unrelenting fangs  
 That tear'st the bowels of thy mangled Mate  
 From thee be born, who o'er thy country hangs  
 The Scourge of Heaven what Terrors round him wait!  
 Amazement in his Van with Flight combined,  
 And Sorrow's faded form & Solitude behind

## ANT 2

Victor  
 Mighty [Conqu'ror], mighty Lord,  
 Low on <sup>his</sup> [the] funeral couch he lies  
 No <sup>no</sup> [What] pitying heart, [what] eye afford  
 A tear to grace his obseques?  
 Is the sable Warrior fled?  
 Thy Son is gone he rests among the Dead  
 in thy noontide beam were born  
 The swarm, that [hover'd in thy noontide ray?]  
 morn  
 Gone to salute the rising [day]  
 Fair laughs the Moon, & soft the Zephyr blows  
 While proudly riding o'er the azure realm  
 In gallant trim the gilded Vessel goes,  
 Youth in the prow, & Pleasure at the helm,  
 Regardless of the sweeping Whirlwind's sway  
 That hush'd in grim repose expects his evening-prey  
 [Mirrors of Saxon truth & loyalty,  
 Your helpless old expiring Master view  
 They hear not scarce Religion dares supply  
 Her mutter'd Requiems, & her holy Dew  
 Yet thou, proud Boy, from Pomfret's walls shalt send  
 A sigh, & envy oft thy happy Grandsire's end ]

EPODE 3<sup>6</sup>

Fill high the sparkling bowl,  
 The rich repast prepare,  
 Reft of a crown he yet may share the feast  
 Close by the regal chair  
 Fell Thirst & Famine scowl  
 A smile of horror on their baffled guest.

<sup>6</sup> See in MS It should be 2



And gorgeous Dames, & Statesmen old  
 In bearded majesty appear  
 In the midst a Form divine  
 Her eye proclaims her of the Briton-line,  
     Her                      her  
 [A] lyon-port, [an] awe-commanding face,  
 Attemper'd sweet to virgin-grace  
 What strings symphonious tremble in the air!<sup>1</sup>  
 What strains of vocal transport round her play!  
 Hear from the grave, great Talfefsin, hear,  
 They breath a soul to animate thy clay  
 Bright Rapture calls, & soaring, as she sings,  
 Waves in the eye of Heav'n her many-colour'd wings

## EPODE 3

The verse adorn again  
 Fierce War, & faithful Love,  
 And Truth severe by fairy-Fiction drest  
 In buskin'd measures move  
 Pale Grief & pleasing Pain  
 With Horror, Tyrant of the throbbing breast  
 A Voice as of the Cherub-Quire  
 Gales from blooming Eden bear,  
 And distant Warblings lessen on my ear,  
 That lost in long futurity expire  
 Fond impious Man, thinkst thou, yon sanguine cloud  
 Rais'd by thy breath has quench'd the Orb of day?  
 Tomorrow he repairs the golden flood  
 And warms the Nations with redoubled ray  
 Enough for me with joy I see  
 The different doom our Fates assign.  
 Be thine Despair & sceptred Care  
 To triumph & to die are mine  
 He spoke, & headlong from the Mountain's height  
 Deep in the roaring tide he sunk to endless night<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Eventually this line was altered to 'Deep in the roaring tide he plung'd to endless night' (see Letter 38, n 5). In his own copy of the Strawberry Hill edition of *Odes by Mr Gray*, Walpole wrote 'In the original this word was *sunk* but Mr Garrick suggested *plung'd* as a more emphatic word on such an occasion' (see *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry Hill*, p 29, n 6).

## 206 MASON TO GRAY

Tunbridge Sept 10<sup>th</sup> 55Dear M<sup>r</sup> Gray

**I** PROMISE to write to you from Tunbridge And now I perform it You can't imagine how much people lye with one another here. I had the narrowest escape in the world The Countess of Schoonfeld<sup>1</sup> lay with evry body and she was but just gone when I came hither However since I came We have sent Miss Ash<sup>2</sup> to Town with Child some people say twas Count Bryll<sup>3</sup> that did it But I say nothing, I had been here two days before she went, thats all. Lady Caroline<sup>4</sup> who corresponds with her evry post, tells it publickly on the pantles, then Ladies are surprizd & She crys out "Lord how can ye I wonder she is not with Child evry year " Heres a Mon<sup>s</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Simon<sup>5</sup> here, much laid with also but The property of one Lady only who as S<sup>r</sup> John Falstaffe says makes him "her Philosophers two stones" <sup>6</sup> You cant conceive how she pillages him Sometimes they take their pastime in the midst of a Curricle sometimes in a feild sometimes at his Lodgings & where not? Lady Rotchfort<sup>7</sup> has

LETTER 206—First printed in part by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 35-7, now first printed in full from original

<sup>1</sup> Schoenfeld Miss Speed (see Letter 155, n 1) was at Tunbridge in July and August of this year, and in a letter to Lord Nuneham of 26 Oct., she gives a lively description of a German Countess 'about seventy years old, who dresses as if she was sixteen'

<sup>2</sup> Miss Elizabeth Ashe was an intimate friend of Lady Caroline Petersham (see n 4) There are allusions to both the ladies in Walpole's letters to Mann of 2 April and 2 August 1750, and to George Montagu of 23 June in the same year

<sup>3</sup> Nothing seems to be known of this individual

<sup>4</sup> Lady Caroline Fitzroy (1722-84) was eldest daughter of Charles Fitzroy, second Duke of Grafton, she married, in 1746, William Stanhope, Viscount Petersham, eldest son of the first Earl of Harrington, to whose title he succeeded in 1756

<sup>5</sup> This was Maximilien Henri (1720-99), Marquis de St Simon, of the Sandricourt branch of the family to which the famous Duc de St Simon belonged He had been aide-de-camp to the Prince de Conti, and was the author of numerous works, which included translations of Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, Pope's *Essay on Man*, and Macpherson's *Temora* Walpole met him in the summer of this year while on a visit to Lord Tisbury at Wanstead, see his letter to Bentley of 17 July In his letter to Conway of 24 Jan 1756 Walpole describes a fracas at the theatre where the Marquis was in company with Miss Ashe and Lady Caroline Petersham in the latter's box

<sup>6</sup> 2 *Henry IV*, iii 2 (*ad fin*)

<sup>7</sup> Countess of Rochford—Lucy Young (d 1773), daughter of Edward Young, of Durnford, Wilts, she married (1742) William Henry Nassau de

Sept 1755

*Mason to Gray*

Letter 206

been here three Days with Lady H<sup>a</sup> A delightful Character ! so full of the Rheumatics and Achs & Pains all over and then so Genède you know & so detesting of Public places, because People dont dress so strangely as they did four year ago, and are not frightful enough to make one Laugh —I was told yesterday by Lady H that it was her Birthday and she wondered I had not writ her some Verses. so I did, & here they are <sup>8a</sup>

Had R—d<sup>9</sup> bad my muse essay  
To hail her, on her natal day  
I soon had Ransackd Natures bowers  
For Blushing fruit & fragrant flows  
And sworn till Fops believd it true  
That all their sweetness all their hue  
Were nought to what her cheekes advance  
Adorn'd tout alamode de France  
Or had gay Lady C\*\*\*<sup>10</sup>  
Been bent on such an odd design,  
And deign'd my verses to receive,  
(For Verse is all I have to give)  
It soon had been my tuneful prayr  
To beg propitious Fate to spare  
The Bliss she has, & alway lend  
An easy Lord and genrous friend  
But how to suit my song to you  
Is mighty hard, for entre nous  
You're most unfashionably fair,  
Content with your own face & air,

Zulestein (1717–81), fourth Earl of Rochford She was among the first of Walpole's visitors to the Strawberry Hill printing-office in August 1757, when the following lines were addressed to her from the press<sup>9</sup>

'In vain from your properest name you have flown,  
And exchang'd lovely Cupid's for Hymen's dull throne  
By my art shall your beauties be constantly sung,  
And in spite of yourself you shall ever be YOUNG'

<sup>8</sup> Countess of Holderness—Mary Doublet (1720–1801), daughter of Francis Doublet, member of the States of Holland, she married (1743), at The Hague, Robert Darcy (1718–78), fourth Earl of Holderness (see Letter 60, n. 3)

<sup>8a</sup> In Mason's *Commonplace-book* (now in the Cathedral Library at York) there is a copy of these verses 'written at Tunbridge Wells, Aug 1755'. There are variations from the text sent to Gray, which no doubt represent Mason's final improvements

<sup>9</sup> Rochford (see n. 7)

<sup>10</sup> Caroline (see n. 4).

And more unfashionably true,  
 A Husband bounds your utmost view.  
 This then the Case, my Rhymes I'll close,  
 And wish in verse as plain as prose,  
 That Tunbridge from her springs may grant  
 The little added health you want,  
 And that for many a happy year  
 You need not to her fount repair,  
 Unless to see as now you see  
 Each varied form of vanity,  
 And candid laugh, as now you do,  
 At all the fools her walks can shew  
 Yet one wish more—May Fortune kind  
 Soon briskly blow a North-east wind,<sup>11</sup>  
 And then some few days past & gone  
 Youll scarce pull Coifs for S<sup>t</sup> Simon<sup>12</sup>

You must observe this is not the S<sup>t</sup> Simon mentioned in a Book you have formerly read calld the Testament, But another quite of a different family and whose name is pronounced Sēnsīm-mōng like a Dactyle<sup>13</sup> Well, how do you like my Verses? Whether shall I call them, To Lady H on her Birthday, or a Lampoon on Lady R & Lady C? one talks of nothing but Lampoons here, pray unde derivatur Lampoon?<sup>14</sup> You have a pretty knack at an oldfashioned Welch Ode,<sup>15</sup> but you are nothing like me at an Impromptu If you write to me Direct to The young Man that my Aunt Dent had like to have ravishd Axton<sup>16</sup> writ to me yesterday about his fellowship twas rather a sesquipedalian Letter, however I answerd it today, & hopd he would behave gratefully to M<sup>r</sup> Brown who I sayd was much his friend, & would secure him his fellowship and so having concluded my Paper I am yours

<sup>11</sup> To bring Lord Holderness back from Hanover, where as Secretary of State he was in attendance on the King

<sup>12</sup> See n 5

<sup>13</sup> Mason apparently could not distinguish an anapaest from a dactyl

<sup>14</sup> O E D. accepts the etymology given by Littré of Fr *lampon*, from *lamper*, a nasalized form of *laper* (Eng *lap*), to gulp down, *lampons*, that is, *buvons*, being a common refrain of scurrilous drinking-songs

<sup>15</sup> Gray's unfinished *Bard*

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Axton, of Pembroke, admitted Sizar, 1750, matriculated, 1751, B A 1755, Fellow, March 1757, M A 1758, Vicar of Frindsbury, Kent, 1762-4. d. 1764 He is mentioned in Mason's letter to Gray of 28 Nov. 1760 (Letter 326)

## 207 GRAY TO WALPOLE

Oct. 14 1755.

I DO not think of leaving this place<sup>1</sup> till about a fortnight hence, & as I doubt if you will continue at Twickenham so late in the year, shall then call upon you at your house in Town I heartily pity poor G Montagu,<sup>2</sup> who never was made for solitude, & who begins to feel it at a time of life, when every body grows unfit for it pray tell M<sup>r</sup> Chute, I have been tolerably well,<sup>3</sup> ever since I saw him I am ever

Yours  
T G

Addressed To The Honble Horace Walpole<sup>4</sup> in Arlington Street London  
Postmark 15 OC

## 208 GRAY TO WHARTON

[18 Oct, 1755]<sup>1</sup>

My dear Doctor

I THOUGHT before now to have thanked you for your kind offer, w<sup>ch</sup> I mean soon to accept for a reason, w<sup>ch</sup> to be sure can be no reason to you or M<sup>rs</sup> Wharton, & therefore I think it my duty to give you notice of it it is a very possible thing I may be ill again in Town, w<sup>ch</sup> I would not chuse to be in a dirty inconvenient lodging, where perhaps my nurse might stifle me with a pillow, and therefore it is no wonder, if I prefer your house but I tell you of this in time, that if either of you are frightened at the thought of a sick body, you may make a handsome excuse, & save yourselves this trouble you are not to imagine my illness is in *Esse*, no, it is only in *Posse*, otherwise I should myself

LETTER 207—First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 194.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Stoke (see n 3)

<sup>2</sup> Montagu had just lost his sister, Miss Harriet Montagu, who lived with him at Greatworth, in Northamptonshire (see Walpole to Montagu, 7 Oct 1755)

<sup>3</sup> Writing to Chute from Arlington Street on 20 Oct, Walpole says 'I had a note from Gray, who is still at Stoke, and he desires I would tell you that he has continued pretty well'

<sup>4</sup> It will be noted that from now on Gray adopts the modern usage, and addresses Walpole as 'Honble' without 'Esq'

LETTER 208—First printed in part (in a garbled text) in Mason's *Memoirs*, pp 244–5, first printed in full by Mitford (1816), vol II, pp 265–6; now reprinted from original

<sup>1</sup> Date added by Wharton, Gray was still at Stoke (see Letter 207, n 3)



be scrupulous of bringing it home to you I shall be in town in about a fortnight <sup>2</sup> you will be sorry (as I am) at the destruction of poor <sup>3</sup> views, w<sup>ch</sup> promised so fair but both he & I have known it this long time, so, I believe, he was prepared, & his old Patron is no bad resource <sup>4</sup> I am told, it is the fashion to be totally silent with regard to the ministry, <sup>5</sup> nothing is to be talked of, or even suspected, till the Parliament meets. <sup>6</sup> in the mean time the new *Manager* has taken what appears to me a very odd step <sup>7</sup> if you do not hear of a thing, w<sup>ch</sup> is in it's nature no secret, I can not well inform you by the Post to me it is utterly unaccountable

Pray what is the reason I do not read your name among the Censors of the College? <sup>8</sup> did they not offer it you, or have you refused it? I have not done a word more of *Bard*, having been in a very listless, unpleasant, & inutile state of Mind for this

<sup>2</sup> In his pocket-diary (see Letter 196, n 12) Gray noted 'Oct 30 came to Town Nov 26 go to Cambridge'

<sup>3</sup> The name is obliterated Mitford printed 'Stonehewer's' without note or explanation It is possible that at the time, when Mitford had the manuscript before him, some letters could be traced beneath the obliteration, but the restoration must be regarded as uncertain

<sup>4</sup> If the reference is to Stonhewer, nothing is known as to the destruction of his views It might be conjectured that 'his old Patron' was the Duke of Grafton, to whose son, the Earl of Euston, Stonhewer had been private tutor It was perhaps to the Duke that Stonhewer owed his appointment, in this year, to the post of Historiographer to his Majesty (see Letter 196, n 3)

<sup>5</sup> There was a crisis in the Newcastle administration Walpole in letters written at the end of September to Mann, Chute, and Bentley gives an account of what was intended Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Pitt, the Paymaster of the Forces, who had opposed the subsidies to Hesse-Cassel and Russia, were to be dismissed from their posts, and Henry Fox was 'to be Secretary of State and to have the conduct of the House of Commons' But the changes were not to be made 'till after the Parliament is met' So far as Newcastle's intentions were not matters of common knowledge, Gray had probably been informed of them by Walpole.

<sup>6</sup> Parliament met on 13 Nov

<sup>7</sup> 'The new *Manager*' can scarcely be Newcastle, as Tovey suggested, as he had been Prime Minister since March 1754 Probably Henry Fox is meant. Walpole, in his letter to Chute, says that Fox is 'to have the management of the House of Commons' It is possible that the 'very odd step', that he had taken, may be explained by Walpole's statement that he was 'endeavouring to bring the Bedfords to court'

<sup>8</sup> The officers in the College of Physicians who grant licences Wharton's great-grandfather, Thomas Wharton, was six times Censor, and his uncle, George Wharton, four times Wharton himself, who became a Fellow in 1754, was Censor in 1757

Oct. 1755

Gray to Wharton

Letter 208

long while, for w<sup>ch</sup> I shall beg you to prescribe me somewhat strengthening & agglutinant, lest it turn to a confirm'd Pthisis <sup>9</sup> to shew you how epidemical Self-Murther is this year, <sup>10</sup> Lady M. Capel (L<sup>d</sup> Essex's Sister) <sup>11</sup> a young Person, has just cut the veins of both arms acrofs, but (they say) will not die of it she was well & in her senses, tho' of a family that are apt to be otherwise <sup>12</sup> Adieu, dear Doct<sup>r</sup>, I should be glad of a line from you, before I come believe me ever

Most sincerely Yours,  
T G.

209 MASON TO GRAY

Wadworth<sup>1</sup> Nov 26<sup>th</sup> 55

Dear M<sup>r</sup> Gray

IT is not true that I again make interest to be transported into Ireland, <sup>2</sup> and yet I beleive too it will be my fate I am totally passive in the whole affair, and shall remain so, the only step I ever took, w<sup>ch</sup> could be calld active, was to write a Letter to M<sup>r</sup> Bonfoy, <sup>3</sup> simply to enquire whether it was true that the Marquiss<sup>4</sup> intended to take me next, w<sup>ch</sup> he has now answerd

<sup>9</sup> Sic for phthisis

<sup>10</sup> In his letter to Bentley of 9 Jan 1755 Walpole mentions no less than four recent suicides, those of Lord Drumlanrig, Lord Montford, Sir John Bland, and another, unnamed, he mentions yet another in his letter to the same of 17 July, and on 19 Oct he writes 'The invasion begins, like Moses's rod, to swallow other news, both political and *suicidal*'

<sup>11</sup> Lady Mary Capel, fourth daughter (b 1722) of William, third Earl of Essex, and sister of William Ann Holles, fourth Earl (1743), she survived, and married in 1758 Admiral Hon John Forbes, (1714-96), second son of George, third Earl of Granard

<sup>12</sup> Gray alludes to the fact that her father, the third Lord Essex, was insane and died in confinement in 1743 (see Walpole's letters to Mann of 23 Oct 1742, and 13 June 1743)

LETTER 209—First printed by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 37-41; now reprinted from original

<sup>1</sup> Four miles south of Doncaster Mason's first cousin, Ann Robinson, daughter of Arthur Robinson, of Hull, and of Mary Mason, his father's sister, married Josiah Wordsworth, of Wadworth (see Letter 438, n 1)

<sup>2</sup> See n 4

<sup>3</sup> See Letter 126, n 11 Bonfoy seems to have been intimate with the Marquis of Hartington of that day, after the Marquis had succeeded to the dukedom Walpole met him at Chatsworth as the guest of the Duke (see Walpole to Montagu, 1 Sept 1760)

<sup>4</sup> William Cavendish (1720-64), eldest son of the third Duke of Devonshire, styled Marquis of Hartington from 1729 (when his father became

in the affirmative; but as Louth<sup>5</sup> is still to continue first Chaplain, the time when is uncertain, & cannot be these two years, in w<sup>ch</sup> space you know a Man may die or do a hundred pretty things.—But I hear, since I came into these parts, that Seward the Critic<sup>6</sup> is very anxious about taking my Place, & has made offers of making over to me a great living in the Peak,<sup>7</sup> if he may go in my stead Here too I preserve my Passivity It being totally indifferent to me whether they thrust me into the Devil's A—c,<sup>8</sup> or an Irish Bog

Yet, tho I say I am indifferent to both these, I will in my present circumstances embrace either The world has nothing to give me that I really care for, therefore Whatever she gives me, or however she gives it, does not matter a rush And yet I own I would have some thing more of her too, merely because I have not Philosophy, or a better thing (Economy, to make what I have a Competency<sup>9</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

Whitehead has sent me some Verses from Vienna,<sup>10</sup> treating of my Indolence, & other weighty matters, & exhorting me not to detach myself too much from the World The Verses are

Duke) till 5 Dec 1755, when he succeeded to the dukedom In February of this year (1755) he had been appointed Lord Treasurer of Ireland, and on 27 March Lord-Lieutenant, which office he held until November 1756, when he was summoned to England, and became Prime Minister in the short-lived Devonshire-Pitt administration Mason's expectation of being appointed chaplain to the Lord-Lieutenant was not realized

<sup>5</sup> Robert Lowth (1710–87), scholar and afterwards Fellow of New College, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1741–51, DD 1754 While first chaplain to Lord Hartington in Ireland he was offered the Bishopric of Limerick, which he declined In 1766 he was appointed Bishop of St Davids, and in the same year was translated to Oxford (see Letter 415, n 9)

<sup>6</sup> Rev Thomas Seward (see Letter 144, n 28), he published an edition of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher in 10 vols, 8vo, in 1750

<sup>7</sup> Seward, who at this time was resident in Lichfield, was Rector of Eyam, in the Peak district of Derbyshire, about five miles north of Bakewell It was at Eyam that his daughter Anna, 'the Swan of Lichfield', was born in 1747

<sup>8</sup> The Great Cavern of the Peak, as is recorded by the German traveller, Carl Philipp Moritz, who visited it in 1782, 'goes commonly by a name that is shockingly vulgar in English it is called *The Devil's Arse o' Peak*'

<sup>9</sup> The next thirteen lines in MS have been heavily scored through, and are undecipherable

<sup>10</sup> Whitehead was travelling with 'two lordlings' (see Letter 197, n 9). The verses here mentioned do not seem to have been published.

really very easy, & natural, & I would transcribe them for you if it was not too much trouble & yet you would not like them, if I did, because of some Words, w<sup>ch</sup> I know would not digest upon your Stomach; neither do they on mine; for I dont know how it is, but the slops you have given me have made my Digestive facultys so weak, that several things of that sort, w<sup>ch</sup> were once as easy to me as hasty pudding, never get thro the first concoction, & lay as heavy in the prima Via as toasted Cheese All w<sup>ch</sup> I impute to your Nursery, where you would never let one eat any thing that was solid, as I did at S<sup>t</sup> Johns <sup>11</sup>

"Write (you say) something stately at Aston" <sup>12</sup> I write nothing there but Sermons, & those I only transcribd Write yourself if you please, at least finish your Welch Ode<sup>13</sup> & send it me to Hull, for there is an Alderman there, that I want to give his opinion about it

But pray Why M<sup>r</sup> Gray<sup>1</sup> must I write & you Not? Upon my word S<sup>r</sup> I really dont mean it as a flattery or any thing of that sort, no S<sup>r</sup> I detest the insinuation but, Blast my Laurells S<sup>r</sup> if I dont think you write vastly better than I do I swear by Apollo (my dear S<sup>r</sup>) That I would give all my Elfrida<sup>14</sup> (Odes included) to be the Author of that pretty Elegy, that Miss Plumbtree can say off book And I protest to you, that my Ode on Memory<sup>15</sup> after it has gone through all the Limæ Labor that our friend Horace prescribes, Nay Si prematur Nonum in Annum<sup>16</sup> (above half of w<sup>ch</sup> time it has already I assure you been conceald Malgre my Partialty to it), I say that that very Ode is not, nor ever will be, half so terse, & complete as the fragment of your Welch Ode, w<sup>ch</sup> is as one may say now just warm from your Brain, & one would expect as callow as a new-hatchd Chicken (pardon the barndoor Simile) but all your productions are of a different sort, they come from you Armd Capapee at all points, as Minerva is said to have issued from the Head of Jupiter I have thus said enough to shew you that however I may have laid aside the practical part of poetry I retain all that internal force, that Ignea vis, w<sup>ch</sup> inspires evry true Son of parnassus with all w<sup>ch</sup> I am fervently yours

W MASON

<sup>11</sup> Mason's College before he was elected Fellow of Pembroke

<sup>12</sup> See Letter 194, n 9

<sup>13</sup> The *Bard*

<sup>14</sup> See Letter 158

<sup>15</sup> Ode 1, *To Memory* (see Letter 214, n 10)

<sup>16</sup> 'Nonumque prematur in annum', Horace, *Ars Poet* 388

Pray give my best Compliments to D<sup>r</sup> Wharton & his Lady & the ejected Statesman,<sup>17</sup> and if youll write to me immediatly to Hull, Ill tell you when Ill meet you at Cambridge Do you know what Whiteheads place<sup>18</sup> is worth?<sup>2</sup>—<sup>19</sup>

210 GRAY TO BEDINGFIELD<sup>1</sup>

Dec 25 Cambridge 1755

S<sup>r</sup>

IT is not owing to insensibility (as by this time you may possibly imagine) but to the misfortune I had of staying longer than usual this winter in Town,<sup>2</sup> that I have not sooner return'd you my thanks for the particular honour you did me,

<sup>17</sup> This was Robin, Wharton's two-year old son (see Letter 177, n 2), whose nose had been put out of joint by the birth of another child, Deborah, this year (See Genealogical Table)

<sup>18</sup> While still abroad he had been appointed by the Duke of Newcastle, through the influence of Lady Jersey, the mother of one of his 'lordlings' (see n 10), to the patent places of Secretary and Registrar of the Order of the Bath

<sup>19</sup> Mitford printed this postscript at the end of Letter 206

LETTER 210—Now first printed from original On the first page of the letter, which is endorsed by Bedingfield 'Dec 28 1755', Mason has noted 'Printed', but it was not published in his *Memoirs*

<sup>1</sup> Edward Bedingfield (or Bedingfeld, as the name is now spelt) was the youngest son of Sir Henry Arundell Bedingfield, third Baronet of Oxburgh, Norfolk, and of Lady Elizabeth Boyle, eldest daughter of Charles Boyle, second Earl of Burlington, he was born at Oxburgh 2 Feb 1730, and married, 21 March 1754, Mary Swinburne (born at Capheaton 13 May 1729), third daughter of Sir John Swinburne, third Baronet of Capheaton, Northumberland, and of Mary Bedingfield, only daughter of Edward Bedingfield, youngest son of the first Baronet (see Letter 183, n 6), he had ten children, of whom the second son, Thomas (1760–89), a conveyancer, was the author of poems, which were published after his death (See Genealogical Table) Edward Bedingfield himself had a poetical gift, one of his poems, written in March 1753, being 'On receiving from the Countess of Burlington Mr Gray's Poems with Designs by Mr Bentley' (From information kindly supplied by Mrs Paston-Bedingfield, and from Edward Bedingfield's *Journal*, kindly lent by Sir Henry Paston-Bedingfield)

From a series of 18 letters written by Mason to Edward Bedingfield between 29 Sept 1769 and 19 July 1775, now in the Henry E Huntington Library, it appears that Mason was largely indebted to Bedingfield not only for correcting the proofs of his own poems and of his *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr Gray*, but also for the revision of the latter, and for not a few of the notes

<sup>2</sup> See Letter 208, n 2

Dec 1755

Gray to Bedingfield

Letter 210

when you were at Cambridge.<sup>3</sup> You tell me with so much warmth & frankness, that I have given you pleasure, that it would be mere hypocrisy in me, if I did not confess to you with the same openness of mind, that I am pleased (my wish & the only reward I ask in writing is to give some little satisfaction to a few Men of sense & character I say *a few*, because there are but few such: were they more numerous, I would wish (I own) to please them all, & yet not fear being censured for too eager a desire of fame) but as much as your proceeding may have raised my vanity, I shall by no means promise that you will like your new acquaintance, when you see him *out of print* however with all his imperfections on his head<sup>4</sup> he will, be assured, make the experiment the very first opportunity, & claim in person the honour you offer him, whenever he is so happy to find himself in the same place with you<sup>5</sup>

I am much obliged to you for the Iris & Aurora<sup>6</sup> they are more elegant & have more of the relish of antiquity than any thing I have met with in modern Italy permit me to present my Compliments to Lady Swinburn<sup>7</sup> I am not known to her at all, and yet have had the honour of passing three days in her company when & where it was, I leave to her Ladyship's recollection<sup>8</sup> I am S<sup>r</sup>

Your obliged &amp; obedient Servant

T GRAY

<sup>3</sup> This is explained by the following passage in Gray's letter to Wharton of 9 Jan 1756 (Letter 213) 'Mr Bedingfield, who . . . desired to be acquainted with me, call'd here (before I came down), & would pay a visit to my rooms he made Dr Long conduct him thither, left me a present of a Book (not of his own writing) & a Note with a very Civil Compliment'

<sup>4</sup> *Hamlet*, 1. 5

<sup>5</sup> They had not met when Gray wrote to him a year later (Letter 231), but in his letter of 12 Feb 1757 (Letter 232) Gray refers to their having met recently before Bedingfield paid a visit to Bath for his health, no doubt Bedingfield visited Cambridge in January of that year, for Gray was in residence during the whole of that month

<sup>6</sup> The book left by Bedingfield (see n. 3) was the Italian version of two Latin poems by Carlo Noceti *L'Iride e l'Aurora Boreale descritte in verso latino dal P. Carlo Noceti d. C. d. G. e tradotte in verso toscano dal P. Antonio Ambrogio della med. Comp.* Firenze, Stamperia Imperiale, 1755 The book is described as 'magnificently printed'

<sup>7</sup> See Letter 183, n. 6

<sup>8</sup> It was in the stage-coach between York and Sulston, 1-3 Oct 1753 (see Letter 183, n. 1)

211. WALPOLE TO GRAY<sup>1</sup>

ADVICE OF D<sup>r</sup> OLIVER<sup>2</sup> TO S<sup>r</sup> JOHN COPE<sup>3</sup> ON HIS  
GETTING ST ANTHONY'S FIRE<sup>4</sup> BY DRINKING THE  
BATH WATERS OUT OF MISS MOLLY'S HAND.

By LORD BATH<sup>5</sup>

SEE gentle Cope with gout and love opprest,  
S Alternatè torments raging in his breast,  
Tries at his cure, but tampers still in vain,  
What lessens one, augments the other pain  
The charming Nymph, who strives to give relief,  
Instead of comfort, heightens all his grief  
For health he drinks, then sighs for love, & cries,  
Health's in her hand, destruction in her eyes  
She gives us water, but each touch alas!  
The wanton Girl electrifies the glass  
To cure the gout, we drink large draughts of Love,  
And then, like Ætna, burst in flames above

The  
Advice } Sip not, dear Knight, the Daughter's liquid fire,  
But take the healing bev'rage from the Sire  
Twill ease thy gout—for Love no cure is known,  
The God of physic could not cure his own

ON LD DARL——'s<sup>6</sup> BEING MADE JOINT PAYMASTER  
Wonders, Newcastle,<sup>7</sup> mark thy ev'ry hour,  
But this last Act's a plenitude of pow'r

LETTER 211 —First printed by Toynbee (1915), No 195

<sup>1</sup> This letter and three others from Walpole to Gray (Letters 319, 474, and 546) were preserved among the Walpole MSS in the Waller Collection, in a packet endorsed by Horace Walpole 'Letters from Mr Walpole to M<sup>r</sup> Gray returned by M<sup>r</sup> Mason to M<sup>r</sup> W after M<sup>r</sup> Gray's death'

<sup>2</sup> William Oliver (1695–1764), M D of Pembroke College, Cambridge, the famous Bath physician, inventor of the well-known 'Bath Oliver' biscuit

<sup>3</sup> 'Johnnie Cope', the General (d 1760) who in command of the Royal forces was routed by the Young Pretender at Prestonpans on 21 Sept 1745

<sup>4</sup> A name for erysipelas

<sup>5</sup> See n 11 In the article on Dr Oliver in the *Dictionary of National Biography* these lines are said to be by him, their attribution to Lord Bath by Horace Walpole having apparently not been known

<sup>6</sup> Henry Vane, first Earl of Darlington (see Letter 143, n 6), was appointed Joint Paymaster of the Forces, with Viscount Dupplin (see Letter 262, n 13), in this year (1755)

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693–1768), Duke of Newcastle (1715), who became Prime Minister on the death of his brother, Henry Pelham (6 March 1754)

Dec. 1755

Walpole to Gray

Letter 211

Nought but the force of an almighty reign  
Coud make a *Paymaster* of Harry V——.<sup>8</sup>

ON SPLITTING THE PAY OFFICE.

Holles,<sup>9</sup> not past his childhood yet, retains  
The maxims of his Nurse or Tutor's pains  
Thence did the mighty Babe this truth derive,  
Two negatives make one affirmative  
But ah! Two Dunces never made a Wit,  
Nor can two Darlington's compose a Pitt<sup>10</sup>

To draw poetry from you, I send you these mediocre verses, the only ones in fashion. the first lines indeed are pretty, when one considers they were writ by a Man of seventy, Lord Bath.<sup>11</sup> the first Epigram was a thought of George Selwyn,<sup>12</sup> rhimed, the last is scarce a thought at all

Ministers, Patriots, Wits, poets, paymasters, all are dispersed & gone out of town The Changes are made, & all preferments given away<sup>13</sup> you will be glad to hear that our Colonel Montagu<sup>14</sup> has got a regiment Lord Waldegrave<sup>15</sup> last night hearing them talk over these histories, said with a melancholy tone, alas! they talk so much of giving places for life, I wish they dont give me mine<sup>16</sup> for life!

Adieu! I expect prodigious interest for my pômes

Yrs ever

HW.

Arlington street

Christmas day 1755

<sup>8</sup> See n 6

<sup>9</sup> See n 7.

<sup>10</sup> William Pitt (1708–78), afterwards (1766) first Earl of Chatham, had been Paymaster-General of the Forces from 1746 till November of this year

<sup>11</sup> See n 5. William Pulteney, Earl of Bath (1742), at this time 71, died in 1764, aged 80 (see Letter 390, n 12)

<sup>12</sup> 'Lord Duplin and Lord Darlington are made joint Paymasters George Selwyn says, that no act ever showed so much the Duke of Newcastle's absolute power as his being able to make Lord Darlington a *paymaster*' (Walpole to Bentley, 17 Dec 1755) Both epigrams were no doubt written by Walpole (see *Horace Walpole's Fugitive Verses*, edited by W S Lewis, pp. 121–2)

<sup>13</sup> For a list of the changes in the Government see Walpole's letters to Montagu of 20 Dec, and to Mason of 21 Dec 1755

<sup>14</sup> Colonel Charles Montagu, George Montagu's brother, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of General Bockland's Regiment in this month (*Gent. Mag.*, 1755, p. 572)

<sup>15</sup> James Waldegrave (1715–63), second Earl Waldegrave (1741), who afterwards (1759) married Walpole's niece, Maria Walpole

<sup>16</sup> Of Governor to the Prince of Wales *Walpole* — He was Governor of the Prince (afterwards George III) from 1752 to 1756



## 212. MASON TO GRAY

Chiswick<sup>1</sup> Dec. 25<sup>th</sup> -55Dear S<sup>r</sup>

YOU desired me to write you news, but tho there are a great many promotions<sup>2</sup> they seem to me as far as I can judge all such dirty ones, that you may spare me the trouble of naming them & pick them out of a news paper if you think it worth While There is a Bon mot of M<sup>r</sup> Pitts handed about out of the late debate about the treaties some Body had compar'd the Russians to a Star rising out of the north & c Pit replyd he was glad the place of the Star was thus fix'd for he was certain it was not that Star w<sup>ch</sup> once appear'd in the East & w<sup>th</sup> the wise Men worshipt, tho it was like it in one particular for it made its Worshipers bring Gifts<sup>3</sup> Charles Townshend<sup>4</sup> in the same debate call'd Lord H<sup>s</sup> an unthinking unparliamentary Minister, for w<sup>ch</sup> he was severely mumbled by M<sup>r</sup> Fox<sup>6</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I am glad of because he is certainly a most unprincipled Patriot<sup>7</sup> But perhaps all this is old to you, Im tird of the subject and will drop it—

LETTER 212 First printed in part by Mitford in *Gray-Mason* (1853), pp 42-5, now first printed in full from original

<sup>1</sup> At Lord Holderness's villa (see Letter 192, n 29)

<sup>2</sup> See Letter 211, n 13

<sup>3</sup> This was on 15 Dec, see Walpole, *Memoirs of George II* (ed 1847, vol II, pp 134 ff)

<sup>4</sup> Charles Townshend (1725-67), second son of Charles, third Viscount Townshend, best known as Chancellor of the Exchequer (1766-7) in Pitt's second ministry, was at this time M P for Yarmouth In the reconstructed ministry after Pelham's death in 1754 he was a Lord of the Admiralty, but was dismissed in the present year (1755) by Newcastle, whose 'little petulant mechanic activity' he vigorously denounced in the speech here referred to

<sup>5</sup> Mitford printed 'Lord Holland', but, as Tovey recognized, there was no Lord Holland at this date The reference is to Lord Holderness and is explained by Walpole in his *Memoirs of George II* Charles Townshend, he records, who 'spoke for three-quarters of an hour against the treaties with infinite rapidity, vehemence, and parts', remarked that 'the King went abroad with only an unthinking and unparliamentary Minister at his ear'—to which Walpole adds in a note, 'Lord Holderness' (*op cit*, pp 121, 124).

<sup>6</sup> Now Secretary of State in place of Sir Thomas Robinson, and leader of the House of Commons (see Letter 208, n 5)

<sup>7</sup> Johnson defined *patriot* in the fourth edition of his *Dictionary* (1773) 'It is sometimes used for a factious disturber of the government'

Dec. 1755

Mason to Gray

Letter 212

There is a sweet Song in Demofoonte<sup>8</sup> called Ogni Amante sung by Riccarelli.<sup>9</sup> Pray look at it 'Tis almost Notatum the Air in Ariadne,<sup>10</sup> but I think better I am told tis a very old one of Scarlatti<sup>11</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> if true Handel is almost a musical Lauder<sup>12</sup>

Voltaire's Mock Poem call'd La Pucelle<sup>13</sup> is to be met with, tho not sold publicly, in town, I had a short sight of it the other day If you have any curiosity to see it I can send it you with Frasers<sup>14</sup> assistance in a couple of Covers

I have been here ever since I left Cambridge except one Opera night<sup>15</sup> My Absence from my Piano forte almost makes me peevish enough to write a Bolinbrokian Essay upon exile<sup>16</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The libretto of this opera was written c. 1732 by Metastasio and was set to music by many composers. 'The opera of *Demofoonte* came out December the 9th [1755], and in the course of the winter was performed more than twenty times' (Burney, *Hist. of Music*, vol. iv, p. 466) in a version that was a *pasticcio*. *The Favourite Songs in the Opera called Il Demofoonte*, printed for I. Walsh [in 1755], contains the song mentioned by Mason.

<sup>9</sup> Ricciarelli had been singing in England during the summer season of this year (see Burney, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 464).

<sup>10</sup> Handel's *Ariadne in Crete* was first produced in 1734.

<sup>11</sup> There were two famous Scarlatti's, father and son. Alessandro (1659-1725) and his son Domenico (1683-1757). Both composed operas, and the younger was an intimate friend of Handel.

<sup>12</sup> William Lauder (d. 1771), a literary forger, in 1750 published *An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in 'Paradise Lost'*. He foisted into his quotations from modern Latin poets lines which he himself translated from *Paradise Lost* in order to accuse Milton of plagiarism. He had been exposed in 1756.

<sup>13</sup> Voltaire's scandalous burlesque epic, *La Pucelle*, was written at intervals between 1734 and 1739 during his residence with Madame du Châtelet at the château of Cirey, and was first published in this year.

<sup>14</sup> See Letter 195, n. 13.

<sup>15</sup> It was no doubt on this occasion that he attended the performance of *Demofoonte* (see n. 8). He left Cambridge about a week before the date of this letter, having vacated his Fellowship 'a year after his presentation' to Aston. He was elected Smart Fellow (a bye-Fellowship) on 23 March 1757 (see Letter 284, n. 4).

<sup>16</sup> Henry St. John (1678-1751), Viscount Bolingbroke (1713), after the death of Queen Anne (1714) he fled to France, was attainted of high treason, and entered the service of the Pretender, he remained in exile until 1725, when his attainder was reversed, and he returned to England. His *Reflections upon Exile*, written in the manner of Seneca, in 1716, were first published by David Mallet, to whom he left all his works, in 1752, they were reprinted in his *Collected Works* in 1754.

Why will you not send me my inscription?<sup>17</sup> and with it be sure add a dissertation upon Sigmas, and tell me with all Dr Taylors<sup>18</sup> accuracy whether a Σ or a C or a Ε<sup>18a</sup> is the most classical You can write dissertations upon the Pelasgi, & why not upon this when it is for the use of a *learned friend*? Allways twitting you (you say) with the Pelasgi<sup>19</sup> why, tis all I can twit you with.

I wish you good success at Brag as well as sweet Temper

May the Latter be ΠΟΛΥ ΠΑΚΤΙΔΟΣ ΑΔΥΜΕΛΕΣΤΕΡΑ and the  
 former make your purse ΧΡΥΣΩ ΧΡΥΣΟΤΕΡΑ<sup>20</sup>

I see in the papers Dodsley has publishd An Ode on the Earthquake at Lisbon with some Thoughts on a Church yard<sup>21</sup> I suppose You are the Author and that you have taggd your Elegy to the tail of it However if I dont suppose so I hope the world will, in order that people may lay out their sixpences on that, rather than on Duncombs<sup>22</sup> flattery to Fobus,<sup>23</sup> & the Old Horse<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Mason apparently had asked Gray for a verse translation of a Greek inscription on a tripod (see Letter 216)

<sup>18</sup> John Taylor (1704–66), of St John's College, Cambridge, B A 1724, M A 1728, Fellow, 1729, University Librarian, 1732, Registrary, 1734, LL D 1741 Besides editions of the Greek orators, he wrote *Marmor Sanduicense* (Cambridge 1744), a dissertation on an inscription brought from Athens by Lord Sandwich in 1739

<sup>18a</sup> Mason seems to have been confused in assuming that Ε could stand for Sigma

<sup>19</sup> The point of this reference, which recurs in Gray's letter to Mason of 23 July 1756 (Letter 218), is obscure It may have had some connexion with Gray's Chronological Table (see Letter 129, n 4)

<sup>20</sup> Πόλυ πακτιδος ἀδυμέλεστέρη, χρύσω χρυσότερα (Sappho, *Fr* 122), 'far sweeter-sounding than the harp, more golden than gold'

<sup>21</sup> *A Poem on the Late Earthquake at Lisbon* To which is added, *Thoughts in a Churchyard*, was published by Dodsley (price sixpence) on 5 Jan 1756 Mason, no doubt, saw an advertisement of it There is no clue to the authorship.

<sup>22</sup> John Duncombe (1729–86), Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, B A 1748, M A 1752 In 1753 he published a parody on Gray's *Elegy*, entitled *An Evening Contemplation in a College* On 19 Dec of this year, but with the date 1756, Dodsley published a volume of his *Poems* (15) The third of these is an *Ode presented to the Duke of Newcastle, Chancellor of the University, on his Arrival there, June 14, 1753*

<sup>23</sup> See Letter 191, n 16

<sup>24</sup> In the *Ode to the Duke of Newcastle* (see n 22) Duncombe refers, in a footnote, to his having set on foot a subscription for the University Library, 'towards which his Majesty with his usual Magnificence, contributed 2000 l' The king's praises are celebrated in the sixth stanza Mitford was no doubt right in saying that by the 'Old Horse' Mason meant George the Second

Dec. 1755

Mason to Gray

Letter 212

What a scribbling Humor am I in<sup>1</sup> I'll relieve you however by adding only my Love to M<sup>r</sup> Brown Tuthill<sup>25</sup> & all friends & assuring you that I am yours with the greatest sincerity

SCRODDLES<sup>26</sup>

Shall I trouble you Dear S<sup>r</sup> to wish D<sup>r</sup> Long & Old Cardale<sup>27</sup> a merry X<sup>t</sup> mas in my Name Lady Rotchford<sup>28</sup> assures me that Lady Coventry<sup>29</sup> "has a mole on *one* of her Ladyship's Necks" Pray tell D<sup>r</sup> Gascarth,<sup>30</sup> that the Neck has descended some inches in the Human frame & deviding itself into two Hemispherical excrescences forms those parts w<sup>ch</sup> Sally erroneously calls her Bubbies, & w<sup>ch</sup> he feels for such.

<sup>25</sup> This name is scored through in MS, but is still legible (see Letter 120, n 2)

<sup>26</sup> The nickname by which Gray occasionally addresses Mason (see Letters 216, 489)

<sup>27</sup> See Letter 163, n 11

<sup>28</sup> See Letter 206, n 7

<sup>29</sup> The celebrated beauty, Maria Gunning, elder daughter of John Gunning, of Castle Coole, co Roscommon, married in 1752 George William Coventry, sixth Earl of Coventry, Lord of the Bedchamber to George II, and died of consumption at the age of twenty-seven, 30 Sept 1760. Mason wrote an *Elegy* on her death (see Letters 322, 326, 364)

<sup>30</sup> Gascarth may have been studying medicine (he ultimately practised it in the West Indies, see Letter 148, n 17) hence Mason calls him jocously 'D<sup>r</sup>'

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